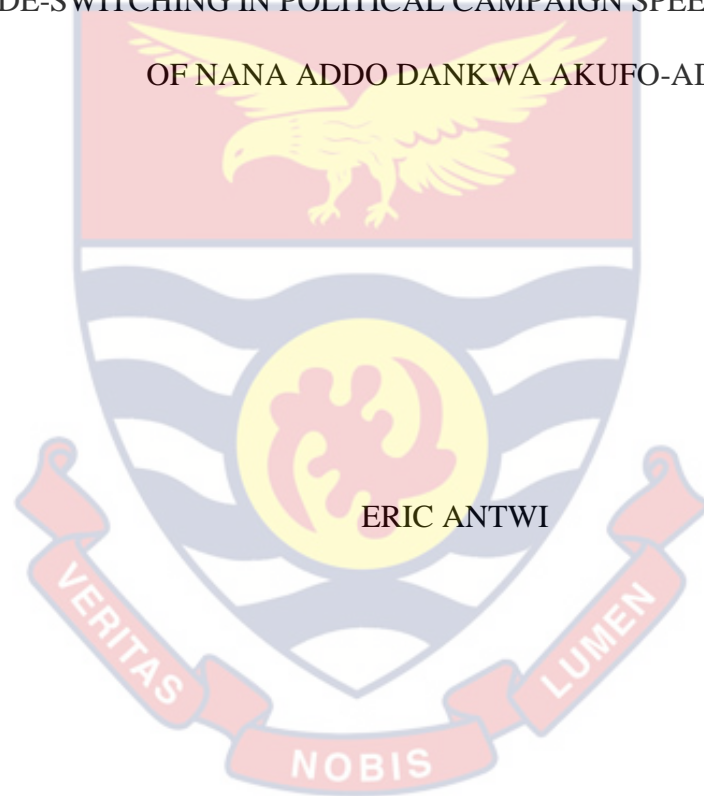UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

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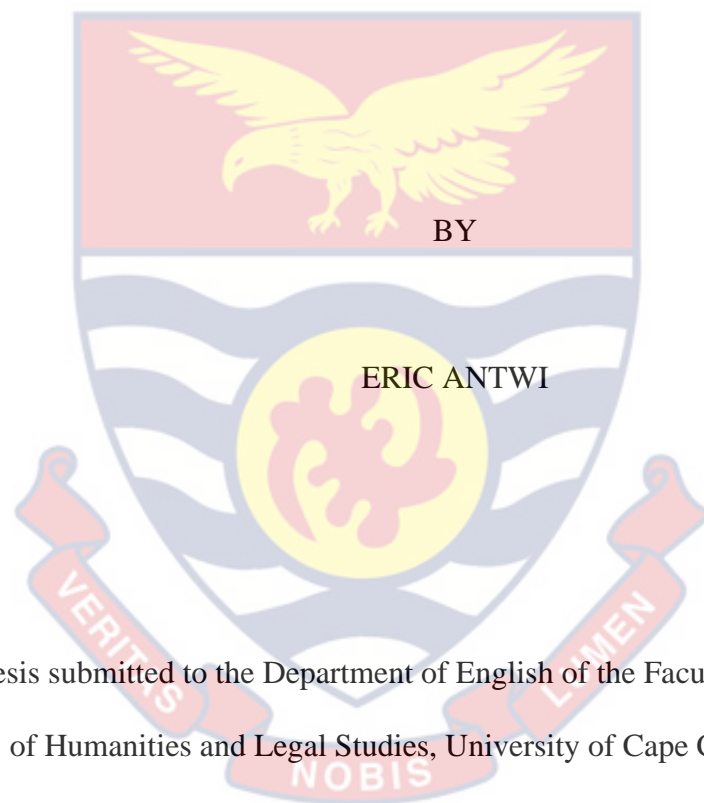
ERIC ANTWI

2022

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

CODE-SWITCHING IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES: THE CASE

OF NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO

BY

ERIC ANTWI

Thesis submitted to the Department of English of the Faculty of Arts, College

of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial

fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy Degree

in English

SEPTEMBER 2022

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature ………………..   Date ………………..

Name: Eric Antwi

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature ………………...   Date …………………….

Name: Dr. Lena Awoonor-Aziaku

ABSTRACT

Code-switching in political discourse has gained considerable attention from researchers over the past decades. These researchers have shown how code-switching is used in political discourse to maximize personal or political gains. Using ten video clips of the 2016 political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the president of the Republic of Ghana, collected from YouTube and Facebook, the study investigated the types of code-switching, the socio-psychological motivation of code-switching, and the conversational functions of code-switching. The study employed Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model and Gumperz's (1982) Conversational Analysis as a combined analytical framework. The study revealed that all three types of code-switching (the inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and tag switching) were evident in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. However, another code-switching type, the intra-word, was evident in the data. Further, the intra-sentential code-switching was employed frequently by the speaker to fill lexical gaps. Instances of marked code-switching which were employed for various communicative purposes included the following: creating aesthetic effect, increasing social distance via authority and/or anger, revealing speakers as entrepreneurs, expressing group solidarity and ethnic identity. The study, again, revealed that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employed code-switching to show courtesy and/or refinement in his speech, to perform phatic functions, and to show off his linguistic competence. Finally, this study has implications for political communication and contact linguistics and serves as an impetus for further research.

KEY WORDS

Bilingualism

Campaign speeches

Code-switching

Embedded language

Matrix language

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DEDICATION

In memory of my father, Charles K. Antwi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLE

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The introductory chapter presents the background to the study, statement of the problem, the research questions that guide the study, the delimitation and limitation of the study, the significance of this study, the thesis synopsis and the summary of the chapter.

Background of the Study

Bilingualism is a linguistic concept that has gained grounds in linguistic research. Contact between individuals who speak different languages or dialects has been common since ancient times. Several scholars (Bloomfield, 1933; Diebold, 1961; Haugen, 1953; Mackey, 1956, 1962; Wei, 2001, 2008) have conducted research into bilingualism. Wei (2001, p. 22) considers "bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual". Thus, bilingualism involves the effective use of two languages by a speaker. Wei (2008, p. 3) further posits, "even if one was born and brought up as a monolingual, the opportunity to learn another language is no longer a luxury for the elite". Conversely, Hazen (2001) argues that though most sociolinguistic researches have paid attention to bilingualism, very little has been said of the concept of bidialectalism. Bidialectalism, as its name suggests, is metaphorically derived from bilingualism, a linguistic concept where one speaker can produce two languages in a nonpracticed conversation. Hazen further argues that there could be instances where an individual, for example an uneducated speaker, could speak two dialects and would be able to produce the features of both dialects in a mutually exclusive manner. How

1

analogous bidialectalism is to bilingualism still remains a difficult question (Hazen, 2001). Following from this, the concept of bilingualism, as used in this study, encapsulates a speaker's ability to use either two languages or dialects effectively.

A unique attribute of every bilingual individual is their ability to move from one language and/or dialect to another, be able to communicate in one language or dialect at a time, behave more or less like a monolingual, or mix languages and/or dialects in the same sentence, clause, or even word, resulting in another linguistic phenomenon known as 'code-switching'. Code-switching is the swinging between two linguistic codes, both of which are either languages or varieties of languages, among individuals who understand and speak those codes (Kasperczyk, 2005). It is a part of almost every bilingual speaker's linguistic repertoire which we hate to love, but which we cannot, unfortunately, help taking part in (Forson, 1988). Unquestionably, bilingualism is a necessary condition that ought to be present for a speaker to code-switch, even though it does and may not always follow that code-switching is a necessary product of bilingualism. Generally, studies on code-switching have been approached by scholars from various standpoints: the Sociolinguistic, Psycholinguistic, and Structural perspectives. The sociolinguistic studies (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Heller, 1992; Myers-Scotton, 1993b; Owusu-Yeboa, 2013) delve into the social aspects of code-switching, the psycholinguistic studies (Grosjean, 1982; 1995) pays attention to the cognitive aspects of code-switching while researchers in structural studies also (Asilevi, 1990; Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2002; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 1995; Poplack, 1980) are concerned with the grammatical structure of code-

switching. I, however, situate this work in the socio-psycholinguistic dimension. Thus, the present work concentrates on both the social and psycholinguistic dimensions of code-switching.

As it is and has always been the case, in the delivery of political speeches during election campaigns, ideas and ideologies need to be conveyed through the use of language so that they are agreed upon by qualified voters or electorates as well as by others who may have read or heard parts of the speeches afterwards in the media. Evidently, it is language that creates and makes politics. Political activities, such as the delivery of campaign speeches at political rallies, are obviously non-existent without the systematic manipulation of language to formulate and perpetrate a specific political agenda (Chilton, 2004).

Some scholars (Ahlijah, 2017; Brobbey, 2015; Laitin, 1994; Obeng, 1997) have researched into code-switching in political discourse in Ghana and argued that politicians switch codes in their speeches as one of the ways to identify themselves with the electorates. Obeng (1997) opines that code-switching is a communicative strategy with which political speakers are able achieve pragmatic and strategic functions without assuming responsibility of being put on record. Benoit (2006) confirms that code-switching in political campaigning discourse endeavours to justify the position of the politician and thus, castigates operations of their opponent. There is, therefore, no denying the fact that code-switching adopted by politicians in their campaign speeches is "functional in nature" (Benoit, 2006, p. 10). Thus, code-switching is adopted by politicians with a particular communicative intent.

3

From the discussion, it appears that scholars agree on the fact that code-switching is an important tool in communication across diverse institutions. Therefore, it is common knowledge that in every democratic state, especially in a multilingual country like Ghana, where position to a high office such as the office of presidency lies within the remit of the majority of the citizenry, politicians would resort to several communicative approaches or strategies in order to win votes. In this regard, code-switching has become a crucial tool through which politicians obtain their political ambitions (see, for example, Ademilokun, 2015; Kementchedjieva, 2016).

Demographic Information of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is a Ghanaian politician and lawyer. He is the incumbent and the fifth president of the fourth Republic of Ghana leading from January 2017 to date. He emerged as President on his fourth (run-off election in 2008 included) attempt in the presidential race. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was born in Swalaba, a predominantly Ga community in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. However, he is a native of Akropong-Akuapem and Kyebi (where Akans are the dominant inhabitants) both in the Eastern Region of Ghana. He started his primary education at the Government Boys School, Adabraka and later Rowe Road School both in Accra Central. He later went to England, where he studied for his O-level and A-Level examinations at Lancing College, Sussex. He began a programme in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at New College, Oxford in 1962 but left soon afterwards. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo returned to Ghana to teach at Accra Academy, a secondary school, before gaining admission to read Economics in one of Ghana's prestigious universities, the University of

4

Ghana, Legon. In 1967, he graduated with a BSc (Econs.) degree. He joined the Inner Temple under the apprenticeship system known as the Inns of Court, where no formal law degree was required, and was trained as a lawyer. He was called to both the English (Middle Temple) and Ghanaian bar in July, 1971 and 1975 respectively. He later worked in France for five years as a lawyer with the now-defunct New York-based international law firm, Coudert Brothers. His stay in France made him fluent in French. It comes as no surprise that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo speaks languages such as English, French, Asante-Twi, and Ga.

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was a member of the second, third and fourth parliaments of the Fourth Republic of Ghana representing the Abuakwa Constituency. He competed for the presidential candidacy on the ticket of the New Patriotic Party for the first time in 1998 and was defeated by John Agyekum Kufuor who served as the president of Ghana from 2001 to 2009. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo served as the Attorney General and Minister for Justice from 2001 to 2003 under the president Kufuor-led administration. He later became the Minister for Foreign Affairs from 2003 to 2007. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in 2007 was the popular candidate tipped to win the New Patriotic Party's presidential primaries which he won undoubtedly. In the 2008 presidential election, he lost to the late Prof. John Evans Fiifi Atta Mills who belonged to the National Democratic Congress in a run-off election after he (Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo) had led with a slim margin that was below the constitutional threshold of fifty percent to become the outright winner in the first round of voting. He tried yet again in

5

2012 and lost to former president, John Dramani Mahama. However, in the 2016 General Election, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was declared victor.

Statement of the Problem

In the past decade, much research (e.g., Amuzu, 2010, 2016; Asilevi, 1990; Quarcoo, 2009; Yevudey, 2013, 2017) had focused on code-switching used in the media, in the churches and for classroom instruction, among others. Code-switching in political discourse has not gained much scholarly attention over the years, the exceptions being Chilton and Ilyin (1993), Masci and Semino (1996), Obeng (1997), Opeibi (2007) and Wei (2003). These studies paid attention to the indirect features such as metaphors used by political speakers in their speeches and analyzed their pragmatic and strategic functions.

Wei (2003) adopts the Rational Choice Models (RCMs) (Myers-Scotton, 1993, Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001) to analyse code-switching in political discourse; and contend that, though most instances of code-switching reflect conventional expectations of language choice to a certain extent, speakers make rational individual choices. Opeibi (2007) also employs the Rational Choice Models (RCMs) to investigate how politicians in Nigeria demonstrate their bilingual creativity in an innovative manner, employing linguistic facilities to publicise and sell their political programmes, especially in the use of media multilingualism, a novel persuasive strategy that has come to characterise political campaign texts. The study revealed that in Nigerian political discourse, political candidates 'marry' and exploit the resources of both the exogenous (English) and indigenous languages (and sometimes along with pidgin) in the same campaign texts in order to woo voters.

6

In Ghana, just as in other developing countries, with diverse ethnic languages, political speakers adopt code-switching as a communicative strategy (Ngugi, 2015). However, my interest in Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's political campaign speeches is based on the fact that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, a president of Ghana, is well noted for his ability to speak many languages. Owing to his multilingual nature, he consciously or unconsciously switches codes in his campaign speeches. What remains unclear is whether after two failed attempts (2008 and 2012) of becoming president coupled with his desperation of winning the 2016 election, his use of code-switching in his campaign speeches was to motivate the electorates and/or was a communicative strategy adopted to identify himself with the electorates in order to win votes. There is, therefore, a need for a study which focuses on Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, to find out his code-switching types, the socio-psychological motivation for his code-switching, and the functions this linguistic phenomenon serves in his political campaign speeches.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were to:

1. ascertain the types of code-switching used by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his political campaign speeches.

2. account for the socio-psychological motivation of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

3. identify the conversational functions of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

7

Research Questions

To achieve the objectives of the study, the following research questions were asked:

1. What are the types of code-switching used by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his political campaign speeches?

2. What are the socio-psychological motivations of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo?

3. What are the conversational functions of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo?

Significance of the Study

Theoretically, this research provides considerable insight into the communicative strategies of code-switching adopted by a key political figure in his campaign speeches in an under-researched country. Thus, the work contributes to the discussions on code-switching in political speeches. Practically, this research provides some considerable establishment of the quintessential use of code-switching as a communicative strategy. Studies into code-switching in political discourse make a useful contribution for political communication and sociolinguistics. In this way, experts in political communication as well as novice speakers, who are encouraged to adopt this strategy in their speeches will be guided as to the nature and dynamics of code-switching as a communicative strategy. Also, the study enhances the general understanding of code-switching from a specific genre (that is, campaign speeches) and adds to the understanding of code-switching from a socio-psycholinguistic perspective. Finally, future researchers who might be

8

interested in doing further study in code-switching in political speeches stand to gain immensely.

Delimitation of the Study

In this study, of all the politicians in Ghana, particular attention is paid to Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. This is because, to the best of my knowledge, he is one political speaker, who frequently employs code-switching in his political speeches more than any other political leader in Ghana. Also, the research is limited to the campaign speeches which are spontaneously delivered without prior documentation by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo at rallies in his bid as a presidential aspirant in 2016. This is because the present study concentrates on code-switching which is a language contact phenomenon mostly identified in non-practiced conversation. This period of his political career enabled me to have access to the data that was enough for the analyses I sought. Finally, in this study, I limit myself to code-switching types outlined by Poplack (2001): the inter-sentential, intra-sentential and tag switching.

Thesis Synopsis

The study is in five chapters. Chapter One constitutes the introduction of the research. It comprises the background to the study which presents an overview of the research, the statement of the research problem, the research questions selected to clarify the problem, the delimitation and the significance of the entire work. Chapter Two reviews some related literature on code-switching and the theories in which the study is grounded. Chapter Three examines the methodology employed in this research. This includes the research design, sample size, data collection procedure, data processing and

9

analysis and transcription method employed. Chapter Four focuses on the analysis and discussion of the data and the final chapter, Chapter Five, discusses the findings, conclusion, and recommends further research areas. Thus, Chapter Five gives an overall conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter Summary

Chapter One serves as the basis for the present study and offers a brief background to the study. This introductory chapter highlights the fact that various communicative strategies in political discourse have gained much attention from researchers. However, the study of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of individual politicians especially in Ghana has been overlooked. The statement of the problem establishes the goal of this research. The thesis synopsis has also been set up to serve as a guide to readers of this study. The next chapter reviews the literature that is pertinent to this research topic.

10
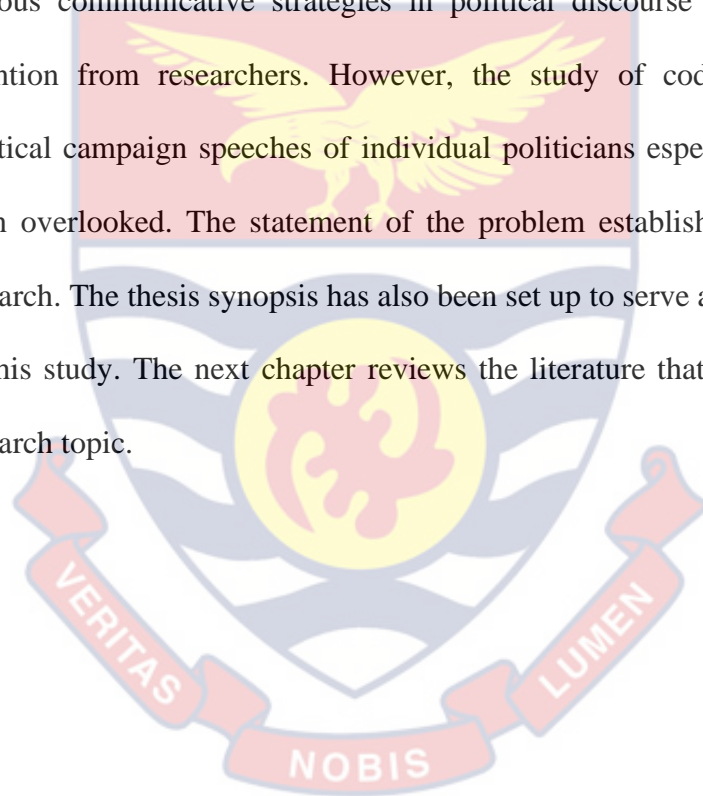
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to previous studies that provide useful contributions to the present study. The review begins with a discussion on some key sociolinguistic concepts such as bi/multilingualism, and code-switching. It continues by presenting some related literature on political discourse and further discusses the theoretical framework of the problem under study. The chapter further discusses some related empirical studies based on geographic and thematic lines as well as the relationship between the present study and previous ones.

Conceptual Review

The conceptual review section of this chapter discusses the various concepts underlying the study to provide a basis for the ensuing analysis as well as a context for interpreting the findings. The concepts include bi/multilingualism, code-switching and political discourse. I begin with Bi/multilingualism.

The Concept of Bi/Multilingualism

Bilingualism has never been more important than in today's society. Populations all over the world reflect, at least, diverse ethnic groups and it is the presence of a varied first language in addition to a non-native language (for the purpose of this study, English language) that bring about bi/multilingualism. Bilingualism, though a common concept, has however proven to be a challenging task to define. Some studies (e.g. Grosjean, 1982; Hoffman, 1991) have proposed various definitions for this linguistic

11

phenomenon which raises some classificatory, methodological and/or theoretical difficulties.

Bloomfield (1933, p. 56) believes that bilingualism is the "native-like control over two languages". The 'native-like' control, as indicated by Bloomfield, implies that the language user(s) should have learned to speak a particular language as part of their childhood development. Thus, Bloomfield's definition of bilingualism imposes on the language user strict requirement of a high degree of proficiency in both languages in use. Similarly, Olaoye (1999), as cited in Edo and Offiong (2015, p. 57), defines bilingualism as "the ability to speak two languages which are spoken with equal competence for all purposes in the life of the bilinguals". Drawing inspiration from both definitions, it is clear that a speaker who has a good command in a second language but whose linguistic competence cannot be classified as "native-like" has, however, not been included. This then, as a matter of urgency, raises the question of what degree of proficiency should an individual possess in order to be considered a bi/multilingual. Following from this, other scholarly definitions of bilingualism that encompass individuals who otherwise would not have been considered bilinguals according to Bloomfield and Olaoye's definitions, emerged.

It is Weinreich (1968, p. 1), a founding father of Bilingual Studies, who offers one of the shortest definitions of bilingualism: "[t]he practice of alternately using two languages and the person involved, bilingual." Haugen (1953, p. 6) also opines that a bilingual should be someone who is capable of producing "complete and meaningful utterances in other languages". It is evident from Weinreich and Haugen's definitions that bilingual individuals

12

need not necessarily possess a high degree of proficiency in other languages other than their first language. Haugen further argues that the speaker should, at least, be able to communicate and make meaningful contributions in the other language(s), other than their first language, with other speakers of the same language. Edo and Offiong (2015) also point out that bilingualism should solely be demonstrated through engaging in prolonged conversation concerning activities of everyday life in more than one language. Thus, according to them, a bilingual individual should be able to converse in both languages with other speakers. Edo and Offiong believe that a bilingual may have an extensive repertoire of vocabulary in both languages involved in an interactive event however he and/or she may not possess a perfect control of the rules of grammar of the second language. Li (2008, p. 4) could not have expressed his sentiment any better as he also adds that a bilingual is "anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)". Though Li's definition pays attention to the language skills, it however pays no attention to the proficiency level of the speaker(s) in either the first and or second language. It is Mackey (1962, p. 51) who draws attention to the definition of bilingualism as "not only to include speakers of two but an unlimited number of languages". Finally, Grosjean (1982), as cited in Ahlijah (2017), further expands the concept of bilingualism to include speakers of different variations of the same language. Thus, speakers of two or more variants of a language can be termed bilinguals. Following the above definitions, the "native-like" control of two languages, as opined by Bloomfield, is in sharp contrast with the later definitions by some scholars. In view of this, this particular study

13

adopts bilingualism to mean speakers of two or more languages or two or more variants of the same language.

Adeniran (1987), as cited in Fatokun (2000), explains the different types of bilingualism that may exist in any bilingual society. According to Fatokun, the occasion or environment of the interactants is a possible condition for producing different types of bilingualism. He asserts that bilingualism can be put into four classifications:

    i.   Coordinate versus compound bilinguals

    ii.   Oral versus literate bilinguals

    iii.   Elitist versus mass or folk bilinguals and

    iv.   Genuine versus pseudo bilinguals.

The coordinate-compound bilingualism, according to Fatokun, occurs as a result of the learning of two languages in one and/or the same environment. Coordinate-compound bilingual individuals bring together the system of languages by identifying corresponding items of the two languages with the same referent. Also, with the Oral Bilingualism, the bilingual individual speaks two languages but has no literary skill in one or both languages, whereas a literate bilingual does not only speak both languages but also reads and writes in the two languages. Again, Elitist Bilingualism involves identifying and selecting some individuals who are specially trained for a purpose, and are always deployed to where their skills and experience are needed whereas Mass or Folk Bilingualism occurs due to the contact of ethnic groups who have to become bilinguals involuntarily in order to survive; they do not have a choice as they have to learn the language of the setting where they live. Lastly, it is the genuine versus pseudo bilinguals that is of interest to

14

this particular study. Both the genuine and pseudo types of bilingualism are said to be based on the performance exhibited by the speaker. Thus, in this study, the attention is on how well the bilingual individual can speak in an interactive event, taking into consideration the bilingual's level of fluency in the languages in use. The genuine bilingual individual has sufficient facility of language(s) in use which on demand bring about adequacy and fluency in both the first and second languages while the pseudo bilingual individual, on the other hand, has limited knowledge and fluency in his second language. The pseudo bilinguals, however, cannot use their second language efficiently in communication.

Following from the discussion presented thus far, the concept of bi/multilingualism has been to be put under the same umbrella, though some studies prefer the use of the term 'plurilingualism' (Myers-Scotton, 2005) for multilingualism. A speaker's use of two languages or dialects can be either 'native-like' (genuine bilinguals) or can have a high degree of proficiency in the mother tongue and some significant amount of competence in the second language or dialect (pseudo bilingual). From the concept of bi/multilingualism, another linguistic phenomenon came into being, a phenomenon which, up to this present time remains controversial, that is, code-switching. Concerning the definition of the concept of bilingualism, it is important to say that the term bilingualism has "open-ended semantics" (Beardsmore, 1986 as cited in Ahlijah, 2017, p. 1).

Bi/multilingualism in Ghana

Ghana has a total landmass of about 238,305 kilometers (92,660sq. miles) and a population of about 28.83 million in 2017 (Ghana Statistical

15

Service, 2012). Ghana, though small in terms of landmass, is made up of numerous and divergent ethnic groups and languages. However, one issue of contention among scholars is the number of Ghanaian languages spoken (Owu-Ewie, 2019). Although most African countries, including Ghana, are officially represented by just one language, they are in fact highly multilingual (Amfo & Anderson, 2019; Ansah, 2014). Chachu (2013, p. 81) expresses his view:

> Africa is one of the continents where bilingualism is as natural to the people as eating and drinking. With a heritage of colonialism, where African countries often adopted the languages of the colonizing countries to function side by side with the many languages already existing on their territories, urban Africa can be described as the hotspot of bilingualism par excellence.

Brobbey (2015, p. 18) re-echoes the words of Chachu: "[m]ultilingualism is a gift, a resource. No one knows this better than Africans do". According to Brobbey, Sub-Saharan Africans, specifically West Africans, live in a social environment in which more than one linguistic code is spoken. It comes as no surprise that in almost every African society there exist multiple languages or varieties of a language, which serve different but specific purposes to speakers in these speech communities.

The language situation in Ghana really encourages bi/multilingualism. This is evident from the fact that English which has attained an official status in the country and some nine local languages namely Akan, Ewe, Dagaare, Dangbe, Ga, Gonja, Dagbane, Kasem and Nzema have been included in both

16

the primary and high school curricula for instructional purposes in Ghana (Ansah, 2014; Owu-Ewie, 2006; Yevudey, 2013). These nine government-sponsored Ghanaian languages (Owu-Ewie, 2006) are as well studied as undergraduate and graduate courses in higher institutions. For instance, some universities in Ghana (the University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast and the University of Ghana, Legon) offer up to a graduate degree program in Akan (Twi and or Fante), Ga and Ewe. The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) also offers undergraduate course in Akan whereas the University of Education, Winneba (Ajumako campus) offers undergraduate courses in almost all the nine government-sponsored Ghanaian languages. That notwithstanding, the study of foreign languages such as English, Spanish, Russian and French have not been left out either. For example, the Ghana Institute of Languages was established as far back as 1961 to enhance the linguistic competence in modern languages of Foreign Service personnel and civil servants. Today, the Institute has been placed under the Ministry of Education, providing quality education to a countless number of students, teaching languages such as English, French. Spanish, Portuguese, German, Arabic and Russian. Also, there are quite a number of universities in Ghana that create opportunities for Ghanaian students to offer English and/or French languages up to the doctorate level. It is, however, not surprising that a fraction of Ghana's population speaks French as a second language and this could be attributed to the geographical location of the country. Ghana shares border with three French-speaking countries: Togo to the east, Côte d'Ivoire to the west, and Burkina Faso to the north. Arabic, a Middle Eastern language, is

17

also taught in some tertiary as well as some Islamic institutions in Ghana. It is also used during religious proceedings in mosques in Ghana.

Ghana's linguistic composition is undeniably quite complex. Despite the country's high degree of linguistic heterogeneity (Obeng, 1997), there still exist monolingual individuals. They only possess linguistic competence in their native languages and may not have learnt any other local language or dialect. There are also some uneducated Ghanaians who can speak two native languages and/or dialects. The first is the mother tongue which usually is spoken with fluency and the second, another indigenous language or dialect, which may or may not be spoken with the same fluency like the first (mother tongue). For instance, due to the cosmopolitan nature of Accra, Ghana's capital city, many Gas can speak Akan since Akan has become the local language of trade and the lingua franca. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that there exist many Ga/Twi bilinguals in Accra. However, most educated Ghanaians can speak both English and their first languages. For example, there are Akan/English, Ewe/English, and Ga/English bilinguals. It is Forson's (1979) work that establishes that the Akan-English bilingual speaker is equipped with three tongues; Akan, English and Akan-English code-switching, also known as, mixed-Akan-English. Forson further explains that these languages complement one another in offering the bilingual individual three distinct language choices for separate categories of language use. There are, however, some Ghanaians who can speak three to five languages such as Ga/Twi/English and others can speak Ga/Twi/Ewe/English and this may be partly as a result of the coming together of various and/or different ethnic regions and/or inter-ethnic marriages. Educated bilingual speakers most often

18

switch English with other indigenous languages when communicating in an informal situation. In a situation where the speakers involved in the interactive event have no common native language, the speakers are compelled to use English as lingua franca when the participants are both educated. There is, therefore, no denying the fact that English can be considered the language of the educated as well as a unifier in Ghana.

To sum up, it is obvious that a description of the linguistic situation in Ghana cannot be anything else but bi/multilingual with varied local languages. Ghana has a high degree of linguistic heterogeneity (Obeng, 1997) and thus almost all Ghanaian English speakers are bi/multilinguals of some sort with, at least, one local language in addition to English (Dako & Quarcoo, 2017).

The Concept of Code-Switching

As humans come into contact with each other for reasons such as trade, education, religion, and migration, the tendency to learn other language(s) to be able to communicate among themselves cannot be underestimated. Gumperz (2009, p. 42) says, "although not all communication is linguistic, language is by far the most powerful and versatile medium of communication; all known human groups possess language". By this, individuals become bi/multilinguals and thus, code-switching when speaking becomes a norm rather than an exception.

The concept "code-switching" was first coined by Hans Vogt in 1954 (Álvarez Cáccamo, 1998). It was introduced in the field of linguistics as a form of bilingual behaviour. However, the most pioneering and substantial work on code-switching was first initiated by Gumperz (1976, 1982). Later, it appeared in Álvarez Cáccamo, (1990, 1998), Myers-Scotton (1993), Poplack

(2001) and Romaine (1995) among others. Blom and Gumperz coined the term "code-switching" to refer to "a general pattern in a speech community of switching between two or more available languages or dialects with respect to certain extralinguistic factors" (Kementchedjieva, 2016, p. 3). This obviously shows that code-switching is noticeable in instances where speakers in some speech communities speak two or more languages or dialects. It is Kasperczyk (2005) who opines that code-switching is the swinging between two codes, both of which are either languages or dialects, among people who share those particular codes. Also, Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 4) says, it is "the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people". Thus, the switched linguistic codes bring the two languages or dialects into one linguistic 'melting-pot' (Asilevi, 2011), whereby, both codes are used by interactants in bringing out the desired thoughts and ideas.

     Following from the definitions given by these scholars on what code-switching refers to, other definitions by some other scholars seem to have excluded speakers of dialects who switch from one dialect to another in the same conversational event. For example, Jamshidi and Navehebraim (2013) are of the view that code-switching is an instance of alternating two languages in a single discourse or sentence. Yevudey (2017, p. 23) says code-switching refers to "the concurrent use of two or more languages within the same interactive event". Finally, Baker and Jones (2012, p. 58) support the view expressed by Yevudey as they define code-switching as "changing languages within a single conversation". For a workable definition for this study, code-switching, therefore, has been used to refer to the alternation between two or more linguistic codes (either language or dialect) in an interactive event.

The term "code-switching" has for many years suffered terminological confusion throughout various scholarly works. Other terms have been used to refer to this phenomenon or to certain aspects of it. Some scholars (e.g., Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Poplack, 2001; Romaine, 1999) refer to this linguistic phenomenon as code or language alternation, code-mixing, emblematic switching, intimate switching, inter-sentential switching, insertion or congruent lexicalisation and even to an extent where some other scholars (e.g. Berthold, Mangubhai & Batorowicz, 1997; Muysken, 1990; Treffers-Daller, 1991) refer to borrowing and interference as code-switching. Even though these concepts involve the swinging between two or more languages in a conversational event, they somehow vary in their theoretical orientations. It is worth mentioning that this study does not seek to delve more into the controversies that surround the distinctions between these concepts, however, a working understanding of the concepts become necessary to be able to identify instances of code-switching.

Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish code-switching from another language contact phenomenon, code-mixing. The former "entails the ability to switch from code A to code B" (Kachru, 1978, pp. 107-108). It usually occurs at the inter-sentential level, whereas the latter "entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another" and occurs at the intra-sentential level (Kachru, 1978, pp. 107-108). Additionally, Wei (1998) considers code-switching as involving the alternation between higher level constituents such as sentences and clauses whereas code-mixing involves the alternations between lower-level constituents such as words and phrases. McCormick (1995, p. 194) re-echoes Kachru and Wei's sentiments as he defines "code-

21

switching as the alternation of elements longer than one word while code-mixing involves shorter elements, often just single words". The definitions given by Kachru (1978), Wei (1998), and McCormick (1995) on code-mixing seem to refer to intra-sentential code-switching whereas those of code-switching seem to refer to inter-sentential code-switching.

However, other scholars (see, for example, Kasperczyk, 2005; Wardhaugh, 1998) hold a different view on the term code-switching to mean, any switch from one code to another in the same interactive event. To support this view, Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 24) says "code-switching is the alternation of linguistic varieties within the same conversation". She, therefore, uses code-switching as an umbrella term for both code-switching and code-mixing. I adopt the position taken by Myers-Scotton (1993) that recognizes code-switching as the alternation of linguistic varieties within the same conversational event. Code-switching, as used in this study, is therefore used as an umbrella term for tag switching, inter-sentential code-switching, intra-word and intra-sentential elements which Kachru (1978) refers to as 'code-mixing'. Undoubtedly, the difficulty in defining the concept of code-switching arises from the numerous established parameters of the term due to extensive research (e.g., Auer & Eastman, 2010; Gumperz, 1982).

From the foregoing discussion, researchers disagree on what the term code-switching entails. However, their definitions do, at least, converge on one point: code-switching is a linguistic contact phenomenon and that interactants engaged in the interaction alternate between linguistic codes for several reasons.

Types of Code-switching

Code-switching, as a language contact phenomenon, has suffered terminological confusion throughout various scholarly works and its types have not been spared either. Some studies (e.g., Myers-Scotton, 1993; Poplack, 2001; Yevudey, 2017) group code-switching based on its structural characteristics namely; tag switching, intra word, inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching while some other studies (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Holmes, 2001; Romaine, 1999; Stockwell, 2002; Wardhaugh, 1998) centre on the reasons for switching. Thus**,** the situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching. Scholars (see, for example, Weinreich, 1953) who classified code-switching based on reasons claim that some cases of switching occur because of the changes in conversational situations such as setting, topic and participants. Weinreich supports this view as he says that code-switching occurs in situations where the ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics etc.), but not in an unchanged situation and certainly not within a single sentence.

Several researches (Garretts, 1975; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Poplack, 2001; Romaine, 1995) as I have mentioned earlier seem to have rendered Weinreich and other proponents of this assertion invalid. Myers-Scotton (1993) distinguishes between two types of code-switching namely; inter-sentential code-switching and intra-sentential code-switching. Poplack (2001) identifies an additional code-switching type to the two already mentioned by Myers-Scotton. That, she refers to as tag-switching.

23

a. Inter-sentential switching   b. 'tag'-switching   c. Intra-sentential switching
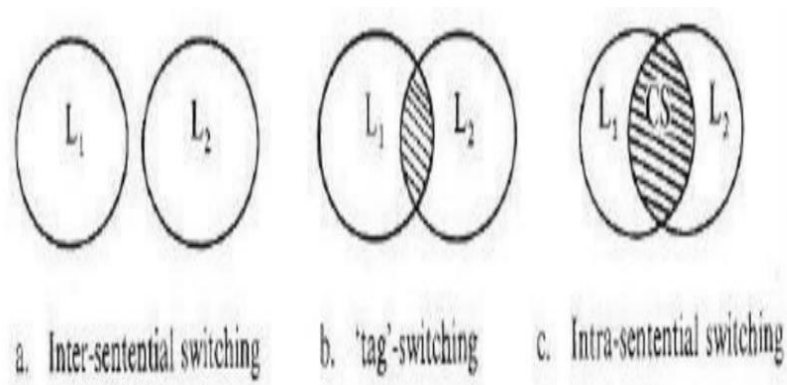
Figure 1: The types of code-switching and the degree of switching in them Poplack (1980, p. 615).

Figure 1 indicates the three types of code-switching outlined by Poplack. According to Poplack (1980, p. 615), tag switching "requires least bilingual proficiency and minimal knowledge in L2". She further stated that "inter-sentential switching requires more knowledge in L2 whereas intra-sentential switching requires a high-level bilingual proficiency because the speaker needs to know enough of the grammar of both L1 and L2 in order to be able to produce grammatically correct utterances." (Poplack, 1980, p. 605).

Fishman (1967) re-echoes the words of Myers-Scotton and Poplack as he says that code-switching can basically occur at the micro-level where the switch occurs within a single speech event, often in the spoken contribution of a single participant. It occurs between sentences (inter-sentential), within sentences (intra-sentential), and even within words (intra word). Even though Poplack's work affirmed that unlike tag switching, inter-sentential and intra sentential code-switching are of equal use, Romaine (1995, p. 123) pointed out, "all the three types of switching can be encountered within one discourse" but should be seen to perform different functions. Following the discussion

24

made thus far, this study adopts the three types of code-switching; the inter-sentential code-switching, the intra-sentential code-switching, and tag switching (Poplack, 2001) in order to analyse the types of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

i.   Inter-sentential code-switching

Inter-sentential code-switching is characterized by an alternation within a single discourse between two linguistic codes, where the switching occurs after a sentence in one code has been completed and the next sentence starts with a new language (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Thus, the speaker renders fully in one linguistic code and the next in another code in the course of the same speech situation and/or topic. Poplack (1980, p. 605) in her view indicated that "inter-sentential switching requires more knowledge in L2" and thus, according to her, the switches demand the complete and meaningful use of sentences or clauses with the use of the two languages or dialects involved in the interactive event. This is clearly illustrated in Fig.2 below using two languages, Songhay and French.
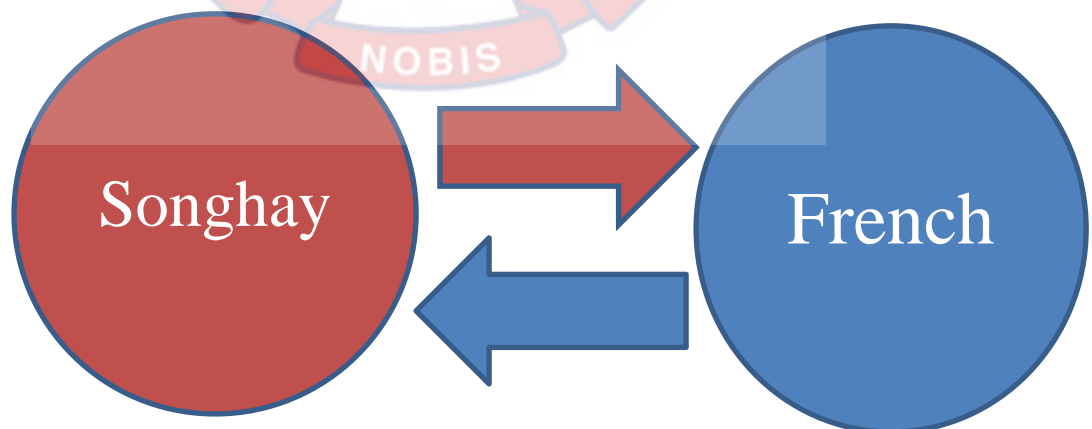
Figure 2: Inter-sentential Songhay-French code-switching (Abdoulaye, 2013, p. 77)

Figure 2, as illustrated above, represents the inter-sentential type of code-switching of Songhay speakers of French. The circles involved in the switch, as can be seen from Figure 2, are of equal sizes. The two equal circles indicate that the two languages involved in code-switching fit the "equivalence constraint" of Poplack (1980). The circles run parallel to each other, clearly showing that the two languages involved in the switching are parallel constructions. The opposing direction of the two parallel arrows also clearly indicates that inter-sentential code-switching is bidirectional. On the basis of this parallel construction of two different codes, it can also be stated that the production of inter-sentential code-switching constructions by bilingual speakers requires the linguistic and communicative competence in both languages involved in the communicative event. Consider the examples below.

Example 1

Elijah bɔɔ Onyankopon din ma ogya behyee Baal abosom no. **This is the God we worship**. Yen Nyame a yesom no no yennto no mu nhye dan mu. **You see, our God, we cannot lock him up.**

(Elijah called the name of God Almighty and fire came down to burn Baal gods. **This is the God we worship.** Our God we serve, we won't lock him up. **You see, our God, we cannot lock him up**).

(Mensah, 2015)

Example 2

Mennim nea menka mpo. **What will be his reaction to this**?

'I don't know what to even say. **What will be his reaction to this?**'

(Asilevi, 2011)

26

Example 3

A ƒetↄ, gbↄdzi ɖe anyi. **Why are you so tense**?

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

(Alhijah, 2017)

  ii. Intra-sentential code-switching

   Intra-sentential code-switching, unlike inter-sentential code-switching, occurs within a sentence but does not violate the grammar of either of the languages involved. Thus, in intra-sentential switch, there is a change from one linguistic code to another within the same sentence. Poplack (1980) refers to this type of code-switch as a more 'intimate' type of switch because the code-switched segments and the other words around it must obey the underlying syntactic rules that govern the two languages involved. She further indicates that the "intra-sentential switching requires a high-level bilingual proficiency because the speaker needs to know enough of the grammar of both the L1 and L2 in order to be able to produce grammatically correct utterances." (Poplack, 1980, p. 605). This is clearly shown in Figures 3a and 3b using two languages, Akan and English.
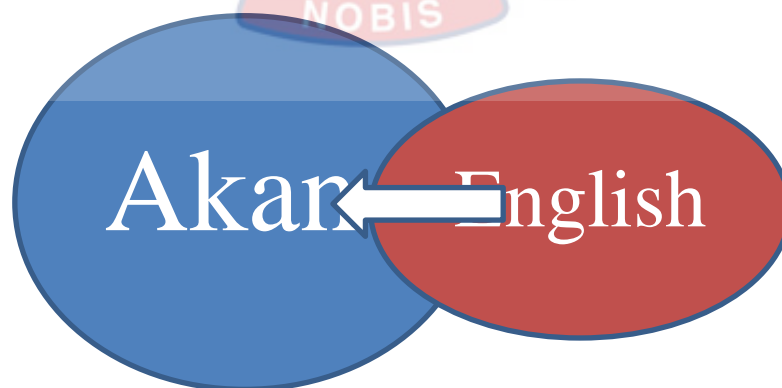
Figure 3a: Intra-sentential Akan-English code-switching (Abdoulaye, 2013, p. 78).

27
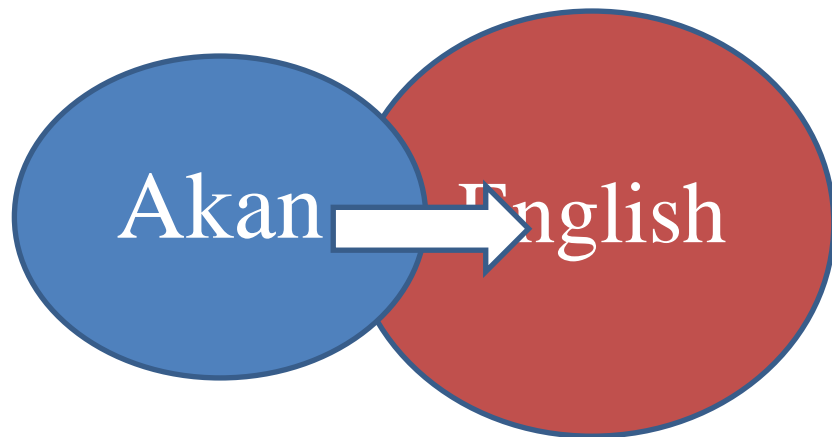
Figure 3b: (Reverse direction) Intra-sentential Akan-English code-switching (Abdoulaye, 2013, p. 78).

Both Figures 3a and 3b, adapted from Abdoulaye (2013) and modified using Akan-English codes, constitute the intra-sentential code-switching type of Ghanaian bilingual speakers of English whose primary or first language is Akan. It is evident from Figures 3a and 3b that the two languages involved in code-switching have been represented in two unequal sizes. The larger and dominant circles in both figures (3a and 3b) indicate the matrix language. The smaller ones, however, indicate the embedded language that provides the inserted words. Figures 3a and 3b represent the intra-sentential Akan-English code-switching. However, Figure 3b represents the reverse direction of the intra-sentential type of code-switching of Ghanaian bilingual speakers of English and Akan. Figures 3a (intra-sentential) and 3b (reverse direction) fit the "Matrix Language Frame Model" of Myers-Scotton (1993a, b). The "Matrix Language Frame Model" clearly indicates that one language acts as the dominant language or matrix language and the other as subordinate or the embedded language. The direction of the arrow in Figure 3a indicates that words from English are inserted in an Akan linguistic code whereas the direction of the arrow in Figure 3b indicates that the switching is taking place

28

in English. Both code-switching in Figures 3a and 3b can be said to be unidirectional. Consider the examples below:

Example 4

Me **mind** mo

'I will not mind you'.

Example 5

I just told you sɛ yɛwɔ **different varieties of English**.

'I just told you that we have different varieties of English'.

Example 6

Oral literature ɛnhwɛ **poems** nko ara **but**…

'Oral literature does not focus on poems only but ….'

Example 7

ɛyɛ **very** **sad**

'It's very sad'.

(Adjei & Ewusi-Mensah, 2019)

iii.   Tag switching

Tag switching involves inserting a tag or short phrase (e.g., you know, I mean, right?) in one language; say language A into a sentence that is otherwise entirely in another language, say language B (Romaine, 1989, p.112). To Stockwell (2002), tag switching occurs when a stock element in one language (often interlocutory) is joined to an utterance in another language. Some studies (e.g., Abdoulaye, 2013; Boztepe, 2005; Myers-Scotton, 1993), however, group tag switching with intra-sentential code-switching because both seem to involve inserting words from one language

29

into another. Though they share some similarities, there still exist some clear differences between them. The major difference lies in the fact that, in tag switching, unlike intra-sentential switching, the insertions when omitted from the sentence and/or utterance would still remain grammatical and the message well understood by the listener in the conversational event.

With tag switching, the tag can be inserted almost anywhere in the utterance without it going against the syntactic rules of either language A or B (Poplack, 1980). Holmes (2001) believes that tag switches are primarily made for social reasons which could be to signal the speaker's ethnic identity and solidarity with the addressee. Holmes further argues that tag switches do not add anything to the conversational content but only creates solidarity between the interactants involved in a conversational discourse. Tag switching, according to Holmes, can be used even in situations where the speaker is not even a bilingual. Poplack (1980, p. 605) supports Holmes' view as she says that tag-switching "requires least bilingual proficiency and minimal knowledge in L2".
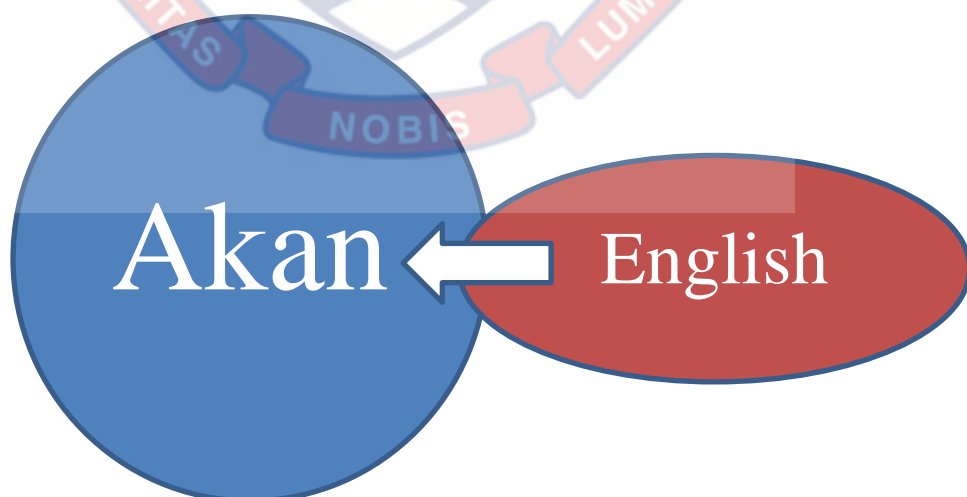
Figure 4.a.: Tag switching in Akan-English code-switching (Abdoulaye, 2013, p. 78)
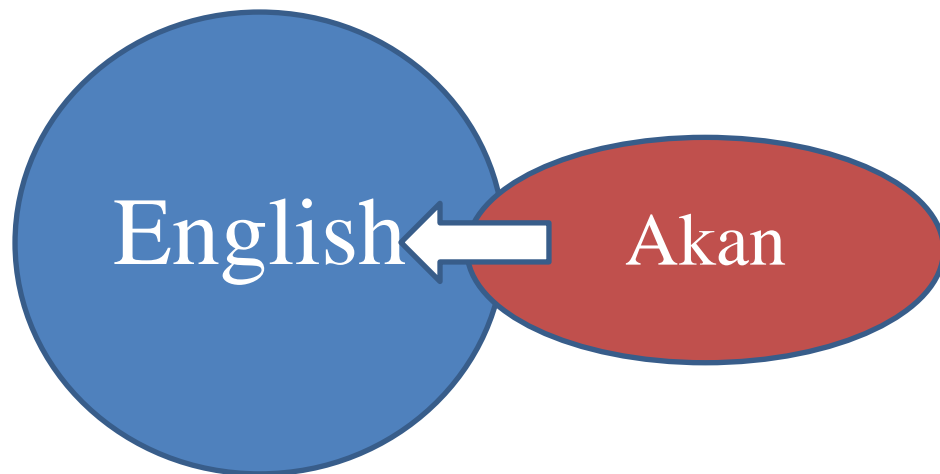
Figure 4.b.: (Reversed direction) Tag switching in Akan-English code-switching (Abdoulaye, 2013, p. 77)

Figure 4a represents the tag switching of Ghanaian bilingual speakers of English whose first language is Akan. It is, however, evident from Figure 4.a. that with tag switching the languages involved in the code-switching are of unequal sizes. The larger and dominant circle clearly shows the base language or matrix language. The smaller one, however, indicates the embedded language that provides the inserted words but not as much as that of the intra-sentential code-switching. There could be a reverse form of Figure 4.a., thus 4.b., that also allows English, in this case, to be the matrix language and the embedded language, Akan. It should be noted that tag switching mostly requires the insertion of tags and certain phrases in one language into an utterance which is otherwise in another language.

Example 8

It was like that, ke ene?

'It was like that, not so?'

It was like that,   ke ene?

English   Mmewhu

This is a combination of English and Mmewhu (of Ukpet-Ehom Cluster) in tag-switching.

(Ugot, 2009)

Example 9

Se yɛhwɛ mmarima ne yɛn asoreba a ennyɛ koraa. **In fact**, yedi fɔ bebree…

'if we look at men and our church going, it is not good at all. **In fact**, we are at fault…'

(Mensah, 2015)

When and why does Code-switching Occur?

Code-switching occurs in societies where bi/multilingual individuals exist (Cook, 2008). Cook presents some of the basic reasons for code-switching among bi/multilinguals. To Cook (2008), bilinguals code-switch in order to report what another person said (in the language that the other person used). For example, politics, governance and democratic principles seem alien to most African cultures and so need to be stated by the speaker as it is; the status quo. Again, speakers switch codes to highlight certain information or to choose between the languages or dialects that which is more appropriate to use when speaking about certain topics. Another reason is that the linguistic code adopted for communication is also be a means through which the speaker can show his or her social role (Cook, 2008), or a way of showing membership and solidarity to a group (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Also, speakers switch codes as a means of showing off. Finally, code-switching can be done by a speaker when the bilingual speaker is weaker in one of the languages and switches to the stronger language to add colour or emphasize certain things

32

that have been said (Valdés-Fallis, 1987). However, it is somehow incorrect to assume that code-switches are mostly due to incomplete or weaker knowledge of one of the linguistic codes. It could be, in some cases, that the speaker might be momentarily unable to access a term for a concept in the particular language in use but can easily access it in another code at that moment to ensure that effective communication takes place.

Saville-Troike (1986) confirms the views shared by Cook as she also gives three basic reasons why she believes the bilingual and/or multilingual speakers do switch linguistic codes. According to her, bi/multilingual speakers switch codes for reasons such as: to fill lexical need, to soften or strengthen request or command, and to exclude other people when a comment is intended for only a limited audience.

Code-switching versus Borrowing

'Code-switching' and 'borrowing' can hardly be distinguished from a theoretical point of view. Eastman (1992), as cited in Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 10) says, "efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed". It comes as no surprise that Auer (2011) refers to borrowing as the ubiquitous instance of convergence which is particularly hard to distinguish from both code-switching and code-mixing. By this, Auer confirms that trying to make the distinction between 'code-switching' and 'borrowing' has proven to be extremely difficult in practice. He, therefore, believes that already established words do not count as code-switching but rather borrowing. To him, borrowed and/or loan words may become established in the long run if they are used repeatedly and eventually passed on from bilingual to monolingual speakers.

33

Some researchers (e.g., Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan, 1990) considers it necessary to distinguish between the two phenomena. Asilevi (2011) is of the view that the term 'borrowing', as used by scholars in sociolinguistics, is not even an appropriate one. The borrowed or loan words, according to him, are not given back at a later stage. Asilevi asserts that the concept of borrowing refers to the situation where a language adopts some linguistic features (either lexical or structural) from another language for use to put across a desired message. Fromkin and Rodman (1978) confirm Asilevi's assertion, as they define borrowing as a process by which one language or dialect takes and incorporates some linguistic elements from another. Myers-Scotton (2006) puts forward some convincing arguments as to why an insertion should be considered code-switch rather than borrowing. First, she argues that code-switching can be clearly distinguished from borrowing in the sense that borrowed words, have morphological inflections that can necessitate an integration into the matrix language. Thus, borrowed words can be changed in order to fit into the base or matrix language. She adds that, should the embedded word(s) be inserted into the matrix language appear in the 'bare form', such 'bare form' provides evidence for code-switching than borrowing (Myers-Scotton, 2006, as cited in Hatos, 2016). Example 10, below, uses an Akan-English sentence for illustration:

Example 10

fa ***bokiti*** no bu nsuo ma me

'take the bucket and fetch water for me'.

34

Here, the word ***bokiti*** has changed its morphology (it has the base from the English word *bucket* with the Akan inflection *-iti*). To Myers-Scotton, this situation does not occur in code-switching, where the linguistic items are and should be used in their original form. I disagree with Myers-Scotton that should the embedded word(s) be inserted into the matrix language appear in the 'bare form', then, such 'bare form' provides evidence for code-switching than borrowing. I believe that there are words which appear in their 'bare forms', such as *aisle*, *affidavit*, *plaza* and *algorithm* yet are considered borrowed and not switched. Second, it is argued (Myers-Scotton, 1988, 1990) that the frequency of use can be a more reliable criterion for determining whether a word is borrowed or code-switched. Myers-Scotton believes that borrowed or loan words might be more consistently used than a switched word. A switched word, according to her, is used alongside the matrix language equivalent. An argument similar to Myers-Scotton's had earlier been made by Pfaff (1979) who argued that we cannot claim that a lexical item is borrowed unless we are able to determine a base language equivalent existed; and if so, whether it is in use and recognizable by the monolingual speakers of the recipient language. Example 11, again, uses an Akan-English sentence for illustration.

Example 11

<div align="center">

fa **<u>pen</u>** no ma me

'take the pen for me'

</div>

Drawing inspiration from Myers-Scotton's explanation, then, in Example 11, the word ***pen*** seems borrowed than switched. The word, though English, forms part of the linguistic repertoire of Akan speakers because of its

frequency of use. I support Myers-Scotton's assertion that the frequency of use of a lexical item in the recipient language indicates that the word has been borrowed. There are some words which may have an equivalent in the recipient language; yet, the equivalent can be far-fetched by speakers. This allows for the use of the word(s) even by monolingual speakers in the other language other than the recipient language. Finally, Myers-Scotton argues that, should the embedded word(s) be pronounced according to the phonology of the embedded language, then, they are clearly instances of code-switches. Thus, she says "most established lexical borrowings are pronounced as words in the recipient language, that is, they show complete or at least partial integration into the recipient language" (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 256 as cited in Hatos, 2016, p. 2). To support this assertion, Valdés-Fallis (1978) is of the view that the embedded word(s) must be used and pronounced as a native speaker of the donor language would use and pronounce them. Therefore, from Example 12 below, the word *pen* is pronounced in the recipient language by a speaker (who speaks Asante-twi) exactly as it is pronounced by a native speaker of English. This is what Myers-Scottton and Valdés-Fallis refer to as code-switching.

Example 12

Meka kyerɛɛ no sɛ ɔmfa **pen** no mma me.

'I told him to give the pen to me'

Hudson (1996) opines that borrowing could be seen as another way of mixing up two different languages. Hudson believes that the concept of code-switching involves mixing languages in an utterance or speech situation while borrowing has to do with mixing the systems themselves. Thus, by mixing the

36

systems, he thinks that an item is borrowed from one language to replace another. For example, English has borrowed greatly from Latin, Greek, German and French. Therefore, words like *café*, *rendezvous* and *kindergarten* can all be traced back to borrowing from these languages. These words have undergone so much integration that it is difficult to associate them with their donor languages. They are in use today like any other English word without any trace of foreign association. It is observed (Quarcoo, 2009) that almost all English verbs that participate in Twi/English code-switching are integrated both morphologically and phonologically into Twi clauses although they may not be considered borrowings. She explains that it is when nouns and other lexical items undergo such changes that they can be considered borrowing. Quarcoo cites some examples in her work such as: *sriba* 'silver' (saucepan), *srikye* 'silk', *bokiti* 'bucket', and *ataade* 'attire'. Such items are now considered indigenous to Akan and are no longer perceived as part of the donor language(s). These words have undergone so much phonotactic integration that it is difficult to associate them with their donor language. In her work, Quarcoo cites an example of her ninety-two-year-old mother who did not believe that *sriba* (saucepan) and *krachi* (clerk) were not originally Akan words.

Political Discourse

Politics is at the heart of all collective social activity, whether formal or informal, and in almost all human groups, institutions and/or societies (Leftwich, 2004). In this sense, politics takes place almost at every level of our social interaction. Thus, politics exist within families, groups, and institutions just as much as it does amongst nations and on the global stage. Politics can be

37

seen as a struggle over scarce resources. The struggle undoubtedly is somehow associated with power. Therefore, politics is, in essence, power; the ability to achieve a desired outcome, through whatever means possible (Lasswell, 1936). To gain power, politicians when engaged in any discourse use language (speech) to be able to reach their targeted audience. Aristotle (as cited in Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), in his *Politics*, draws a connection between man's political nature and the power of speech:

> [B]ut obviously man is a political animal in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech.... Speech serves to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust. For the real difference between man and other animals is that humans alone have the perception of good and evil, just and unjust, etc. It is the sharing of a common view in these matters that makes a household and a state.

Following Aristotle's explanation, he seems to indicate, "man is by nature a political animal" and that politics forms part of man's existence. By this, Aristotle meant that it is only within a political community that human beings can and will be able to live the presumed 'good life' they want. From this viewpoint, politics can then be seen as an ethical activity concerned with creating a 'just society'.

An attempt at giving a precise definition of discourse has remained difficult. This is so because, according to Badran (2002), the term 'discourse' has been used in different contexts and this has diversified its meaning.

Therefore, any definition of discourse depends on the area of meaning the term is made to cover (Appiah, 2015). This may mean that, outside political contexts, the discourse of politicians may and should not be expected to be 'political'. According to Hay (2013), political discourse is different from other types of discourse. Hay believes that in political discourse the individual and party's interest is valued and cherished over everything else, and therefore calculated deceit is a routine practice (Corner, 2003). Political discourse is believed to be a site of struggle for various power groups that engage in a race to gain public support at the cost of smearing their opponents. Therefore, since almost every politician's goal when addressing the electorates is to persuade them to their position, politicians try to develop compelling and convincing arguments (Moody & Eslami, 2020). Political platforms are, therefore, created to address the electorates on social, political, economic and other significant issues. In order to get their messages across to the electorates, political candidates communicate across a wide number of platforms among which include campaign rallies, manifesto launch, debates, television, radio, newspapers, text messages, use of slogans, posters and fliers etc. During this time, politicians all over the world adopt various discourse structures, strategies, and rhetorical moves to present their ideologies and stand against other powerful groups (van Dijk, 2006b).

Wei (2003) also opines, "code-switching in political discourse is an interpersonal strategy that can be used to create, strengthen or destroy interpersonal boundaries, and thus it functions as a discourse strategy for pragmatic and strategic purposes" (Moody & Eslami, 2020, p. 328). Unarguably, politics is concerned with decision-making and as such political

discourse is inherently deliberative; thus, it involves electorates weighing reasons in favour of one or several proposals and reasons against (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013). The strategic use of code-switching by politicians makes electorates feel more comfortable and it reduces alienation. It directly addresses the issue of identity crises among bilingual speakers which can reduce poor understanding of the second language. The use of code-switching by politicians during political campaign speeches in both the foreign language and the local language do not confuse the populace but rather add to their comprehension of the intended message. Figure 5 below gives a visual representation of political discourse and the electorates.
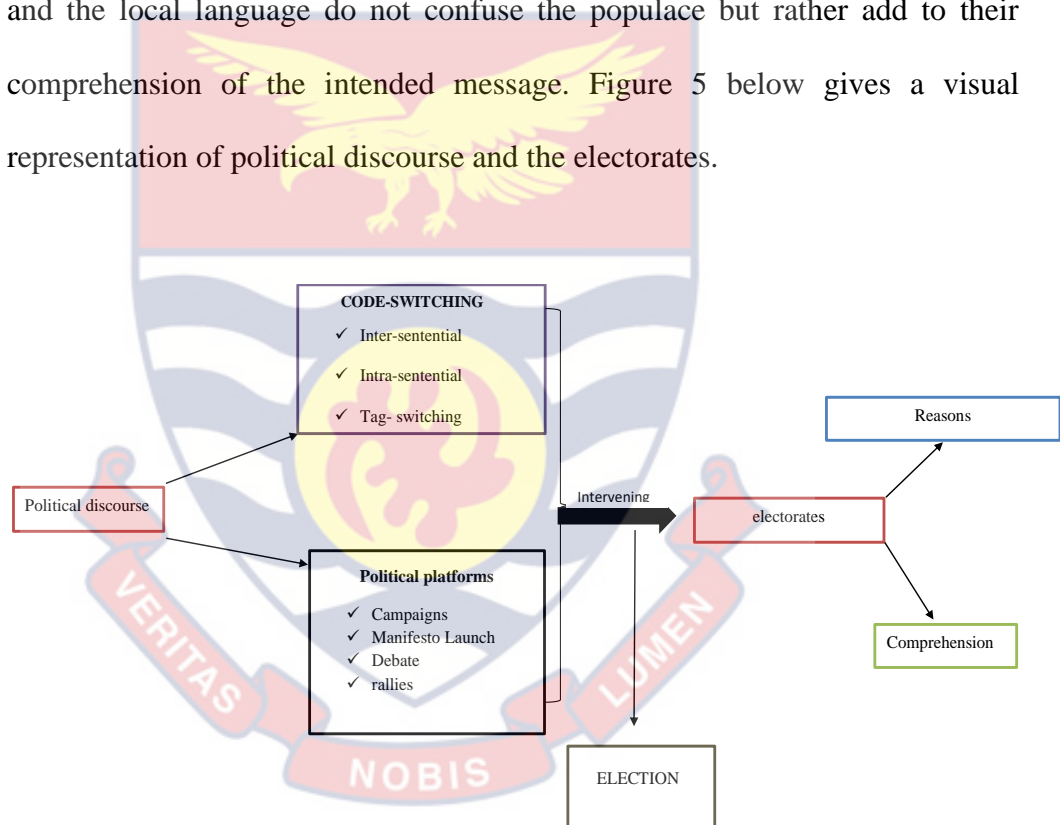
Figure.5: Political discourse and the electorates

(Field survey, 2021)

Figure 5 represents the political environment that occurs during a political campaign. Thus, the politicians, as can be seen from Figure 5 above, engage in political discourse during elections through the use of various political platforms, most notably political campaign rallies organised and

40

employed to reach their targeted audience. During this time, political speakers adopt various communicative strategies such as code-switching to identify themselves with the electorates as well as to help drive their campaign messages home. Politicians by their use of the various linguistic means, strategies and tactics, desire to make their campaign speeches clear and comprehensible for all members of the audience so that the agenda they are seeking to promote is easily understood (Moody & Eslami, 2020). The electorates then reason and comprehend to decide on which political leader to vote for.

Political Campaign Speeches

Political campaign is any planned political activity intended to achieve certain political aims (Edo & Offiong, 2015). Phillips, Roberts and Benjamin (1999) add that, a political campaign is a formal or legal effort to obtain elective or political office. Benoit (2006) further adds that political campaigns are basically speech events that create an opportunity for politicians to communicate the parties' manifestoes to the electorates, to justify their position and thus, castigates operations of their opponents which is very influential in the attainment of their political office. The messages delivered during political campaigns typically heighten electorates' attention to politics in direct relation to the proximity of the event. Concomitantly, campaign activity is more likely to register on voters' minds as the election day draws near. Most democratic states, according to Opeibi (2007), provide opportunities for presidential as well as other political aspirants to use other forms of communicative strategies to promote their own images; neutralise the

41

opposition, persuade the undecided and solicit votes in order to gain the political power they seek.

Language is the means through which politicians carry out their political ambitions. Political activities are non-existent without the systematic manipulation of language to formulate and perpetrate a specific political agenda (Chilton, 2004). Howbeit, political speakers use language as the thrust in their political campaign to strategically persuade the electorates to get them to vote for them to attain the high office of presidency. The whole process of electioneering campaign is to communicate the intents of the political aspirants to the electorates using different persuasive techniques (Opeibi, 2007; Van Dijk 2006b) since the electorates are the political targets of such campaigning discourse to help them decide or commit themselves to a course of action.

Almost all political campaign speeches share, to an extent, some characteristics, regardless of the country the politicians represent or the language it is delivered in (Moody & Eslami, 2020). It is common knowledge that in every democratic state, where position to the high office of presidency lies within the remit of the majority of the citizenry, politicians will resort to several communicative approaches in order to gain political power. For communication to be effective, Qubein (2006) outlines five keys which must be adhered to:

    i.   desire

    ii.   process

    iii.   mastering the basic skills

    iv.   practice

v.   patience

According to Qubein (2006), all political candidates have the desire to communicate. Through political campaigns, the politicians are given an opportunity to highlight their political ambitions to the electorates since such an opportunity is all that politicians seek to be able to deliver their campaign messages to gain the high office. Politicians in order to make their speech clear and comprehensible for all members of the audience so that the agenda they are promoting is easily understood (Davletbaeva et al., 2016). Qubein indicates that the communication process involves production, transmission, and reception of the information or message through a medium. Though technology today has provided politicians with wider channels, such as text messages and social media (Facebook etc.) through which they can send their campaign messages across to their audience, politicians mostly adopt the verbal medium to be able to effectively send their messages across to the electorates. However, factors such as the environment in which the act of communication takes place, the participants' knowledge of the language being used for communication and the participants' ability to decode and or interpret this language as it were intended by the speaker(s) are all vital in effective communication. Also, the third key point, according to Qubein, highlights the three basic skills in every communicative interaction: connecting with the people, conveying messages that people can understand, and checking their responses. Qubein indicates that the essence of communication is purposefully to convey ideas or information to others but not to show off vocabulary and grammatical expertise. The fourth, Practice, indicates that effective communication should be seen as a learned behaviour. The techniques

43

involved in effective communication have to become part of speakers' daily activity. The final key is what Qubein refers to as Patience. Nobody becomes a polished, professional, and excellent communicator on first try. To Qubein, it takes patience.

For any effective communication to take place, and for the electorates to clearly understand the messages put across by political speakers, the five principles of communication outlined by Qubein must be present. However, it is noticed that apart from desire and sometimes the process, most politicians do not possess the other three elements of communication. At any political campaign rally, a politician will have the desire (i.e., what the politician went there for in the first place) and the knowledge of basic process, but may lack skills, practice and patience to deliver his speech to the understanding of the electorates.

Theoretical Framework

This present research adopts Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model and Gumperz' (1982) Conversational Analysis as a theoretical framework. The focus of the next two sections of this chapter is on the discussion of these theories.

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model

The Markedness Model is considered for this study as useful in analysing the speakers' socio-psychological motivation when code-switching in political campaign speeches (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The Markedness Model is presented by Myers-Scotton through her writings in 1983, 1993, 1997, 1998 and 2006. Myers-Scotton (1998) opines that in every speech community exists multiple languages. According to her, no speech community is without at least

44

two or more languages or dialects. The various languages and dialects are undeniably associated with different social groups or contexts. Myers-Scotton further argues that despite the multiple languages that exist in almost every speech community, not every member of the community has complete command of all the different languages or varieties of language(s) in the community's linguistic repertoire. Again, even though some speakers in a given speech community may have some command in more than a language or dialect, not every member has the ability to use the varieties of language(s) with the same frequency. Myers-Scotton, however, assumes that interactants involved in an interactive event must share, at least to some extent, an understanding of the social meanings of each available code. Thus, she believes that if no such norms existed, interlocutors engaged in an interactive event will have no basis for understanding the significance of a particular code choice.

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model advances based on the concept of 'markedness' where speakers in a given speech community or interactive event are aware of the rights-and-obligation sets that underpin the use of languages (Myers-Scotton 1983, 1993). By rights-and-obligations sets, Myers-Scotton meant that each language used by speakers in a given speech community or an interactive event is associated with particular social roles. Thus, these rights-and-obligation sets are social codes that are shared among interlocutors in a given interaction. Therefore, being aware of the right-and-obligation sets in an interactive event or speech community enable the speakers to make linguistic choices that could enhance effective communication. Thus, Myers-Scotton confirms this assertion as she indicates

45

"choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligation which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 113).

The maxims of the Markedness Model; the unmarked code choice, the marked code choice, and the exploratory code choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993a) are employed as a theoretical construct to explain the social and psychological motivation for making one code choice rather than another. The maxims are explained below:

i.   Unmarked code choice

The unmarked code choice maxim is the keystone of the three maxims. Code choices are labeled as unmarked when they constitute the predicted or expected behaviour, given the context. Thus, the unmarked code choice negotiates the unmarked rights and obligations set for that context. It depends heavily on the communicative competence of every member as well as their experiences in the communities to which they belong. In some sense, the unmarked code choice can be said to maintain the community's status quo (Myers-Scotton, 1998) and, therefore, could be described as safer as it conveys no surprises. Generally speaking, speakers often (though not always) adopt this code choice in their interactive events since the unmarked code choices are more or less expected, given the ingredients (e.g., the topic, the participants, setting etc.) of the interaction. Therefore, speakers tend to unconsciously assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices and make their decisions. Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 114) states, "[m]ake your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set".

46

ii.   Marked code choice

Code choices are labeled as marked when they can be seen as negotiations to invoke a rights-and-obligations set other than the unmarked one for the context. The marked code choices are "those that are not predicted … generally speaking, a marked choice is a negotiation about the speaker's person (who the speaker is) and the speaker's relation to other participants" (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 159-160). Therefore, making a marked choice could be seen as a negotiation of either solidarity or power dimension (or both). The marked code choice maxim directs the speaker-hearer to use the input of their experiences in daily interactions in the community and the markedness metric as a cognitive device to arrive at what ought to be termed as markedness. The marked code choice maxim directs the speaker to, "Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speakers and addressee for the current exchange" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 131).

iii.   Exploratory code choice

The maxim states, "When an unmarked choice is not clear, use code-switching to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favor" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 142). The exploratory choice occurs when the speakers themselves are unsure of the expected rights-and-obligation set. Thus, it is not straightforward as interlocutors in an interactive event may not be sure of the appropriate language(s) needed to achieve their goals. However, according to Myers-Scotton, this code choice is the least common type of the code choices, not often needed, as the unmarked choice is usually clear.

47

Throughout the process of negotiating identities, the speaker-hearer is in a continuous process of judging which code choices are unmarked and marked, given the context or situational factors. Myers-Scotton (1993), however, did not mention emphatically what those situational factors are since relevant situational factors may vary from community to community and even from interaction type within the same community. For instance, the Congress (the legislative branch) in the United States of America uses English as an unmarked code choice during their sittings. Also, as Ghana's official language is English, the unmarked code choice in the corporate world, offices, schools and parliamentary sittings is expected to be English. What will be considered as marked will be for the Speaker of Ghana's parliament during a parliamentary sitting to address the members of the House, say, in Akan (e.g., Asante-Twi).

Gumperz's Conversational Analysis

Studies into code-switching in Sociolinguistics often dates back from Blom and Gumperz (1972). In their work, Blom and Gumperz, concentrated on switches between dialects of the same language (Norwegian) but not language varieties. Later, their preference for studying code-switching between languages rather than dialects made their data more accessible since the utterances contributed by interactants were generally more easily distinguished. Also, it was their presentation of code-switching as a skilled performance that ran contrary to earlier considerations of code-switching as part of the speech performance of imperfect bilinguals. This research, substantially, influenced subsequent studies.

48

Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced two types of code-switching: situational and metaphorical code-swiching. However, Gumperz's (1982) work seems to have recognized the imperfection in his description of code-switching in his earlier study, as either situational or metaphorical instead, he introduced the term, 'Conversational code-switching'. Conversational code-switching is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59). By this definition, Gumperz means two varieties of languages are employed in the formation of sentences or utterances, such that one sentence or utterance is followed by the other within the same speech event. He, however, mentions that the two different varieties could sometimes occur within a sentence. The participants engaged in the interaction usually are unconscious of which linguistic code is in use at a given time. Thus, in the words of Gumperz, he says, "selection among linguistic alternants is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61).

Gumperz (1982, p. 66) puts forward two varieties involved in code-switching: the 'we' and 'they' codes. He explains 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 is linked to the majority language associated with the "more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations". Gumperz (1982, pp. 75-81) further discusses some conversational uses of code-switching to include: 1) for *quotations*: speakers switch codes to directly quote someone or for reported speeches; 2) for *addressee specification*: a speaker switches from one code to another when he is directing the message to a particular person out of several possible addressees;

49

3) for *interjections*: code-switching is often used to mark interjections and sentence fillers like 'you know', and 'yeah'; 4) for *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 presenting what was earlier said in a modified form; 5) for *message qualification*: code-switching is used to qualify constructions like sentences and verb complements as well as predicates that follow a copular; and 6) for marking *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 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 code-switching (Gumperz, 1982).

Justification for Combining the Markedness Model and Conversational Analysis

The Markedness Model and Conversational Analysis were both employed to establish a detailed understanding of code-switching in political campaign speeches. It is worthy of note that there is a considerable difference in both theories in terms of the sets of assumptions and principles each follows. Cashman (2008), in her view, posits that the Conversational Analysis mainly ignores the social context and gives much attention to the sequential context. Thus, the Conversational Analysis highlights the motivations that occur in turn for each code-switching event. Conversely, the Markedness Model gives attention to socially determined cues, even though Myers-Scotton

50

(1993) does not reject the idea that some interpretation can be gathered from the surface linguistic structure of bilingual conversation.

Both the Markedness Model and Conversational Analysis have a common objective. These theories recognize the fact that in code-switching interactions more than linguistic context is expressed. For instance, in order to provide an interpretation of an interaction, the Conversational Analysis deconstructs the composition of the interaction. Thus, it provides important clues to a better understanding of code-switching; the social roles and relationship between interactants (Wei, 2003). Additionally, researchers become conversant with the strategies which bilingual individuals with differing language preference and ability use to manage interactions and the procedures to arrive at local interpretation of code-switching. Conversely, the Markedness Model considers bilingual individuals to make rational choices when opting for the right linguistic code to employ in their interactions in terms of reasons, and motivations behind these choices. Thus, the marked, unmarked and exploratory code choice maxims of the Markedness Model are beneficial in the analysis of language patterns employed during political campaign speeches. The Model assumes that bilingual speakers switch between codes when they have an intent of communicating certain meanings, or showing belongingness to a group.

Per the discussion made thus far, I argue that Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model can be employed to analyze Research Question Two, which is, to account for the socio-psychological motivations of code-switching in political campaign speeches. An application of the Conversational Analysis framework does not, in any way, render the Markedness Model theory

51

consideration unnecessary (Wei, 2008). For instance, to highlight the conversational functions that code-switching plays in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, Gumperz's list of functions is employed as the basis. This broadens the scope of analysis by helping to extract information from conversations beyond rational choices.

Empirical Review

Various studies have been undertaken on political campaign speeches from a wide range of perspectives. This section reviews studies in relation to the present research.

Studies on Campaign Speeches

Over the years, researchers such as Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010), Anderson (2014), Jensen, Jekobson, and Pichler (2016), Opoku-Mensah (2014), and Wang (2010) have utilised theories that help unravel how politicians in their bid to gain political power use language to persuade the electorate in their speeches. Obeng (1997) opines that an important aspect of political rhetoric is the ability of the political speaker to communicatively 'sell' themselves, their ideologies or policies to the electorate.

Wang (2010) investigated the features of Barack Obama's speeches. In this work, Wang examined how Obama employed simple language in his speeches to persuade his audience to accept and support his stance. The study which employed systematic functional grammar and focused on transitivity and modality, revealed that Obama employed simpler, short sentences instead of complex ones, easy and colloquial language structures which, according to Wang (2010), shortened the proximity between him and his audience.

In a similar vein, Jensen et al. (2016) employed a corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis framework to investigate the underlying discursive structures in Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign discourse of the 2016 American presidential election. The study specifically aimed at identifying elements of gender references, persuasive techniques, social inclusion and exclusion. It was revealed from the finding of the study that Clinton's main purpose for her campaign was to construct a narrative of herself as president of the United States of America as well as push the boundaries of the historical perception of the American presidency with regard to gender. As far as social inclusion and exclusion were concerned, Clinton's use of pronouns revealed her attitude towards her supporters and opponents alike. Also, rhetorical tools were fundamental in the speeches of Hillary Clinton in her bid to become president in America.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon's (2010) work concentrated on the language used during the campaigns of three politicians during the 2007 Nigerian general elections namely: Donald Duke, and Okhai Mike Akhigbe of Peoples Democratic Party, and Atiku Abubakar of Action Congress. Employing the Critical Discourse Analysis as a framework, Idiagbon discovered that language was constructed to champion and promote individual interests and it was carefully and skillfully structured and presented without the awareness of the audience. The study also revealed that politicians in Nigeria take advantage of the low level of education of majority of the electorates as well as poverty to manipulate the thoughts of the electorates. This was manifested in the choice of the title, slogans, and diction in the speeches delivered at the campaign rallies.

53

In examining the political speeches of Ghana's first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Opoku-Mensah's (2014) work on "Rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah" employed Aristotle's (2007) Levels of Proofs and Rhetorical Regimes, Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca's (1969) Argument and Bitzer's (1968) Situation as correlative approaches for the analysis of his data. The work revealed that as part of Nkrumah's political speeches, he constantly employed logical association (either positively or negatively) in order to promote good or bad publicity for different entities. The findings of this study that Nkrumah used negative association mostly to describe the Western colonial powers and his political opponents in Ghana and Africa who either served as political threats or opposed his ideological position. In terms of positive association, the study revealed that Nkrumah rhetorically associated his political party, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), as the only viable political party in Ghana while downplaying the other parties.

Exploring the inherent stylistically significant features prevalent in speeches of John Evans Atta Mills, Anderson (2014) investigated the relationship between the background of the late and former president of Ghana and the prevalent stylistic features. The study utilised meta-function as postulated by Halliday (1970, 1985) and Onah's 'Concept of Peace' as perceived in the African traditional culture as a framework, supported by Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-dimensional model. Anderson observed that John Evans Atta Mills employed strategies such as repetition, positive self-projection, and code-switching as stylistic features. These stylistic features and/or strategies are employed by politicians to present to their audience the kind of personality they would like to be associated with. The paper revealed

that John Evans Atta Mills projected himself as a competent leader through his choice of words. A leader who has a grip and the requisite solution of the country's economic situation.

From the discussion so far, it can be concluded that to be a successful politician and/or political speaker, the art of persuasive language is key. Empirical evidence suggests that most of the studies on campaign rhetoric have been conducted all over the world with very few in Ghana. This creates a gap for the current study to fill by investigating Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's campaign speeches. The next section reviews literature on code-switching since it serves as one of the concerns of this thesis.

Studies on Code-switching

Several studies have been carried out in recent years around the world in the field of code-switching. This section introduces some studies on code-switching by scholars based on their different research focuses and the kind of data employed.

In a study conducted by Macaro (1997) among Chinese learners of English, except for some females, most learners preferred the use of the mother tongue by teachers in order to ensure better understanding. Macaro employed interviews, class observations and surveys to identify the mother tongue and foreign language preferred by students for classroom instruction. The study revealed that students could not understand items taught in the classroom without the use of the mother tongue. Teachers, in order to ensure clarity in their classroom tasks and to give feedback and ensure students' understanding, also employed code-switching.

55

In her study, Myers-Scotton (1995) observed that in urban Africa, it is common for people to employ more than one language in all walks of life. Focusing on the social motivations for code-switching, she investigated how two teenagers who are both boys from different ethnic groups (Kalenjin and Kikuyu) were engaged in a casual conversation after school in Nairobi, Kenya. To Myers-Scotton, code-switching should be seen as a type of skilled performance, and not as an "alternative strategy" for a person who cannot be engaged in a conversation in a language in which it originally started.

Studies in code-switching have not been left out in Ghana. Asilevi (1990) investigated Ewe-English code-switching in conversational discourse; the case of English as a second language in Ghana. To Asilevi, although English is a second language in Ghana, Ghanaian speakers of English usually resort to mixing codes in their interaction owing to their incompetence in the languages in use. The study revealed that the rapid evolution of mixed codes may replace local Ghanaian languages to an extent where code-switching may become the language of education. He argued that some teachers who are not competent cannot manipulate the spoken English very well and these were marginally inexperienced pupil teachers, who employed the mixed language as the medium of instruction.

In presenting an in-depth textual analysis, Amuzu's (2012) work considers the code-switching that the Ewe-English bilingual employs in various social contexts. The work focuses on discussions in study group meetings at school, informal interactions at home, and interactions on radio talk. The study employs data from two groups: Ewe-English and Akan-English bilinguals. Using the Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, Amuzu

56

analysed the social and pragmatic context as well as speaker orientation in the kind of explanation it offers for bilingual code-switching. His study revealed that the Markedness Model was employed by Amuzu in his work to portray social identity of speakers.

Existing literature on code-switching clearly shows that the linguistic phenomenon carries out important functions in communicative activities. From the literature, much code-switching studies have focused on the classroom, church, and other social context ignoring the political context. This work illustrates how code-switching has been employed in the campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

Code-switching in Political Campaign Speeches

Code-switching, a linguistic phenomenon, which is considered as a general pattern in a speech community of switching between two or more available languages or dialects (Blom & Gumperz, 1972) is employed strategically by politicians to gain support from voters during elections (Craig 2013; Jarraya 2013). According to Corner (2003), political campaign speeches, in particular, are strategically planned by politicians to be convincing, to appeal to the emotions of electorates, to construct alliances and membership (Wodak, 2009), and to portray a particular political persona.

Several studies (e.g., Craig 2013; Jarraya 2013; Kementchedjhieva, 2016) have been conducted on code-switching in political discourse in some countries. Uzum and Uzum (2010) conducted a study on how Turkish politicians code-switched from a variety of languages in their political campaign speeches. Uzum and Uzum in their study examined the types of words which are usually code-switched (e.g., nouns, verbs, adverbs etc.), the

57

position of the word in the sentence, the context of its use, frequency, stress, and the phonological variation of each word. From their analysis, it was revealed that code-switching constituted forty-two percent (42%) of the dialogue of most Turkish politicians during their campaign speeches; nouns were code-switched the most frequently and were often used in the middle of sentences. Similarly, Habwe (1999) conducted research on code-switching in Kiswahili political campaign speeches. He argues that code-switching among politicians in Kenya commonly occurs between Kiswahili and English due to the roles the two languages play as national language and official language respectively. Habwe observed that code-switching from English to Kiswahili by political leaders was a means of reaching the common people whereas code-switching to English from Kiswahili was purposefully to target foreign dignitaries. Oduori (2019) further argues that the level of code-switching between English and Kiswahili among politicians in Kenya is not a measure of competence in both languages but a sign of incompetence in one of the languages which he mentions Kiswahili, the national language, as the victim. Wei (2002) supports the view of Oduori as he opines that politicians who are neither fluent in nor familiar with a particular code strive to make a show of it for the sake of gaining approval by portraying an image of a 'regular guy' who can connect with the common people (Kementchedjhieva, 2016) or in an attempt to break through an ethnic boundary.

In Ghana where multiple languages exist, many politicians engage in code-switching during their formal (though very rare) and informal interactions. Notable among these politicians who switch codes during their interactions are the former presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana: Jerry

58

John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufour, John Evans Fiifi Atta Mills, John Dramani Mahama and the incumbent president of the country, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Since English language is the official language of the country, it is expected that any Ghanaian who wishes to become president should possess a good command of the language. Unarguably, all these political leaders have both the linguistic and communicative competence in English language. Again, they all have ethnic identities since they all belong to a particular ethnic group. This means that they possess a good command in the various languages of the ethnic groups to which they belong as well. Their ability to speak their ethnic language as well as other languages may be attributed to the fact that they all at a point in their lives lived in bi/multilingual speech communities. For instance, Accra (predominantly a Ga speech community) which is the capital of Ghana apart from being cosmopolitan and/or heterogeneous in nature can also be described as a bi/multilingual speech community. This is because Accra is presently the home for people from various ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, in order to communicate freely among themselves, a common language has to be adopted among speakers for purposes such as trade and/or religion. In Ghana, since Akan has proven to be the lingua franca (trade language), it is imperative that speakers of languages other than Asante-Twi would have to learn to speak to be able to communicate with the majority.

The discussion made thus far indicates that the seat of presidency in Ghana has and would always be occupied by bi/multilingual speakers. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is very much noted for his ability to speak many languages including, English, French, Akan (Asante-Twi and Akuapem-Twi)

59

and Ga. With his linguistic prowess, he is seen to employ English and French language(s) mostly during formal interactions such as meetings with foreign dignitaries. However, depending on the context and/or situational factors, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo often code-switches during his interactions to involve some uneducated Ghanaians. Wei (2002) believes that one of the greatest strengths in adopting code-switching in political discourse is in its strategic ambiguities and that code-switching could be used to achieve pragmatic and strategic functions without assuming responsibility of being put on record (Obeng, 1997).

Political Speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, after having served in various political offices and risen through the political rank to become president of Ghana, has delivered various political speeches. In a transitivity analysis of the inaugural address of Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo, Logogye and Ewusi-Mensah (2021), examined how language had been used by the President in his inaugural address to the people of Ghana from a functional perspective. Using the interpretative content analysis, their work which employed 284 clauses investigated the communicative functions of the linguistic choices made. The study revealed that material processes dominated his speech. The dominant use of material clauses showed the enthusiasm with which Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and his government intended to work in order to reform the challenging economy. Logogye and Ewusi-Mensah's work revealed that the existential process types were minimally employed. The study did not record any behavioural process type. This was attributed to the fact that their work did not analyse paralinguistic elements in the data. The paper concluded

that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employed more primary process types than the secondary process types in his inaugural address.

Employing Searle's theory of speech act as a theoretical framework with emphasis on Searle's five categories of speech act, Demuyakor (2021) analyzed the types of speech acts adopted in the inaugural address of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo as the President of the Republic of Ghana for a second term. His work revealed that out of a total of seventy-four (74) locutionary acts and/or statements in the inaugural address, assertives were identified as the highest used, 40.5% of the utterances, commissive acts were 25.6%, while directives, expressives and declaratives had 13.5%, 12.2%, and 8.2% respectively.

Further, Mensah, Yamoah and Djorbua's (2022) work, "Deictic Study of 64th Independence Day Speech Delivered by Nana Akufo-Addo of Ghana", sought to look at usage of deixis in the 64th Independence Day speech delivered by the president of Ghana. Using the qualitative method with a focus on descriptive text analysis, their work concentrated on how the three types of deixis (person, time, and place) were used. It was revealed that person deixis had the highest usage, followed by time deixis and place deixis. It was also revealed that the first-person pronouns (I, we, us, and our) had the highest frequency. The paper concluded that the speaker, Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo, made generous use of deictic items in his speech. The effect of this is the textual coherence he achieves as well as the physical connection, bond, and engagement he creates with the people of Ghana.

Addy and Ofori (2020) conducted a study on the campaign speeches of a Ghanaian opposition leader, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Using a

61

three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Fairclough, their work revealed that the opposition leader employed the pronouns "I", "you", "our" and "we" as well as repetition to establish a strong connection with the voters and express solidarity.

In sum, existing literature clearly shows that analysing the political speeches of Ghanaian politicians, particularly, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, and investigating his campaign speeches using the Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness Model has been largely under-researched. Unlike previous studies conducted in Ghana such as Addy and Ofori (2020), Demuyakor (2021), Logogye and Ewusi-Mensah (2021), and Mensah, Yamoah and Djorbua (2022), the current research focuses on how code-switching is employed by the politician in his campaign speeches.

Chapter Summary

The chapter has investigated existing literature that is related to the study. The review began with some discussions on bi/multilingualism through which the concept of code-switching was derived. The concepts that were utilised in the study together with some previous studies on the research topic were reviewed. The study reviewed notable views concerning code-switching in political speeches. The theoretical frameworks were presented and discussed in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2: the Markedness Model and the Conversational Analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The preceding chapter reviewed related literature. It also examined the theoretical frameworks, and some empirical studies. The present chapter discusses the methodology that is employed for the study. The research design, sample size, sampling procedure, data source and data collection procedures, data processing and analysis, validity and reliability, ethical consideration and finally, a chapter summary are discussed.

Research Design

The research is a qualitative research that employs a case study to examine and/or investigate the types, socio-psychological motivation and conversational functions of code-switching in the campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Qualitative researchers, as Denzin and Lincoln (2011) note, are interested in a qualitative, interpretative and naturalistic approach to the world. Thus, qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. It is appropriate to employ the qualitative research design for the present study because it allows researchers to generate data that is rich in detail and to understand their research participants in an in-depth way that quantitative research lacks (Denscombe, 2010; Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Mason, 2002).

Creswell (2003) posits that there are different approaches to qualitative design such as ethnography, grounded theory, case study, phenomenological research, and narrative research. A case study, which is employed for this

63

study, allows for an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system and the real-life context, which seeks to provide detailed information or account of one or more cases with contemporary events (Auberbach & Silverstein, 2003; Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009). Therefore, once the phenomenon of code-switching is an ongoing and contemporary issue (see for example, Simons, 2009), a case study becomes the preferred research design for this study. Yin (2003) opines that case studies are categorized as explanatory, exploratory, or descriptive. Therefore, the descriptive case study was employed after several considerations. I considered the descriptive case study in that it is focused and detailed and that propositions and questions about a particular phenomenon are carefully scrutinized and articulated at the outset. The main goal of the descriptive case study is to assess a sample in detail and or in an in-depth manner, based on an articulation of a descriptive theory.

Sample Size

The sample size for the study was ten recorded video clips of the New Patriotic Party's campaign rallies collected from YouTube and Facebook. All the ten video clips were selected from the 2016 political campaign rallies. First, the video clips from the 2016 campaign rallies were selected because that was the fourth (run-off election in 2008 included) consecutive time the flagbearer and presidential aspirant, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, was contesting for the seat of presidency in Ghana. Secondly, the 2012 General Election that preceded the 2016 Election saw the New Patriotic Party lose to the National Democratic Congress. A victory that was challenged in court by

the New Patriotic Party. Thirdly, after having contested for the seat of presidency for two consecutive times, that is 2008 (general and run-off elections) and 2012, the 2016 General Election was somewhat a decisive marker as to whether Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's political ambition of becoming President would be realized or not. Finally, the then incumbent president, John Dramani Mahama, after the demise of his predecessor, late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills, had been elected president for one term and was also seeking to be re-elected for a second term. This had, however, created a tensed political atmosphere in the country.

Therefore, it was anticipated that the political speaker, who was the main opposition leader by then, would carefully employ all communicative strategies possible within his means to identify himself with the electorate to gain their confidence and as well get them to vote for him to win power.

Sampling Procedure

The video clips (see Appendix A) of the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo of various lengths, making a total of three hours, eight minutes and thirty-four seconds (3hrs 8mins 34 secs) which cut across five regions in Ghana, was purposively selected from YouTube and Facebook. The data was collected from five out of sixteen regions of Ghana only because of its availability. I purposefully selected these video clips if they fulfilled the following criteria. First, the video should be a political rally, where a sizeable number of party stalwarts as well as other well-meaning Ghanaians were present. Secondly, the video clips should have instances of code-switching which this study undertakes. Thirdly, though political campaign rallies are characterized by speeches of other political speakers as

well as aspirants, since this study concentrates on a particular political leader, the video clips should also have instances where Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo addresses the electorates. In that case, any political campaign video clips of the New Patriotic Party that does not feature Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and again, does not have instances of code-switching did not form part of the data. Therefore, the purposive sampling technique helped me in selecting the video clips that contained instances of code-switching and provided me with accurate response to the research questions (Creswell, 2003).

Data Source and Data Collection Procedure

This study used primary (mediatized) data. The study used video clips of the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. During the process of data collection, I tried as much as possible to conduct a thorough search on the Internet to identify videos of the campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. As at August 2020 when I began the proposal to this particular study, only the 2016 final campaign rally which took place at Accra (Trade Fair) was identified on YouTube and was, therefore, used for the preliminary analysis. Since finding the required number of videos that will enable me to answer the research questions for this work became difficult, I asked for an introductory letter from my department, Department of English of the University of Cape Coast, to be given to any of the radio or television stations to access such data. However, in mid-September 2020, I did another thorough search, this time on the Facebook handle(s) of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. There, I identified three other campaign videos. In order to watch these videos, a link on his Facebook page

directed me to YouTube where I was able to identify six other videos of the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo which contained instances of code-switching. Since I needed to listen to the videos repeatedly to be able to identify the types, socio-psychological motivation and communicative functions of code-switching, I downloaded such videos.

Data Transcription and Translation

An orthographic transcription of the video data was carried out. The orthographic transcription employed the spelling system of each target language, thus, Akan, English, Ga and French. Since the code-switches in the data were predominantly from Akan to English or vice versa, the video data was orthographically transcribed and given an English gloss for each section of transcribed Akan (Nyavor, 2017). In the transcription, Akan words were indicated in regular font, English words were in **bold** Roman type and English forms that contain Akan morphemes were in **bold** Roman type and *italics*. Similarly, in the translations, Akan words that were translated into English were in regular font, English phrases from the original text were in **bold** and English forms that contain Akan morphemes from the original text were in ***bold italics***. The model employed for transcription and translation in this study was the Jefferson system of Transcription Notation with some slight modifications. The Jeffersonian transcription provides a method for annotating speech with details of performance, acts, texts, movement among others. It provides a detailed version of the complex nature of interaction; it, thus, captures not only what was said but also the way in which it was said. Examples of the symbols used and their explanations have been provided below:

67

- All English words are written in **bold**.

- All Akan words appear in regular font

- Other languages are in *italics*

- The full English paraphrase is given in brackets.

- (.) - Short pause, a notable pause but of no significant length

- (.2) - Timed pause, a pause long enough to time (two or more seconds)

- // - Overlapping speech

- wor- Incomplete or truncated word

- wo:rd - Stretched word

- wo(h)rd - Laughter bubbling within a word

- ( ) Unclear talk

Data Processing and Analysis

In line with the data processing and analysis procedure, the data obtained was analyzed qualitatively. Miles and Huberman (1994) posit that there are three major approaches to qualitative data analysis: the interpretive, social anthropological and collaborative social research approaches. However, in this study I adopted the interpretive approach, where data were transcribed into written text for analysis. Since the data collected to answer all the research questions were based on the video recordings of the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, I had to carefully watch and listen to all the videos many times to be able to identify instances of code-switching which were pertinent to the study.

Thematic analysis was used as a research tool for analysing Research Question One, which seeks to identify the types of code-switching used by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his selected political campaign speeches.

68

This was guided by the concept of code-switching by Poplack (2001). Fugard and Potts (2015), as cited in Yevudey (2017), opine that thematic analysis is frequently used in the analysis of qualitative data and it is regarded a fundamental method in qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis had the advantage of enabling me to systematically collect, analyse and make patterns (themes) and inferences from messages (North et al. as cited in Birmingham & Wilkinson, 2003). However, the themes which are often explored in thematic analysis are driven by the researcher's aims and questions.

In processing the data for this study, I transcribed the video data which contained instances of code-switching in Microsoft Word for the purposes of the analyses. However, since Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is noted to be a multilingual who speaks languages such as English, French, Asante-Twi and Ga, the video data collected clearly demonstrated his linguistic prowess in all these languages. The predominant switches identified in these video data were from either Akan (Asante-Twi) to English or vice versa except for very rare instances where the switches were from Ga to Asante-Twi and or Asante-Twi to French. The difficulty, however, lies in determining the base language when it involves inter-sentential type of code-switch. Therefore, the most active language in terms of the number of words used, sentence type, say, for example, compound, complex among others is used to determine the base language in this study. Though I am conversant with Asante-Twi, I contacted a Ghanaian language (Asante-Twi) teacher who helped me to identify the various nuances in code-switching involving Asante-Twi. During the data transcription, I explored some of the themes that emerged from the video data.

In doing so, I grouped the instances of switches into inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and tag switching. I opened a separate Microsoft Word document, where I gave a tentative title to each of the recurring themes and copied the instances that expressed any of the themes. I added more themes and excerpts during the data transcription. After the transcriptions, I read through the whole transcripts again and explored other themes and identified the instances that fit within the themes.

The Markedness Model was employed as an analytical tool to answer Research Question Two which seeks to account for the socio-psychological motivation of code-switching. The data was interpreted, analysed and discussed, using the Markedness Model. The Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) has three Maxims which follow from the Negotiation Principle: the 'unmarked-choice', the 'marked-choice' and the 'exploratory-choice'. Even though the model has three maxims, only code-switching as a marked choice maxim was used since our data revealed only instances of code-switching as a marked choice. This confirms Myers-Scotton's view that making marked choices may be the most universal use to which code-switching is put in all communities and at all linguistic levels.

Research Question Three seeks to find out the conversational functions of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Ahlijah (2017, p. 31) says, "Natural speech, as it is the case of the data for this study, is open to any number of interpretations. Also, language can be manipulated in diverse ways to perform an endless number of functions". Therefore, in order to identify the conversational functions, Gumperz's (1982) work on Conversational Analysis was employed for the

qualitative analysis of the functions of code-switching. These conversational functions of code-switching, as outlined by Gumperz, is the core in exploring and interpreting the data.

Validity and Reliability

Gibbs (2007) states that validity ensures accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures, while reliability indicates the consistency in a researcher's approach across different researchers. In order to ensure that the transcribed data provided under each theme (i.e., inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and tag switching) was valid and reliable, first, I contacted a lecturer at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology who had worked on code-switching during his MPhil and PhD levels. I forwarded the transcribed data in the Microsoft Word document to him. Secondly, I printed a hard copy of the transcribed data put under various themes to a retired and part-time lecturer of the University of Education, Winneba who had also worked on code-switching. The results of both lecturers revealed about 85% agreement with the analysis I made. Similarly, in order to ensure that the translation was valid and reliable, I contacted an expert at the Ghana Institute of Languages, School of Translators, Kumasi, who translated the transcribed data into English.

Problems Encountered in the Study

This section presents some challenges I encountered while collecting and analyzing the data for the study.

This study required a large number of videos to be able to have a successful analysis. As such, getting the required number of videos for the kind of analyses I sought was a limitation to this study. However, to mitigate

71

the effect, I thoroughly searched the internet as well as the Facebook handle(s) of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Moreover, after the required number of video clips I sought for this analysis was obtained, analyzing such video data became a daunting task. Hence, in order not to allow this limitation to adversely affect the findings of this study, I spent ample time to listen to the videos many times to immerse myself in the data for quality analysis. Another challenge with the study was that I was only conversant with Asante-Twi as one of the possible alternate languages that featured in code-switching so far as the data was concerned. To deal with this challenge, I contacted experts who understood and could write any of the indigenous languages that served as an alternate language of code-switching in the data for quality transcription and analysis.

Again, another difficulty was how to download from YouTube as the site did not permit for easy downloads. Again, the file sizes for almost all the videos were large and therefore needed to be downloaded over Wi-Fi which was not easily available as I was off-campus at the time of data collection. I therefore relied on some experts to help download the videos on a pen-drive which was specifically bought for that purpose. Finally, I had to code all the videos for easy identification using the types of code-switching (Poplack, 2001).

Ethical Consideration

In terms of ethical consideration, I was mindful of the fact that the individual under study is a top politician in Ghana who has served in diverse positions and presently occupies the highest position of the country, as president. Thus, even though the data collected for this study was obtained

72

from YouTube and Facebook, there was a need for ethical consideration. Therefore, the analysis and findings obtained from the data was employed for purely research and/or academic purposes and not for personal and/or political gains.

Chapter Summary

The chapter presented the methodology used in the collection of the data. The purposive sampling was employed in the selection of the ten video clips. The campaign speeches were deliberately chosen since they had instances of code-switching which is of interest to this study.

73
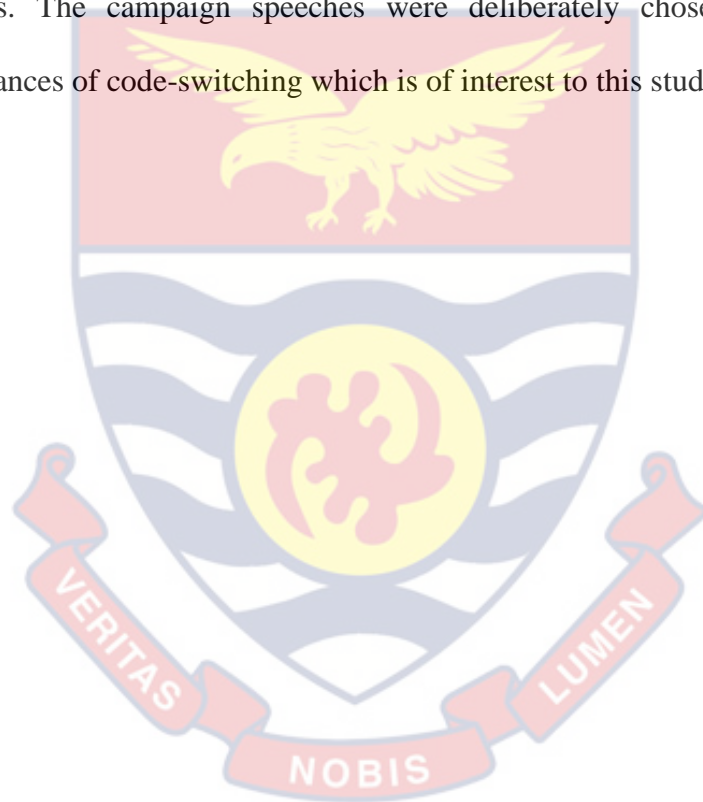
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The chapter is structured as follows: Section 4.1, which is the first section of the chapter, presents an analysis and discussion of the types of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, Section 4.2 accounts for the socio-psychological motivation of code-switching in the data set. Both Sections 4.1 and 4.2 present analyses in exploring research questions one and two respectively. Section 4.3 presents an analysis and discussion on the conversational functions of code-switching in the data set. A chapter summary is presented in Section 4.4.

Types of Code-switching in the Campaign Speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo

Several types of code-switches can be employed by political speakers in the delivery of their political campaign speeches. This section seeks to report on the types of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. All three types of code-switching (tag switching, inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching) were evident in the data.

Table 1: The Use of the Types of Code-switching

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Intra-sentential	174	71.6
Inter-sentential	53	21.8
Tag switching	16	6.6
Total	243	100

Table 1 indicates that out of the total (243) number of iterative uses of code-switching, 174 (71.6%) of these were intra-sentential, 53 (21.8%) were inter-sentential and 16 (6.6%) were tag switching. This presupposes that the point can be made that political campaign speeches (the case of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo) employs more intra-sentential code-switching. Another type of code-switching, the intra-word, which was not captured as part of the types of code-switching by Poplack (2001), was also evident in the data. I coded the data according to the type of switch identified. For instance, the video clips on the 2016 final campaign rallies which occurred at Accra was divided into parts using a video cutter, an application I downloaded from Play Store. The parts were coded as INTER-SENTENTIAL 1, INTER-SENTENTIAL 2. Some others were also coded as INTRA-SENTENTIAL 1, INTRA-SENTENTIAL 2, TAG SWITCHING 1, TAG SWITCHING 2 etc.

Tag Switching

This code-switch type occurs within a sentence but it is 'less intimate' compared to the intra-sentential switches. The basic characteristic of this code-switch type is the insertion of interjections, idiomatic expressions, tags, and individual noun switches from one linguistic code into another usually from the embedded language into a base or matrix language. However, it is worth noting that the insertion could either be made in sentence-initial, sentence-medial or sentence-final positions in tag switching (Pichler et al., 2016). Additionally, the insertions could be deleted and the sentence or utterance would still remain grammatical and the message well understood by the listener in the conversational event. The data show that there are evidences of tag switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa

75

Akufo-Addo. Among the three types of code-switching as outlined by Poplack (2001), tag switching (6.6%) was identified as the least used by the speaker during his delivery of his political campaign speeches. Below are some examples of tag switching observed from the data:

Example 13

Wow! Wow! Wow! (:) Techiman meda mo ase. //Techimanman meda mo ase pa ara (.) meda mo ase.

Trans: **Wow! Wow! Wow! (:)** Techiman I thank you. //People of Techiman I thank you (.) I thank you.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Techiman]

Example 14

//Na aba yɛreba abɛto no (.) Tema West yɛnto no **boom**!

Trans: //In this Election (.) Tema West let us vote **boom**! (Massively)

[NPP takes Campaign Tour to Tema West]

Example 15

Yɛkɔɔ Techiman dɔm a yɛbɛhyiaa wɔ ho no ɛsɛ w'ani (.) ɛyɛ me sɛ Techimanfoɔ koraa bɛhunu sɛ **yes!** (.) mpaninfoɔ wɔ mu.

Trans: We went to Techiman and there was a massive crowd (.) but here I am sure the people of Techiman will even see that **yes!** You have come in your numbers.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani]

From Examples 13, 14, and 15 above, the speaker uses the tags '**wow, boom, yes**' during the delivery of his political campaign speeches**.** He, however, employs these tags in three different sentence positions; initial, medial and final. In Example 13**,** Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employs the tag

76

'wow' in sentence-initial position. Examples 14 and 15 have their tags at the sentence-final and medial positions respectively. This finding confirms the position articulated by Pichler et al. (2016) which indicates that tags are mostly inserted in sentence-initial, medial and final positions. I argue that the insertions made by the speaker were mostly interjections and could be omitted yet the sentence or utterance would still remain grammatical and the message well understood by his audience. Poplack (2001) confirms this assertion, as she indicates that tag switches have few, if any, ramifications for the rest of the sentence.

Inter-sentential Code-switching

Code-switching at the inter-sentential level involves switches that occur at the sentence or clause boundaries. Switches at the inter-sentential level are mostly seen in the form of two subsequent sentences or clauses. The difficulty, however, lies in determining the base language when it involves inter-sentential type of code-switch. Therefore, the most active language in terms of the number of words employed, sentence type (for example, compound, complex) is used to determine the base language in this study. Even though there were few instances observed from the data where the speaker addressed his audience in Ga and French, the inter-sentential switches identified in the data were mostly from Akan to English and or vice versa. There were more evidences of inter-sentential switches between sentences with an English sentence following Akan (Asante-Twi) sentence and few sentences with Akan (Asante-Twi) sentences following English sentences (see Examples 16 and 17 below). Nevertheless, the two linguistic codes involved in

77

the code-switching perfectly fit the "equivalence constraint" of Poplack (1980):

Example 16

Me, menhyɛ bɔ (.) mereba abɛsiesie ɔman no. **It's not promises** (.) **that I am coming to build (.) I am coming to give solution for the problems of our country**.

Trans: As for me, I don't promise (.) I am coming to fix the country. **It's not promises** (.) **that I am coming to build** (.) **I am coming to give solution for the problems of our country**.

<div align="right">(English sentence following an Akan sentence)</div>

<div align="right">[NPP Biggest Campaign Crowd at Awutu Senya East]</div>

Example 17

What we will continue to advocate for [sic] is for a fair (.) clean (.) transparent election. Neɛ yɛrehwehwɛ ara ne no.

Trans: **What we will continue to advocate for [sic] is for a fair (.) clean (.) transparent election.** That's all we are looking for.

<div align="right">(Akan sentence following an English sentence)</div>

<div align="right">[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]</div>

Evidence from the data clearly shows that instances of inter-sentential switches were more employed (21.8%) than tag switching (6.6%) but less employed than the intra-sentential switch type. Below are other examples of inter-sentential code-switching observed in the data:

Example 18

ɛrenkyɛ Ghana ani bɛdane. //**The mother face of our country is going to change (.) it is going to change and we are going to bring back progress and prosperity into the country**.

Trans: It won't be long the face of Ghana is going to change. //**The mother face of our country is going to change (.) it is going to change and we are going to bring back progress and prosperity into the country**.

Example 19

Adeɛ baako metumi aka (.) agyina hɔ aka akyerɛ mo ne sɛ (.) merenni mo hwammɔ da. **I am not going to disappoint the people of Ghana and turn my back on them.**

Trans: One thing I can say to you all is that (.) I will never disappoint you (people). **I am not going to disappoint the people of Ghana and turn my back on them.**

[Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade Fair]

Example 20

//Mframa a ɛrebɔ no (.) ɛyɛ ɔsono no mframa (.) **it is the NPP wave (.) that is blowing metaphorically in all regions of Ghana**.

Trans: //The wind that is blowing (.) is the wind of the elephant (.) **it is the NPP wave (.) that is blowing metaphorically in all regions of Ghana**.

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

Following from Examples 18, 19, and 20 above, it is evident that the predominant inter-sentential switches occurred with an English sentence

79

following an Akan (Asante-Twi) sentence and a few Akan sentences following English sentences (see Example 17). This finding confirms Gumperz's (1982) assertion that bilingual speakers, such as Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, use one of their linguistic codes, mostly the second language to emphasize or reiterate their message. I argue that the speaker's frequent use of Akan first to begin sentences and/or utterances in the inter-sentential switches was to enable him identify himself with his audience.

Intra-sentential Code-switching

Code-switches that occur at the intra-sentential level are mostly seen within a single sentence or utterance but not two subsequent sentences or clauses as it is the case of inter-sentential switches. This type of code-switch is said to be the most problematic and requires more skills from the bilingual speaker because the code-switched elements must obey the underlying syntactic rules that govern the two languages involved. Thus, the sentence would be rendered incomplete and ungrammatical should the code-switched elements be omitted or deleted. In the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, there are evidences of switches within a sentence with either Akan (Asante-Twi) serving as the base or dominant language with English as the embedded language or vice versa which clearly fits the "Matrix Language Frame Model" of Myers-Scotton (1993a, b) which indicates that "one language acts as the dominant language, or matrix language and the other as subordinate or the embedded language" (Abdoulaye, 2013, p.113). Evidence from the data indicates that Akan occurs more as the dominant language and English as the embedded language. To determine the base language, the language that employs the highest number of words and/or

sentences was considered the base. Example 21 below is an example of an intra-sentential code-switch, where the matrix language is Akan (Asante-Twi) with English acting as the embedded language. Conversely, Example 22 also shows that the base or matrix language is English with Akan (Asante-Twi) acting as the embedded language.

Example 21

> Me mebaa **politics** mu sɛ nimdeɛ (.) nyansa ne ahoɔden kakra a Tweduampom Nyankopɔn de ama me no (.) mereba abɛboa ama yɛpia Ghana afidie no ama afidie no nso atumi akɔ n'anim ma adwuma ne sika ne ahotɔ ɛtumi aba yɛn man Ghana mu.
>
> (I came into **politics** so that the knowledge (.) wisdom and the little strength God Almighty has given me (.) I am coming to help push Ghana forward so that for jobs and money and peace to come into Ghana).

Example 22

> **Constituency** biara (.) **every year** (.) **every constituency** (.) **twenty-nine constituencies** a ɛwɔ Brong Ahafo no ka ho (.) **one million dollars a year** (.) **every year** (.) **every constituency //to come and deal with the issues of infrastructure and development at the grassroot**.
>
> (Every **Constituency (.) every year** (.) **every constituency** (.) **twenty-nine constituencies** in the Brong Ahafo is included (.) **one million dollars a year** (.) **every year** (.) **every constituency //to come and deal with the issues of infrastructure and development at the grassroot**).

81

[NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani]

The data revealed more instances of intra-sentential switches (71.6%) than any other code-switch type as outlined by Poplack (2001). Below are some other examples of intra-sentential code-switching observed in the data. However, even though I am conscious of the Research Questions and do not want to digress from the Research Question One of the study which seeks to find out the types of code-switching used by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the question that still remains puzzling is why the speaker uses more of intra-sentential code-switching than any other type. Therefore, there is a need to find out why the political speaker employs more of the intra-sentential type of code-switch than any other type. The examples below would, therefore, be used to show instances of intra-sentential code-switching from the data and as well be used in examining the reasons behind the speaker's use of more intra-sentential code-switching.

Example 23

Afe yi **(.)** Onyankopɔn ne Ghana mmara ama kwan **(.)** sɛ yɛn haw **(.)** yɛn ahokyerɛ a abɛdware Ghanaman yi na biribiara mu ayɛ dendenden **(.) school fees** yɛntumi ntua (.) **electricity** no deɛ yɛnka ho asɛm (.) adwuma nsoso nni hɔ.

Trans: This year (.) God and the laws of Ghana have paved way (.) that our problems (.) the hardship facing Ghana that everything has become difficult (.) **school fees** we are unable to pay (.) for **electricity** not to mention (.) no jobs too.

[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade fair Centre]

82

Example 24

ɛna yɛaka ato hɔ (.) sɛ yɛpɛ sɛ yɛbɔ Ghana daakye ho ban. ɛwiase

daakye wɔ hɔ yi (.) adesua hia wɔ mu paa ara (.) ɛno nti yɛse yɛn

mmabunu (.) yɛreba abɛ**maki sure** sɛ obiara bɛnya kwan akɔ **school**.

Trans: We have already said that we want to save the future of

Ghana. The world's future greatly depends on education (.) that is

why our youth (.) we are coming to **make sure** everybody will be in

school.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani]

In Examples 23, and 24, it is evident that the base or matrix language of the

speech is Akan (Asante-Twi). This is so because Akan employs the highest

number of words and/or sentences in the switch. There were evidences from

the data that clearly indicates that the predominant intra-sentential switch

occurred with Akan (Asante-Twi) acting as the matrix language and English,

as the embedded language (see Appendix B). The speaker, Nana Addo

Dankwa Akufo-Addo, employs Akan (Asante-Twi) mostly as the main

language for the speech because, he is himself an Akan, and, Akan (Asante-

Twi) is as well the language of the masses. Additionally, the use of Akan

(Asante-Twi) is to help him to reach out to a wider audience. Most politicians,

including Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, are aware that not only the

immediate audience are present at the political campaign rally but also the

media is present and this, therefore, means their political campaign speeches

would be broadcasted nationwide; hence, the use of a linguistic code that is

spoken and understood by many.

The switch from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English (all English words or phrases are boldened in the extracts) in the words and or phrases '**school fees, electricity**', '**make sure, school'**, is within sentence boundary and is, therefore an intra-sentential type of code-switching. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo switches to fill a lexical gap and this could be as a result of the frequent or habitual use of the lexical items in Akan (Asante-Twi) such that a switch from Asante-Twi to English is no longer conscious. Becker (1997) supports this view as he states that switching can result from a momentary inclination during the production stage of the speech during which an individual is not able to access an equivalent lexical item in the matrix language during an interactive event.

Example 25

Na **President** adwuma no ɔse ɛnyɛ **trial and error** na sɛ *yɛtry* wo na

sɛ wonnyɛ papa a yɛnsesa wo?

Trans: He said the work of the **President** is not **trial and error** but if

we try you and you are not good won't we change you?

<div align="right">[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]</div>

Example 26

//**NPP** berɛ so (.) **NPP** berɛ so (.) ɛna yɛde **New Pensions Act** baeɛ a

(.2) yɛahyɛda ayɛ nhyehyɛeɛ pa (.) ama yɛn papa nom ne yɛn maame

nom ne yɛn mpaninfoɔ a (.) ayɛ adwuma a afei wɔrekɔgye wɔn

ahome no.

Trans: //During the **NPP** regime (.) during the **NPP** regime (.) that's

where the **New Pensions Act** was introduced (.2) we intentionally

84

made a good policy (.) for our fathers and mothers and our elderly (.)
who have worked and were going on retirement.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Techiman]

In Examples 25 and 26 above, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is noticed to have switched from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English in the use of phrases such as '**trial and error**', and **'New Pensions Act'**. These are clear instances of intra-sentential code-switching since it is found within sentence boundary. There is no doubt that the speaker's switch to English in the phrases in the examples above serve a communicative function, thus, to fill a lexical gap. The switch can be said to be a conscious or deliberate attempt to access the equivalent Akan (Asante-Twi) word for phrases '**trial and error**', **and 'new pensions act'**. It is worth mentioning that it is not lost on Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo that some of his audience are uneducated and, therefore, in order to send home his message, he needs to employ a linguistic code that is shared by majority. I argue that it is impossible to find an audience to a political campaign rally which is wholly homogeneous in terms of language use. However, trying to get access to some phrases in the matrix language in this case, Akan (Asante-Twi), to send across his message becomes difficult and, therefore, he consciously adopts another language to help put his message across. Waris (2012, p.127) confirms that "many bilingual people come to be very self-conscious about their language change". Again, the speaker switches to English in the phrases as a strategy to transfer the intended meaning as any attempt to employ the matrix language may distort the intended meaning:

85

Example 27

Sunyani ha (.) **crowd** a yɛhunu deɛ ɛyɛ hu (.) ɛyɛ hu (.) yɛda mo ase

(.) yɛda mo ase paa ara(.) yɛda mo ase ɔdɔ soronko a moayi ama

NPP ɛne me(.) meda mo ase papaapa.

Trans: In Sunyani here (.) the **crowd** we have seen is scary (.) it's

scary (.) we thank you very much (.) we thank you for the love you

have showed the **NPP** and I (.) thank you very much.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani]

Example 28

Na **President** adwuma no ɔse ɛnyɛ **trial and error** na sɛ *yɛtry* wo na

sɛ wonnyɛ papa a yɛnsesa wo?

Trans: He said the work of the **President** is not **trial and error** but if

we try you and you are not good won't we change you?

[NPP 2016 Manifesto Rally, Trade Fair Centre]

In Examples 27 and 28, the switch from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English in the

words **'crowd'** and **'president'** is another instance of intra-sentential code-

switching. However, the words have an Akan equivalent 'ɛdɔm' and

'ɔmanpanin' respectively. Therefore, the speaker's switch to English could

mean the speaker is unable to access the Akan (Asante-Twi) words at the time

of production of the speech since most political campaign speeches are given

spontaneously at rallies without prior preparation. The speaker unconsciously

switches to English to fill a lexical gap. Mabule (2015) states that code-

switching is employed daily by many bilingual individuals consciously or

unconsciously. Kareem (2016) confirms this statement as he indicates that

many bilingual speakers switch codes whether consciously or unconsciously

86

in order to send their desired message to their intended audience. Evidently, the data shows that code-switching is motivated by both conscious and unconscious factors.

Example 29

Na m'adesrɛdeɛ kɛseɛ a Ghanafoɔ mede reto mo anim afe yi **(.)** Ghana badwa kɛseɛ yi mepreeɛ **two thousand and eight** (:) ɛkaa kakra nka meforoeɛ. Onyakopɔn se ma mentwɛn **(.) two thousand and twelve** nso saa ɛkaa sei.

Trans: My biggest request I want to put before Ghanaians this year (.) Ghana's presidential seat I contested in **two thousand and eight** (:) I nearly won. God wanted me to wait (.) **two thousand and twelve** too same.

[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]

Example 30

Afe yi (.) mɛserɛ mo (.2) mma yɛmfa **one hundred cedis** biara mma ha ɛmmɛ dadaa obiara.

Trans: This year (.) I beg you (.2) let no one deceive any of you with **one hundred cedis**.

[Nana Addo at Koforidua Rally, 2016]

In Examples 29 and 30 above, intra-sentential code-switched segments are found in the structure of single sentences. The sentences above would, however, be rendered incomplete and ungrammatical should the code-switched elements be deleted or omitted. Most politicians, including Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, employ the intra-sentential code-switching when stating figures and/or referring to years. It is evident from the data that the

87

speaker switches to English from Akan when referring to a particular year as well as amount of money. In Example 29, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo switches from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English when referring to the years **'two thousand and eight**, and **two thousand and twelve'**. It is worth mentioning that the years can equally be stated in Akan as there are Akan equivalents. Additionally, it was evident in the data (see Example 30) that intra-sentential code-switching is employed in stating of figures in politicians' interactions. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo states all figures in English without any further attempt to translate these figures into Akan (Asante-Twi). Since all these figures have Akan equivalents and can equally be stated in Akan, a conclusive statement can be made that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo chooses to quote figures in English as a principle of economy of time and effort because the Akan equivalents of these figures carry extra cognitive load owing to the complexity of the counting system of Akan (Asante-Twi).

Example 31

SADA a ɛbaa yɛ yi. **SADA** a ɛbaa yi nso so no (.) ɛdeɛn na ɛbɛyɛɛ yɛ?

Trans: This **SADA** that came. When the **SADA** came too (.) what did it come to do?

[Nana Addo at Koforidua Rally, 2016)]

Example 32

//Na menim sɛ (.) Brong Ahafo ha asɛm (.) asɛm keseɛ wɔ hɔ a ɛha mo (.2) na m'aka ato hɔ (.) mereba abɛka biom (.2) sɛ berɛ no duru na sɛ yɛto aba no (.) na Mahama aban ɛntumi nyɛɛ ho hwee (.) ama wɔn a yayera yɛn sika ɛwɔ **DKM** a (.) Onyakopɔn ma me kwan na

88

me baa (.) mereba na m'abɛ di akyere ama yɛn nsa aka yɛn sika nyinaa.

Trans: //I know that (.) here in Brong Ahafo (.) there is a big issue that disturbs you (.2) which I have said (.) and I am saying again (.2) if by the time of election (.) and Mahama's government has not been able to solve it (.) for those whose money are lost with **DKM** (.) if God permits and I come (.) I am coming to follow up so we get all our money.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Techiman]

In Examples 31 and 32 above, the speaker employs the acronyms **'SADA and DKM'** in his political campaign speeches. These acronyms are intra-sentential code-switched segments as they occur within the structure of single sentences. The acronyms **'SADA and DKM'** observed in the data are the condensed forms of lengthy names as Savanna Accelerated Development Authority and Diamond Microfinance Limited respectively. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo uses these acronyms mainly because the acronyms stand out, for they are concise and time-saving while their full forms have and or carry extra cognitive load and have almost been forgotten.

Example 33

Baabi ara a yɛkɔ no (.) yɛkɔ **rally** baako baako (.) Brong Ahafo nko ara na yɛreyɛ **rally** mmienu **(.) two regional rallies**.

Trans: Wherever we went (.) we organized only one **rally** (.) Brong Ahafo alone that we are organizing two **rallies** (.) **two regional rallies**.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani]

Example 34

Wei dɛɛ me- mekaeɛ (.) yɛwura **Majority leader** (.) yɛn wura

Abraham Aidoo ɔno na na anka ɔku- ɔtu yɛn franka no (.) yɛkɔtoo

aba no (.) ɛna yɛmaa obi foforo so (.) obaapanyin a ɔwɔ ha yi (.2)

Naa Toshi Addo (.) ɔno (.) ɛna ɔno nso baeɛ.

Trans: I remember (.) our **Majority leader** (.) Mister Abraham

Aiddo he was the one going to lead the party (.) after the election (.)

then another person won (.) this woman here (.2) Naa Toshi Addo (.)

she (.) then she came.

[NPP Campaign Tour to Tema West]

Example 35

ɛkyerɛ sɛ (.) ewiase mu a yɛwɔ seisei yi (.) ɛyɛ **technology** ɛne

science na ɛsɛ sɛ adesua (.) ɛmu yɛduru pa ara (.) na ɛka Ghanafoɔ

nyinaa.

Trans: The world we live today (.) it is **technology** and **science** that

we have to intensify (.) so that it affects all Ghanaians.

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

Examples 33, 34, and 35 clearly illustrate the intra-sentential type of code-switching because they occur within sentence boundaries. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo switches from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English at the intra-sentential level to refer to political terms as well as some scientific terms which would otherwise be difficult to access at the time of the production of speech. It is evident from the data that the speaker at many points of the speech switches to English at the intra-sentential level to indirectly quote party slogans and policies in their party manifesto (see Appendix B). I argue that

90

party manifestoes are written in English and they usually contain technical terms such that the speaker would be hard pressed to translate them to Akan (Asante-Twi). In Examples 33 and 34 the use of the words and/or phrases '**rally, two regional rallies, Majority leader'** appear more political terms and would be better expressed in English by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo than in the matrix language, Akan. In Example 35, the speaker switches to English to refer to some scientific terms such as '**technology** and **science'.** The speaker is conscious about his switch such that an attempt to say these terms in Akan could somehow distort their meaning.

Example 36

Yεn ɔmanpanin se (.) adwuma na wa- w'ayε no yεn hunuu bi da (.2) **unprecedented** (.2) w'ayε adwuma papa a (.2) nyε kyidifoɔ na εka (.) yεse adepa na εtɔn ne ho (.) εnyε saa?

Trans: Our President said (.) we have never seen the works he has done before (.2) **unprecedented** (.2) if you have done a good job (.2) is it not citizens who will say it (.) they say good things sell on their own (.) not so?

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

The data provide instances where Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo uses intra-sentential code-switching as quotations, either directly or in the form of reported speech. To Gumperz (1982), interactants in a communicative event can switch either as direct quotations or through reported speech. In Example 36 above, the speaker makes a direct quotation to refer to a comment made by the then President, John Dramani Mahama. Employing the direct quotation '**unprecedented'** here motivates the switch to English. Example 36 is,

91

therefore, a clear example of using the intra-sentential code-switching to quote.

Example 37 below accounts for the type of code-switching which some scholars (Kustati, 2014; Nguyen, 2016) refer to as the intra-word switch. The intra-word switching could be differentiated from tag switching in that, whereas the former involves mixing of two languages within a single and/or lexical word item, usually at the morpheme boundary, the latter involves switching of either a tag phrase or a word, or both, from one linguistic code to another within a single discourse. Again, it is worthy of mention that the linguistic concept of 'intra-sentential code-switching' need not be confused for the intra-word even though they share some characteristics of 'mixing' two languages. The intra-sentential code-switching occurs as a result of a switch within sentences and/or clauses whereas the intra-word occurs as a result of morphemes from two different languages combining in the same word. The intra-word switch was not captured as part of the types of code-switch by Poplack (2001) even though there are some few examples found in the data. Example 37 below clearly illustrates the intra-word type of code-switch in data. The speaker used the word '*yɛtry*' which is a combination of an Akan affix (prefix) '*yɛ*' and English lexeme 'try'.

Example 37

… na sɛ *yɛtry* wo na sɛ wonnyɛ papa a yɛnsesa wo?

Trans: … if we try you and you are not good won't we change you?

[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]

Following from the discussions made thus far in Section 4.1, it has been established that the speaker employs all three types of code-switching as

92

outlined by Poplack (2001). The data revealed that the speaker used all three types of code-switching (Poplack, 2001) in 243 examples in the delivery of his political campaign speeches. In terms of the use of these three types of code-switching, the intra-sentential code-switching occurred more frequently in his speeches (see Appendix B for full speeches). The political speaker employed more of the intra-sentential type of code-switching for reasons such as to: fill lexical gap, access the Akan equivalence, state figures and years, quote, state political terms and or scientific terms and for acronyms. Koban (2013, p.1178) indicates "that the more speakers report their language skills to be good, the more intra-sentential code-switching they use in their utterances". Amuzu (2014) indicates that the intra-sentential code-switching occurs when speakers are urban and educated. The finding of this study seems to confirm the position of Amuzu. A conclusive statement could be made that the speaker, who is a bilingual, employs more intra-sentential code-switching because he is urban and educated. More so, I consider political campaign rallies as informal since the speeches made at these rallies are usually delivered without prior documentation and the switches which are evident in this data are usually not evident in formal speeches.

Motivations for Code-switching in Political Campaign Speeches

I now turn to analyse Research Question Two, which seeks to account for the socio-psychological motivation of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. It is worthy of note that my data only revealed instances of marked code-switching. The marked choice and/or maxim proposes eight communicative functions which speakers may resort to: increase the social distance via authority and/or anger, express

93

group solidarity and ethnic identity, reveal speakers as entrepreneurs, indicate Marked Choices as structurally flagged, create aesthetic effect, employ the marked choice as an exclusion strategy, make the marked choice the medium of the message and, echoic. In this section, the socio-psychological motivations for code-switching would be presented and analysed.

To Express Anger and Authority

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model states that language users employ the marked code choice to express anger and authority. In Example 38, the speaker switches code in a bid to express his anger and as such asserts authority (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Example 38

Na **confusion** sei tumi ba (.) ɛwɔ **small matter** (.) no small matter but a simple issue **like a manifesto** a ɛbɛyɛ dɛn na **confusion** mma ɔman yi mu?

Trans: So **confusion** like this can come (.) just because of a **small matter** (.) no small matter but a simple issue like a manifesto then why won't there be **confusion** in the country?

[NPP Biggest Campaign Crowd at Awutu Senya East]

The speaker switches from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English then again to Akan to express his anger to the leaders of the then ruling party, the National Democratic Congress, for not being able to handle their own internal party issues including the writing of their party manifesto. The speaker again is angered by the party's inability to run the affairs of the country as he even likens the confusion in their party to that of the country. I argue that English is the language of the elite and it enjoys a higher social status than Akan

94

(Asante-Twi) in Ghana and it is mostly used by political speakers whenever they are annoyed as a means of evoking their authority (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Example 39

//Nnaadaa no adɔɔso (.) ntorɔ ne nnaadaa no adɔɔso (.) **we want to build a new Ghana** (.) **we are going to build a new Ghana**.

Trans: //The deceits are too much (.) the lies and deceits are too much (.) **we want to build a new Ghana** (.) **we are going to build a new Ghana.**

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

In Example 39, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo switches from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English to express his anger, as he refers to the statements made by the then President to Ghanaians as lies. He repeats himself again in an expression of anger in his speech as he uses 'ntorɔ ne nnaadaa' which means 'the lies and deceit'. This reveals some annoyance and impoliteness on the side of the speaker. I argue that it is an expression of anger as it is produced in a rising intonation than the surrounding words for emphasis. To assert his authority, the speaker then switches to English.

Example 40

//ɔse (.2) ɔno **eight years** a ɔbaa aban mu (.) **eight years** (.) **NDC in office** (.) ɔntumi fa a adwuma mmaeɛ (.) na **next term (.) the third term** a ɔreba yi ɛna ɔde **three million jobs** ɛrebɛba. **Eii** (.) na **all this time** a yɛreka yi (.) adɛn na yɛntumi hunu wo nsa ano adwuma?

Trans: //He said (.2) **eight years** he came into office (.) **eight years** (.) **NDC in office** (.) he hasn't brought jobs (.) but **next term** (.) **the third term** he is coming to create **three million jobs**. Eii (.) **all this**

95

time we have been complaining (.) why haven't you created the

jobs?

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

In the parlance of the markedness model, Akan (Asante-Twi) on its own is the unmarked choice for this conversation type since it is the expected code choice. The switch from Akan to English and back to Akan is motivated by the need for the speaker to express his anger that for eight years in office (two consecutive terms) of the then ruling National Democratic Congress, there were no jobs in the country. He is even more angered to hear the then president say he was going to create three million jobs in his next term, his third term of office. He switches to English in the phrase '**all this time**' to assert his authority. It can be argued that "those who have the luxury of expressing anger are often those who also have authority" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.133).

To Express Group Solidarity and Ethnic Identity

It is evident that speakers switch codes to serve either a communicative intent or communicate something beyond the linguistic content (Becker, 1997). The conscious switch can be for a speaker to express group solidarity and or ethnic identity (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Additionally, Gumperz (1982) asserts that in switching between codes, one of the linguistic codes is used to express a 'we-type' (for the purpose of this study, Akan) solidarity and as such that language, therefore, may be suitable for in-group and informal activities. Conversely, the 'they' oriented code (for the purpose of this study, English) is considered appropriate for out-group and formal relationships that are considered impersonal. In Example 41 below, it is evident that the speaker's

96

conscious switch goes beyond linguistic content to mark group or ethnic solidarity.

Example 41

Yɛn yɛpɛ asomdwoe **(.)** yɛpɛ nkɔsoɔ **and we are looking for the peace and stability of Ghana.**

Trans: We want peace (.) we want progress **and we are looking for the peace and stability of Ghana.**

[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]

The speaker's use of Akan (Asante-Twi) and English in the same stretch of discourse is an emblem of his dual membership of two different speech communities. The speaker signals a mixed identity and group solidarity. The use of Akan signals his in-group membership as it expresses solidarity and ethnic identity with the members of the community while the English signals his auxiliary out-group membership. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's use of Akan can be said to show his ethnic identity to his audience even though he might be aware of the cost for showing off his ethnic identity. It is not lost on the speaker that Akan (Asante-Twi) is the language of the masses. In Example 41, the speaker uses the pronoun 'Yɛn' which means 'we' instead of 'I' as another way of expressing group solidarity. This confirms what Gumperz (1982) refers to as a 'we-type' solidarity.

To Indicate Marked Choices that are Structurally Flagged

Marked code-switching is often structurally flagged (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.141) when it calls attention to itself through a repetition of what has already been mentioned in the unmarked code choice. Thus, the unmarked code choice may first be uttered with the message reiterated in the marked

97

choice. Either way, the language user is conscious not to lose the referential content. It is worthy of note that marked code choices are typically phonologically flagged; thus, they are said with emphasis. Example 42 below shows marked code choice as structural flagging:

Example 42

Adeɛ baako mɛtumi aka (.) agyina hɔ aka akyerɛ mo ne sɛ (.) merenni mo hwammɔ da. **I am not going to disappoint the people of Ghana and turn my back on them. //We are coming to work for the progress of our nation so we can lift our people up and build a new Ghanaian civilization that is going to be the light of Africa and the wonder of the world**.

Trans: One thing I can say (.) I can stand here and tell you is that (.) I will never disappoint you. **I am not going to disappoint the people of Ghana and turn my back on them. //We are coming to work for the progress of our nation so we can lift our people up and build a new Ghanaian civilization that is going to be the light of Africa and the wonder of the world**.

[Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade Fair, 2016]

The speaker, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, switches from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English to reiterate his message. In Akan, the speaker promises he was never going to disappoint the people of Ghana if voted into office. He, however, switches from Akan to English to repeat the message without the message being put across losing its referential content (Myers-Scotton, 1993). This confirms Gumperz's (1982) assertion that the marked code choice usually used in utterances is for reiteration. The speaker in trying to reiterate the

98

message in the marked choice raises his voice. This strategy, according to the Markedness Model, is known as code-switching that is structurally flagged.

Example 43

Yɛreba abɛsesa mu (.) yɛreba abɛsesa mu (.) **we are coming to change him**.

Trans: We are coming to change (.) we are coming to change (.) **we are coming to change him**.

[NPP Campaign Tour, Tema West]

In Example 43 above, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo switches from Akan to English for emphasis. The statement '**we are coming to change him'** emphasizes the speaker's message he puts across in Akan, the unmarked choice, and this part of the line is said in a rising intonation to bring out the emphasis. The speaker talks about a change of government in Akan, then, reiterates the same message in English.

Example 44

Wohwɛ babia ɔsono no wɔ. **Vote for the elephant** (.) **vote for the elephant.**

Trans: Look for where the elephant is. **Vote for the elephant** (.) **vote for the elephant.**

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

Example 44 above clearly illustrates an instance of inter-sentential switching from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English. The speaker consciously switches to English to emphasise and encourage his supporters to vote for the elephant party, his party. In the marked part of his message, the speaker is noticed to have raised intonation to reiterate or bring out the emphasis. This reiteration of

99

the message that has already been said in the unmarked medium of exchange is what the markedness model refers to as 'structural flagging' (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

To Reveal Speakers as Entrepreneurs

The entrepreneur is seen as an innovative speaker who takes risks in order to maximize returns. The speaker's innovation is to engage in an unexpected marked use of language, and the ability to do so is an asset. Myers-Scotton (1993, p.141) claims that "making a marked code choice is clearly a gamble whether consciously or unconsciously, by weighing the relative costs and rewards of making this choice rather than an unmarked choice". The expected code choice, according to the Markedness Model, is safe and predictable while the marked code choice is unexpected and or unpredictable and indicates surprises. It is worth mentioning that the language entrepreneur with status sufficiently high to allow him or her to take chances may employ the marked choice. Additionally, entrepreneurs are so positioned that the possibility of achieving a certain status is real, and would be heightened through successful negotiations of personal or interpersonal position may as well employ the marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The marked code employed by speakers represents the imprint which speakers wish to make for themselves on a conversational exchange than anything else. Such a choice has its effect, whether or not the audience reciprocates in kind; in fact, true reciprocity is often not the desired response. The example below illustrates code-switching as a marked code choices that reveal speakers as entrepreneurs.

100

Example 45

//Mennkum obiara a (.) me (:) mennkum obiara wɔ me wiase a mebaa yɛ mu (.) ɛmɔɔ obiara korɔno (.) nti nea ɔreba abɛka afa meho no (.) me (.) megyina me nan so. ɛmfa me ho koraa (:) nti mo nso so no mma mo mfa (.) **know that we are going to victory on Wednesday the seventh of December**.

Trans: //I haven't killed anybody (.) I (:) I haven't killed anybody in this life (.) I haven't duped anyone (.) so all they are going to say about me (.) I am still on my feet. I don't care (:) so I don't want you to pay attention to that (.) **know that we are going to victory on Wednesday the seventh of December**.

[Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade Fair, 2016]

In Example 45 above, the speaker in switching between languages, that is, Akan (expected) and English (unexpected), demonstrates his willingness to move from the safer, predicted and expected unmarked code choice, to taking the risk associated with the use of the unpredicted and/or least expected choice, marked. The speaker in the delivery of his political campaign speeches is aware of his target audience and the societal expectations. Therefore, as a language entrepreneur, he is conscious of the cost and reward of using the marked code choice. In Example 45 above, I argue that the speaker employs Akan, the unmarked (expected) choice, to give hope to his supporters. However, in the part that is to be seen as very much important and contains the essential information, he switches to the marked choice, English. The essence of the speaker's political campaign speech could be said as to canvass for votes. Therefore, the speaker's switch to the marked choice in "**know that we**

are going to victory on Wednesday the seventh of December" could have been uttered in the unmarked code choice to reach a wider audience. This can cost the language entrepreneur since not many of his supporters might understand this essential message he puts across.

Example 46

//Na ayɛ sei (.) yɛn ɔmanpanin ne **NDC**foɔ (.) ɛbabɛ- wɔn a- wɔn ahunu sɛ akonwa no (.) ɛreyi (.) akonwa no wɔn ɛreyɛ a afiri so (.) yɛreba abɛ keka nsɛm bebree. **These last forty-eight hours (.) all kinds of libelness and defamatory things are going to be said about me (.) my running mate (.) members of my party (.) and my party (.) I am pleading with you (.) don't pay any heed to any of that (.) it's utter rubbish and lies and fabrications**.

Trans: //Our President and his **NDC** (.) have realized they are going to lose the seat (.) they have realized they are almost losing the seat (.) so they are going to say all manner of things. **These last forty-eight hours (.) all kinds of libelness and defamatory things are going to be said about me (.) my running mate (.) members of my party (.) and my party (.) I am pleading with you (.) don't pay any heed to any of that (.) it's utter rubbish and lies and fabrications**.

[Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade fair, 2016]

The speaker in Example 46, switches codes from Akan to the unexpected choice. He is conscious of the gimmicks in politics and tries to warn his supporters of the propaganda of the then president, John Dramani Mahama, and his party. As a politician himself, it is not lost on him that such

102

propaganda could cost him. The language entrepreneur, therefore, employs the unmarked code choice, Akan, to explain to his supporters the gimmicks of the opposition party. For this reason, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo adopts the unmarked code to reach a wider audience. Unquestionably, the speaker's switch to English from Akan had a cost to pay as the message in the switch to English contained information that otherwise should have been uttered in the unmarked code choice, Akan. By the use of Akan, the speaker is sure to reach a wider audience. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo is heard in the marked code choice, English, pleading with his supporters not to pay heed to any such gimmicks from the opposition. Admittedly, the speaker is aware of what damage these statements from the opposition could cause; yet, he used the marked choice which may not reach the target audience as the unmarked choice would. This could cost the language entrepreneur since not many of his supporters may understand this essential message he puts across.

To Make the Message the Medium in Code-switching

The Markedness Model accounts for the use of the marked code choice as the medium. Even though the marked code choice often complements its referential message said in the unmarked choice, there is no doubt that the marked code choice can stand on its own in its indexical function regarding the rights-and-obligation sets (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Thus, whereas the unmarked choice may express anger as its message, the marked may show authority. Therefore, it is obvious that a speaker's use of the marked code choice has a message of its own. Though the marked code choice carries a repetition or referential content, this referential content can be seen as redundant since the message itself lies with the change in social distance.

Moreover, the referential message carried by the marked choice need not be understood for its social message of communicative intent to succeed. The examples below clearly illustrate the marked code choice message as the medium.

Example 47

ɛnɛ yɛbaeɛ a **(.)** nwoma wei ɛna yɛbaa sɛ yɛbɛ da no adi na yɛmma Ghanafoɔ nyinaa ahunu nhyɛhyeɛ yɛbɔho pɔ **and it is the Manifesto (.) the 2016 Manifesto of the New Patriotic Party (.) manifesto for change and agenda for jobs (.) creating prosperity and equal opportunity for all (.) that is our manifesto and our contract with the people of Ghana**.

Trans: Today we are here (.) to launch this book for Ghanaians to know the plans we have **and it** is the Manifesto **(.) the 2016 Manifesto of the New Patriotic Party (.) manifesto for change and agenda for jobs (.) creating prosperity and equal opportunity for all (.) that is our manifesto and our contract with the people of Ghana**.

<div align="right">[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]</div>

This example was taken from the 2016 manifesto launch of the New Patriotic Party (see Appendix B for full speech). In Example 47 above, the speaker employs the marked code choice as the medium (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employs the unmarked choice to inform his supporters and other well-meaning Ghanaians about the purpose for the gathering (rally). He is noticed in the unmarked code choice, Akan, informing his supporters that the purpose for their gathering was to launch a book

<div align="center">104</div>

(manifesto). The marked choice, English, as employed is nearly a repetition of the same information in the unmarked choice, Akan. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's use of the marked choice in this example could be to show that he belongs to the elite group as well as to create a social distance. More so, the marked choice in this example behaves more like an adjunct such that supporters who do not have any idea of what Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was saying when he switched to English will still understand the communicative intent.

Example 48

//Ne titiriw (.) ɛnɛ nnawɔtwe a worekɔ no (.) menim sɛ mframa a ɛrebɔ wɔ Ghana ha nyinaa yɛ **NPP**foɔ mframa nanso (.) ɛmma ɛnnyɛ obiara adwen sɛ aba no y'ato (.) yɛtoeɛ (.) yɛto aba no nso a yɛn nnyae hwɛ (.) mesrɛ mo (.) obiara aba hia (.) mmerɛ no duru a (.) wo sɔre **seventh** a wo a worekɔ akɔ di dwa (.) worekɔ afuom (.) worekɔ ba- bia- worekɔ school (.) **wherever you are going** mede Onyankopɔn din srɛ mo (.) fa ɛno to nkyɛn na kɔ na kɔto wo aba.

Trans: //Most importantly (.) as you go (to vote) in a week's time (.) I know the wind blowing all over Ghana is the NPP wind but (.) let no one think that we have voted (.) we voted (.) after we have voted too let's not stop watching (.) I beg you (.) everyone's vote counts (.) when the time is due (.) when you wake up on the **seventh** if you are going to the market (.) to the farm (.) wherever you are going - to school (.) **wherever you are going** I beg you in the name of God (.) put that aside and go and vote.

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

105

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, in Example 48, switches between the unmarked code (Akan) to the unexpected marked code (English) and then back to the expected choice. Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that the fact that an unexpected code has a message of its own. The speaker's switch from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English in the word **'seventh'** carries only a referential message. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employs the unmarked code to make his supporters aware of the election which was in a week's time. He takes the opportunity to plead with his supporters to put whatever they have to do on that day aside and vote massively for him, as is seen in the switch to English **'wherever you are going'.** This switch obviously carries a referential message. I argue that the speaker's switch in this excerpt shows a social distance; that is, he belongs to the elite and or educated class. Again, according to the Markedness Model, "a marked choice's referential message does not have to be 'understood' for its social message of communicative intent to succeed" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.138). I further argue that the switch to English can be seen as adjuncts and that when deleted from the message may not affect the excerpt in any way. The supporters who only share the unmarked code with the speaker may not lose the content of the message, even though the speaker switched to English at certain times, as the communicative intent is clear.

To Create Aesthetic Effect

The Markedness Model accounts for the marked choice used by a speaker for aesthetic effect. The bilingual speaker adopts the marked choice to retell an incident that may or may not have occurred in the original (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 139). Therefore, a speaker's ability in making marked

choices is a means of clearly demonstrating his linguistic creativity. This can be illustrated in the example below. Example 49 below which was taken from the New Patriotic Party's Eastern regional rally at Nkawkaw (see Appendix B), demonstrates the marked code choice employed by the speaker to achieve aesthetic effect.

Example 49

> Yɛn ɔmanpanin se (.) adwuma na wa- w'ayɛ no yɛnhunuu bi da (.2) **unprecedented** (.2) w'ayɛ adwuma papa a (.2) nyɛ kyidifoɔ na ɛka (.) yɛse adepa na ɛtɔn ne ho (.) ɛnyɛ saa?
>
> Trans: Our President said (.) the works that he has done we (Ghanaians) have never seen before (.2) **unprecedented** (.2) if you have done a good job (.2) is it not the citizens who will say it (.) they say good things sell by themselves (.) not so?
>
>   [Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

In Example 49 above, the speaker in the unmarked choice sarcastically retells what good works the then president claims he had done. In this example, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's use of the marked code choice (English) in the word '**unprecedented**' accords authority to the then president, John Dramani Mahama, who is being quoted. Undoubtedly, the use of English from the colonial era and even today, in Ghana, is associated with persons of authority. The speaker evokes the authority of the then president by using the marked choice, English. What may not be clear is whether the word '**unprecedented**', as employed by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, was, in fact, said by the then president, John Dramani Mahama. Nevertheless, the use of the marked code choice in the sentence medial-position achieves a truly artistic effect

107

(Myers-Scotton, 1993). Therefore, the use of code-switching demonstrates the linguistic creativity involved in making especially 'marked' choices.

To Make the Marked Choice Echoic

The marked choice can be employed to create a 'stylistic effect' and deliver the 'authorial message'. Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 140) believes that what gives the marked code choice its contextual import is the fact that it is echoic, for it calls up 'something different' from what is expected, thereby, calling attention to itself. By echoic, Benhattab (2016) states that speakers refer to effects of irony which under the markedness model implies a change of the rights-and-obligation set. Thus, the marked code choice is employed by a speaker as a language skill that is stylistically motivated to achieve a certain communicative intent which may be more ambiguous than explicit. Example 50 below illustrates the marked code choice as echoic.

Example 50

Baabi a y'aduru seisei yi (.) baabi a yɛduru seisei (.) yɛhia obiara aba

(.) mesrɛ mo (.) yɛmpɛ sɛ yɛbɛte **skirt and blouse** anaa biribi saa wɔ

Sunyani ha.

Trans: Where we are now (.) Where we are now (.) we need

everybody's vote (.) I beg you (.) we don't want to hear of **skirt and**

blouse or anything of such sort here in Sunyani.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani]

In Example 50 above, the speaker, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employs the unmarked code choice, Akan, and then switches to the marked code, English. The speaker's switch to English in the phrase **'skirt and blouse'** in Example 50 is used to create a 'stylistic effect' and at the same time deliver

the 'authorial message'. The phrase is used to achieve a certain communicative intent. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's use of **'skirt and blouse'** goes beyond the literal meaning of the phrase but rather to mean a term in the politics of Ghana where a voter chooses the presidential candidate of one political party and a parliamentary candidate of another party in an election (split-ticket voting).

To Employ the Marked Choice as an Ethnically-based Exclusion Strategy

The Markedness Model accounts for the marked code choice used by speakers as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy. Interactants who share a common ethnic language during a conversational event may decide to take a gamble, thus, weigh the cost and rewards associated with using their native and/or ethnic languages in front of other interactants. Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 135) says that "[t]here is an instrumental value in keeping ethnicity salient". The switch to the native and/or ethnic language is primarily to exclude other participants who do not share the same linguistic background knowledge. Certainly, the participants who are excluded from the conversation may be offended. However, some bilingual speakers consider the rewards to be great enough to make the marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The data for the study revealed instances where the political speaker switched to a marked code, Ga, to consciously exclude a section of his supporters. Consider the example below.

Example 51

Yoo (.) majɛ shishi akɛɛ (.) esane m'ada nyɛ fɛɛ ashi (.) akɛɛ shwane

nɛɛ kɛ gbɛkɛ nɛɛ (.) nyɛ ba lɛ babahoo. Nyomo adjoo nyɛ fɛɛ shi kome

kome… Afe yi **(.)** Onyankopɔn ne Ghana mmra ama kwan **(.)** sɛ yɛn

haw **(.)** yɛn ahokyerɛ a abɛdware Ghanaman yi na biribiara mu ayɛ dendenden**...**.

Trans: *I will start by saying that (.) I thank all of you (.) that this afternoon or this evening (.) you have come in your numbers. God bless you all one after the other*…. This year (.) God as well as the constitution have paved way (.) so our problems (.) the hardship that Ghana is going through …

[NPP Manifesto Rally -Trade Fair Centre]

The campaign speech which was delivered at Trade fair, Accra indicated that the expected, unmarked code employed by the speaker was Akan (Asante-Twi) and the marked, Ga and English. There is no denying the fact that the Akan was employed by the speaker as the unmarked code to be able to reach a wider audience since Akan serves as the language of the masses. The speaker's use of the marked code, Ga (in Example 51), is typically limited to a section of people and/or group of which the speaker is also a part. Therefore, listeners who do not understand the marked code that had been employed by the political speaker would be locked out or excluded from the discourse. Elections and, for that matter voting in countries with multi-ethnic languages like Ghana, are mostly politically and ethnically biased. The choice of a language employed for communication during political campaign speeches by a political speaker may have some consequences which the speaker is aware of.

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's choice of the unmarked code, Akan, first, identifies his ethnic background and helps him reach out to a wider audience since Akan is the language of the majority. Undeniably, the

110

speaker's marked choice, Ga, bars listeners who do not understand the language. I argue that Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model is sufficient in accounting for the marked code choice as an ethnically exclusion-based strategy. Even though the speaker is aware of the purpose of the gathering (rally) and strives to use the opportunity to convince his supporters, his conscious and/or unconscious switch to other linguistic code(s) other than the unmarked choice, undeniably, excludes some listeners.

Communicative Functions of Code-switching in Political Campaign Speeches

In this section, I analyse the data to answer Research Question Three which seeks to find out the conversational functions of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Gumperz (1982), as noted earlier in Section 2.4.2., discusses six conversational functions of code-switching: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalisation versus objectivization (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 75-81). The data on the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo proves to perform various functions, including, but not limited to, the functions discussed by Gumperz. The data shows that the speaker also uses code-switching for proper nouns, for phatic expressions, for showing courtesy and/or refinement and for showing off.

Quotation

During their interactions, political speakers such as Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo make language choices by either choosing to activate their monolingual modes or switching to their bilingual modes. Bilingual speakers activate their bilingual modes to accommodate another language

111

other than the base language to enable them to quote themselves or others and/or make reported speech. The examples below clearly illustrate that the speaker switches linguistic codes to quote or make a reported speech:

Example 52

Na **President** adwuma no ɔse ɛnyɛ **trial and error** na sɛ *yɛtry* wo na

sɛ wonnyɛ papa a yɛnsesa wo?

Trans: He said the work of the **President** is not **trial and error** but if

we try you and you are not good won't we change you?

[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]

In Example 52 above, the political speaker chooses Akan as the base language for his interaction. He activates his bilingual mode to include English. The speaker switches between either of the two languages during his interaction with his supporters without it affecting each other. The speaker's use of English in the phrase **'trial and error'** was meant to quote exactly what the then president, John Dramani Mahama, had said. A possible explanation for this behaviour is that the speaker (for that matter, the average Ghanaian) links English to authority, and therefore uses English to quote what the then first gentleman of the land, said.

Example 53

Me (.) meka to hɔ (.2) sɛ mebaa (.) **Senior High School** no ɛbɛyɛ

free wɔ Ghana (.) meboa anaa?

Trans: I (.) I have said this already (.2) that if I come (.) **Senior High**

School is going to be **free** in Ghana (.) am I lying?

[Nana Addo at Koforidua Rally, 2016]

112

The speaker, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, activates his bilingual mode to quote himself in Example 53. He chooses the matrix language, Akan, and switches to English in the words **'Senior High School'** and **'free'.** In the example, the speaker's activation of his bilingual mode can be said to enable him to quote himself.

Addressee Specification

Speakers activate their bilingual modes to be able to direct their message "to one of several possible addressees" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 77). Bilingual speakers, according to Gumperz, activate their bilingual language modes to be able to exclude other participants from the interactional event and focus on their target. I emphasise the 'we/they' code dichotomy (Gumperz, 1982); 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. Example 54 illustrates the addressee specification in the data:

Example 54

Yɛyi no si nkyɛn so a (.) na yɛn nyinaa (:) ɛde yɛn ahoɔden aka abom anigyeɛ mu wɔ Ghana afanai nyinaa aka sɛ John Dramani Mahama (.) **thank you and goodbye**. **Goodbye (:) goodbye (:) goodbye (:) thank you and goodbye** (.) Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (.) **thank you and may God bless you.**

Trans: When we put him aside (.) then we all (:) in one strength come together in happiness everywhere in Ghana and say John Dramani Mahama (.) **thank you and goodbye**. **Goodbye (:)**

113

> **goodbye (:) goodbye (:) thank you and goodbye** (.) God bless you
>
> all (.) **thank you and may God bless you.**

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

At the end of Eastern Regional rally at Nkawkaw (see Appendix B), the speaker activates his bilingual mode to address the then president, John Dramani Mahama, who obviously was and could not be present at the political campaign rally of the opposition party, New Patriotic Party. In Example 54 above, the speaker employs the base language (Akan) to encourage his supporters to vote massively for the New Patriotic Party to victory. His use of the base language, Akan, is to reach out to his supporters, both present and absent, as the speaker is aware of the presence of the media. It is important to note here that the speaker's switch to English in Example 54 is to address John Dramani Mahama after the speaker's use of Akan to encourage his supporters. Logically, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employing English to address the then president creates a contrast between his interaction with the supporters at the rally and his interaction with the then president; that is, the switch to English clearly shows that he is directing his present message, **"John Dramani Mahama (.) thank you and goodbye"** to the president. The base language, Akan, which serves as the 'we code' identifies Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo with his supporters. His identity as an Akan is reiterated to his supporters through his use of Akan as the base language to address them. This also reflects his interest in satisfying all his supporters; both educated and uneducated Akan speakers (the audience who may not understand English). By contrast, English, the colonial language, serves as the 'they code'

114

associated with formal relations. Thus, the speaker adopts English to address the then president as a means to evoke authority.

Interjections

Bilingual speakers can activate their bilingual language mode to mark an interjection or sentence filler. The interjections and sentence fillers are usually tag switches (Poplack, 2001) and do not usually add any conversational content. Consider the following examples:

Example 55

Oh wow! Oh wow! wow! meda mo ase (h) meda mo ase (h) meda mo ase.

Trans: **Oh wow! Oh wow! wow!** I thank you (h) I thank you (h) thank you.

[Nana Addo's NPP Rally at Mallam]

Example 56

Afe yi yɛde yɛn kokromoti (.) yɛde yɛn kokromoti ɛreba abɛsesa aban no na yɛpia Mahama afiri hɔ (.2) na yɛde **NPP** aban aba a **uhm** me meda ano a yɛreba abɛyɛ ɔman no ho adwuma.

Trans: This year we are going to use our thumb (.) we are going to use our thumb to change the government and push Mahama away from there (.2) and then bring the **NPP** government **uhm** that I am the flagbearer so we can come and work for the nation.

[Nana Addo at Koforidua Rally, 2016]

In Examples 55 and 56 above, it is clear the speaker moves from his monolingual mode to bilingual language mode for interjections such as **wow** and for sentence fillers as **uhm.** I argue that these interjections and sentence

115

fillers used by the speaker in Example 55, and 56 above could be omitted or deleted but the sentence would still remain grammatical and meaningful (Poplack, 2001).

Reiteration

Gumperz (1982) points out that a bilingual speaker may activate his bilingual mode to be able to send a message in one linguistic choice and repeat the message either literally or in a modified form. The repetitions made in the other code may be for purposes such as; to clarify, amplify or emphasize the message. Consider Example 57:

Example 57

//Aba no saa (.) sɛ ɛnɛ mframa ɛrebɔ wɔ ɔman Ghana (.) ɛyɛ **NPP**foɔ mframa. Babiara wobɛkɔ (.) esrem (.) **Volta region** (.) **Western region** (.) **Brong Ahafo** (.) **Eastern region** (.) **Upper** West **(.) Upper East (.) Northern all over our** country **(.) there is a strong wind blowing behind the elephant (.) taking the** elephant **to a historic victory on Wednesday (.) the seventh of December** (wild cheers).

Trans: //In this case (.) the wind that is blowing over Ghana (.) is the **NPP** wind. Wherever you go (.) North (.) **Volta region** (.) **Western region** (.) **Brong Ahafo** (.) **Eastern region** (.) **Upper West (.) Upper East (.) Northern all over our country (.) there is a strong wind blowing behind the elephant (.) taking the elephant to a historic victory on Wednesday (.) the seventh of December** (wild cheers).

[Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade Fair]

In Example 57 above, the speaker activates his bilingual mode in order to reiterate a message. The speaker employs Akan to reassure his supporters all over the country that their party, the New Patriotic Party, was certain to win the election. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employs English (in this case the base language) to emphasize and clarify his message. To emphasize his message, first, the speaker uses English to metaphorically indicate that wherever one goes in Ghana the wind that blows is that of the New Patriotic Party. Then, the speaker emphasizes the message, using the base language (English) by adding that the elephant was going to a historic victory on Wednesday the seventh of December.

Example 58

Na monte aseɛ baako sɛ (.) yɛwɔ mmarima ne mmaa te sɛ ɛwura yi a (.) yɛde ɔman no hyɛ ne nsa a (.) hyɛ yɛn sa (.) yɛreba abɛbu ne kwan pa so ama mpuntuo ɛne sika ne ahotɔ ne adwuma atumi aba ɔman yi mu. **We have the men and women (.) we have the men and women who will work with sincerety to uplift the country Ghana again**.

Trans: But you should understand that (.) we have the men and women like this woman (.) when the country is put in her hands (.) put in our hands (.) we are coming to govern well for development and money and peace and jobs to come into the country. **We have the men and women (.) we have the men and women who will work with sincerety to uplift the country Ghana again**.

[NPP Biggest Campaign Crowd at Awutu Senya East]

In Example 58, the speaker activates his bilingual mode in his interaction with his supporters for reiteration. He employs the base language (Akan) to assure his supporters that his party, the New Patriotic Party, has the men and women who are capable to help him run the affairs of the country when he is voted into office. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo reiterates the message English. It is worthy of mention that the speaker's reiteration of the message is to evoke his authority, as English is usually linked with the elites. Additionally, the speaker's switch to his bilingual mode enables him to reach out to other listeners who may not understand the base language.

Message Qualification

A bilingual speaker can switch to his bilingual mode to qualify constructions. By message qualification, Ong (2008, p. 20) points out that the main message is usually presented in a linguistic code (base language) and clarified or commented upon in another. The examples below illustrate this:

Example 59

Afidie fidie adwuma a ɛde adwuma bɛba ama yɛn mmabunu **(.) One district (.) One factory** (.) saa nhyehyeɛ no nyinaa **(.2) constituencies** a sika no bɛba mu **directly from the central budget** a ɛde **development** bɛba aseɛ hɔ no **(.)** saa nhyehyɛeɛ nyinaa no (.) yɛma me kwan na meba a mereba abɛyɛ no pɛpɛɛpɛ (:) ama obiara ne Ghana ni biara nso atumi anya ho mfasoɔ **(.)** nyɛ sɛ mereba abɛdwidwa m'anum kɛkɛ.

Trans: Machinery jobs that will bring jobs to our youth (.) **One district (.) One factory** (.) all these policies (.2) **constituencies** that will receive money **directly from the central budget** that will bring

118

development to the grassroot (.) all these policies (.) when I am given the opportunity and I come I am coming to do them (.) so everyone and every Ghanaian will benefit (.) it is not just empty promises.

[NPP Manifesto Rally, 2016 -Trade Fair Centre]

Example 60

Anwummerɛ yi (.) anwummerɛ yi mebaa sɛ mereba abɛ serɛ Ghanafoɔ (.2) mo a mo wɔ ha ne wɔn a ɛretie yɛn ne ɔman no nyinaa (.) sɛ wukuada yi obiara sɔre anɔpa no a(.) meserɛ no (.) ansa na wo wo biribi yɛ (.) kɔ na kɔto aba no (.) kɔ na kɔto aba no (.) na yɛmfa yɛn nyinaa y'ahoɔden no ɛmmɛ tae ɔsono no akyi na yɛmpia ɔsono no ɛnkɔhyɛ **Jubilee House (.)** na ɔsono no nkɔ ɛnkɔsɔ aban mu na ɛnkɔyɛ adwuma ma ɔman no.

Trans: This evening (.) this evening I came to beg Ghanaians (.2) those who are here and those listening to us and the entire country (.) that this Wednesday when we all wake up in the morning (.) I beg you (.) before you go to do anything (.) go and vote (.) go and vote (.) so we put our strength together to push the elephant for the elephant to go to the **Jubilee House** and for the elephant to go and hold government and work for the country.

[Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade Fair]

In Examples 59 and 60 above, the speaker switches to his bilingual mode to enable him to qualify his message. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo employs the base language in Example 59 to indicate that if he is voted into power, he will create industrial or factory works for the youth as he is aware of the

119

increasing rate of graduate unemployment. The speaker then employs the other linguistic code, English, to clarify how he intends to create more jobs for the youth as he says **One district (.) One factory.** Additionally, in Example 60, the speaker switches from the base language to English to include **'Jubilee House'** in his speech. It is important to note that **'Jubilee House'** is the presidential palace in Ghana (Accra) that serves as a residence and office to the president. Therefore, no other politician or Ghanaian citizen can occupy the **'Jubilee House',** except the president. However, in Example 60, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo is heard pleading with his supporters to vote him into power so he can get to the **Jubilee House**. He clarifies his use of the **Jubilee House** by saying that it is only by getting to the Jubilee House that he can gain power and work for the country. The use of **Jubilee House** in this example cannot be seen as mere coincidence as its use in English evokes authority.

Personalisation versus Objectivization

Gumperz (1982) opines that code contrast may also be employed by bilingual speakers in differentiating subjective opinions from generally-known facts, or to an extent symbolize the degree of the speaker's involvement or distance from an utterance or message.

Example 61

Otweduampɔn Nyankopɔn (.) w'atie yɛn sufrɛ (.) ɔboadie Nyankopɔn ɛtie yɛn sufrɛ (.) yɛn amanehunu (.) yɛbrɛ (.) ɔhaw a ɛwɔ yɛn so no (.) ɔreyi afiri hɔ (.) ɛfiri sɛ (.) ɛwuraa Charllotte Osei (.) ɛreba abɛ firi n'anum aba //**Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has won the presidential election of the 2016 and the president-elect**

120

to take over the nation to bring progress and prosperity to the people of Ghana.

Trans: God, the Almighty (.) He has listened to our supplications (.) Almighty God has listened to our plea (.) our sufferings (.) the problems we are going through (.) He is taking them away (.) because (.) Mrs. Charlotte Osei (.) is soon going to say //**Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has won the presidential election of the 2016 and the president-elect to take over the nation to bring progress and prosperity to the people of Ghana**.

[Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade Fair]

In Example 61 above, the speaker, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, switches to his bilingual mode to employ code-switching as a strategy to distance himself a message. The speaker switches from the base language to English to make an assertion. Perhaps, the speaker's shift from the base language, Akan, to English is intended to imply that the statement being made is not his opinion but rather Mrs. Charlotte Osei, the then Electoral Commissioner. Admittedly, associating this to Gumperz's (1982) 'we' and/or 'they' code distinctions, it is obvious that the base language, Akan, acts as the 'we' code here and is linked to subjective opinions and English acts as the 'they' code used to state non-personal opinion. It is quite typical to link English, 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.

121

Below are some other functions that have been identified in the data which are not discussed by Gumperz (1982).

Proper Nouns

Bilingual speakers switch to their bilingual mode in their interactions to include proper nouns for the obvious reason of what proper nouns are. Basically, proper nouns are unique entities in the world. Therefore, finding a local (Akan) equivalence for such nouns becomes difficult. The examples below clearly illustrate this point:

Example 62

//Na menim sɛ (.) Brong Ahafo ha asɛm (.) asɛm keseɛ wɔ hɔ a ɛha mo (.2) na m'aka ato hɔ (.) mereba abɛka biom (.2) sɛ berɛ no duru na sɛ yɛto aba no (.) na Mahama aban ɛntumi yɛɛ ho hwee (.) ama wɔn a yayera yɛn sika ɛwɔ **DKM** a (.) Onyakopɔn ma me kwan na me baa (.) mereba na m'abɛ di akyere ama yɛn nsa aka yɛn sika nyinaa.

Trans: //I know that (.) here in Brong Ahafo (.) there is a big issue that disturbs you (.2) which I have said already (.) and I am saying it again (.2) if by the time of election (.) and Mahama's government hasn't been able to solve it (.) for those whose money are lost with **DKM** (.) if God paves way and I come (.) I am coming to follow up so they get all their money.

[NPP 2016 Rally at Techiman]

Example 63

SADA ɛbaeɛ. **SADA** ɛbaeɛ nso so no (.) ɛdeɛn na ɛbɛyɛɛ yɛ?

122

Trans: This **SADA** that came. When **SADA** came what did it come to do?

[Nana Addo at Koforidua Rally, 2016]

DKM was a microfinance company in Ghana. SADA (Savanna Accelerated Development Authority) is an agency in Ghana charged with the responsibility of coordinating a comprehensive development agenda for savanna ecological zones. Since they are names of unique entities, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo switches into English to be able to refer to them. Regardless of one's educational background, there would be a switch to English to refer to **DKM** and **SADA**.

To make Phatic Expressions

The data on the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo showed instances of phatic code-switches where the speaker switches from the base language, Akan, to English to be able to make a phatic expression. Consider the examples below:

Example 64

Onyame nhyira mo (.) Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (:) baako baako baako (.) **thank you (.) may God bless you**.

Trans: God bless you all (.) God bless you all (.) one by one (.) **thank you (.) may God bless you**.

[Nana Addo's NPP Rally at Mallam]

Example 65

Goodbye (:) goodbye (:) goodbye (:) thank you and goodbye (.)

Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (.) **thank you and may God bless you**.

123

Trans: **Goodbye (:) goodbye (:) goodbye (:) thank you and goodbye** (.) God bless you all (.) **thank you and may God bless you**.

[Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw]

In Examples 64 and 65 above, the political speaker switches from his monolingual mode to his bilingual mode to enable him make certain phatic expressions. The phatic expressions, according to Yankova and Vassileva (2013), are employed by speakers as a means of examining the working of the channel of communication, to attract or keep the addressee's attention, to initiate, and/or discontinue communication. It was observed from the data that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's switch from his monolingual to bilingual mode was mostly to enable him to discontinue his campaign speeches. He is noticed in both Examples 64 and 65 to have made phatic code-switches to employ the expression, '**thank you (.) may God bless you**' as a way of ending his campaign speeches. This confirms the earlier assertion made by Yankova and Vassileva (2013).

To show courtesy and/or refinement

The political speaker, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, switches from his monolingual mode to his bilingual mode to speak the unspeakable and also show courtesy and/or refinement in his speech (Asilevi, 2011). There are considerable evidences from the data that show instances where the speaker switched to his bilingual mode as a way of showing courtesy and/or refinement in the delivery of his campaign speeches. Consider Example 66 below:

124

Example 66

//ɛsɛsɛ ɔsi fɔm (.) yɛn wura Mahama (.) yɛma no tena hɔ **twenty years** koraa a bɛbia yɛte yi a na yɛreba abɛtena (.) ɔrenyɛ biribi a papa bi a ɛmma yɛn. **He is a threat (.) he is a threat to the future of our country. The continuing presidency of John Dramani Mahama is a threat to the future of Ghana (.2) we have to remove that threat**.

Trans: //He has to get down (.) Mister Mahama (.) even if given **twenty years** we will still be where we are (.) he will not do anything good for us. **He is a threat (.) he is a threat to the future of our country. The continuing presidency of John Dramani Mahama is a threat to the future of Ghana (.2) we have to remove that threat**.

[Nana Addo's NPP Rally at Mallam]

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, in Example 66, would have sounded harsh and impolite to the then president, John Dramani Mahama, in his use of the expression **"He is a threat (.) he is a threat to the future of our country"** had he not switched to English. It is without doubt that the switch even to English in making reference to an incumbent president as **'a threat'** is no joke and offensive. The Asante-Twi version, undoubtedly, might have sounded more offensive to the sensibilities of some section of Ghanaians, especially, members of the then ruling party (the National Democratic Congress) as well as their leader, John Dramani Mahama, who was then president. Asilevi (2011) confirms the assertion as he states that switching of codes, usually from the speaker's mother tongue to the other language, enables a speaker to speak

125

the unspeakable and also show politeness, courtesy and/or refinement in speech.

To show off

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo switches from his monolingual to bilingual mode to show off his linguistic competence in other linguistic codes other than the Akan (Asante-Twi). It is evident in the data (see Example 67) that the speaker switches from Akan to English and again to French only as a means to show off.

Example 67

Afe yi yɛ yɛn afe (.) yɛrekɔ no sei (.) gigim (.) gigim … ɛde ɛwura **Jubilee House** hɔ. *Je parle très bien français. Alors (.) je me demande de parler un peu français ce soir. J'ai venu ici à Brong Ahafo (.) à Sunyani (.) aussi bien à Techiman….*

Trans: This year is our year (.) we are going (majestically) to the **Jubilee House**. **I speak French very well. So, I want to speak a little French this evening. I have come here to Brong Ahafo (.) to Sunyani (.) also to Techiman**….

[NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani]

In Example 67 above, the speaker switches from Akan (Asante-Twi) to English, then to French as a means to show off and/or to attract the attention of his supporters. It is not lost on the speaker that majority of the supporters as well as other well-meaning Ghanaians are aware of his multilingual nature and as such some do admire him for this reason. He is noticed to consciously switch codes to include French to show how good he is at the language. The French commandant, in Example 67 above, says, **'I speak French very well.**

126

So, I want to speak a little French this evening'. His switch to French is welcomed with massive and wild cheers from the supporters, an indication that they had waited for such a switch for far too long. What makes Example 67 a show off, apart from the message being said, is the fact that the political speaker is aware of the location he finds himself as well as the purpose of the gathering. He is, again, aware of the language spoken by the majority of his supporters gathered. Also, the speaker is aware that there are a section of the population who are uneducated (therefore, speak only their native language) and cannot speak the official language of the country, English. Why then will the political speaker speak French, if not as a means to show off his linguistic competence.

Chapter Summary

The present study was undertaken to investigate code-switching in political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The work employed thematic analysis to identify the types of code-switching. The study revealed the three types of code-switching by Poplack (2001) with the intra-sentential code-switching, occurring most frequently. The study revealed another code-switch type, the intra-word, which was not mentioned by Poplack. The Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993) was implemented to investigate the socio-psychological motivation for code-switching in the data. The work revealed that speakers involved in an interactive event may resort to the use of the marked code choice to achieve various communicative functions. The six conversational functions of code-switching outlined by Gumperz were identified in the data. Other communicative functions found in

127

the data included: proper nouns, performing phatic expression, showing courtesy and/or refinement in speech and, finally, showing off.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The work has so far examined the code-switching types, accounted for the socio-psychological motivation and the conversational functions of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The previous chapter, Chapter Four, discussed the results of the analysis of the data for this work. This final chapter presents a summary of the entire work, highlighting the major findings of the study. Conclusions were drawn, based on the findings of the study. The chapter further presents some recommendations for further studies.

Summary of the Study

The research focused on code-switching in political campaign speeches. Particularly, the study sought to examine the types of code-switching, account for the socio-psychological motivation and the conversational functions of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The study reviewed related concepts that were utilised together with some previous studies concerning code-switching in political speeches. In an attempt to provide answers to the research questions, the present research adopted the code-switching types by Poplack (2001), Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model and Gumperz's (1982) Conversational Analysis as the analytical framework. The study used ten video clips of the 2016 political campaign rallies of the New Patriotic Party for the analysis of data for this research. The findings of the study have been discussed and presented in the preceding chapter.

129

Key Findings

The key findings presented in the subsequent paragraphs are in relation to the research questions of this study.

First Research Question

Research question One sought to investigate the types of code-switching used by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in his campaign speeches. The study revealed that the speaker used all the three types of code-switching: the inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and tag switching (Poplack, 2001) in the delivery of his political campaign speeches. The data revealed that out of a total of 243 iterative uses of code-switching, 174 (71.6%) of these were intra-sentential, 53 (21.8%) were inter-sentential and 16 (6.6%) were tag switching. The work revealed that the intra-sentential type of code-switching occurred most frequently than any other type. Summaring, the analysis on the types of code-switching revealed that political campaign speeches (the case of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo) employed more intra-sentential code-switching for reasons such as to: fill lexical gap, access the Akan equivalence, state figures and years, quote, state political terms and/or scientific terms and for acronyms. Another key finding that needs special mention is that the data revealed a code-switch type, the intra-word, which was not accounted for by Poplack. It was observed from the data that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo did not only switch between and/or within sentences and/or clauses (as it is the case in code-switching) but morphemes from different languages in the same word resulting in a linguistic phenomenon referred to as the intra-word.

Second Research Question

The second research question was to account for the socio-psychological motivation of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The data only revealed instances of code-switching as a marked choice even though the Markedness Model categorised code-switching under unmarked, marked and exploratory choice maxims. Eight motivations, according to the Markedness Model, accounted for a speaker's marked choices. It was observed that the president employed English, the language of the elite, which enjoys a higher social status than Akan (Asante-Twi) whenever he was annoyed as a means of evoking his authority. The study, again, revealed that a marked choice's referential message did not have to be 'understood' for its social message of communicative intent to succeed. That is to say that the marked choice was employed as the medium of the message. Additionally, the findings from the data revealed that the speaker's ability in making marked choices was a means of clearly demonstrating his linguistic creativity. Thus, the president employed the marked choice for aesthetic effect. More so, it was revealed that the marked choice was used to create a 'stylistic effect' and at the same time deliver the 'authorial message'. Thus, the political speaker employed the marked choice in what Myers-Scotton (1993) terms as 'echoic'. Furthermore, it was the finding of this study that politicians, including Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, are aware that "making a marked code choice was clearly a gamble whether consciously or unconsciously, by weighing the relative costs and rewards of making this choice rather than an unmarked choice" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.141). Thus, the marked choices revealed the speaker as an

131

entrepreneur. It was observed, again, from the study that marked code choice could be used to repeat what has already been mentioned in the unmarked choice. Therefore, the marked choice was employed for structural flagging. More so, the study revealed that one of the linguistic codes of the political speaker was employed to express a 'we-type' solidarity and was suitable for in-group and informal activities. Conversely, the political speaker's 'they' oriented code was also regarded appropriate for out-group and formal relationships that were considered impersonal. Thus, the marked code choice employed by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was to express group solidarity and ethnic identity. Finally, the study revealed that the speaker employed the marked choice as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy.

Third Research Question

The third research question was interested in examining the conversational functions of code-switching in the political campaign speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. It was the finding that the speaker activated his bilingual modes to accommodate another language other than the base language to enable him to quote himself or others and/or make reported speech. The study also revealed that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo activated his bilingual modes in order to direct his message to his target. That is to say that the speaker switched codes for addressee specification. Based on the finding of the study, the speaker activated his bilingual mode to mark an interjection or sentence filler which do not usually add any conversational content. The study further revealed that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo activated his bilingual mode for reiteration. Thus, the speaker sends a message in a linguistic code and repeats the message either literally or in a modified

132

form. The reiterations made in the other code were for purposes such as to clarify, amplify and/or emphasize the earlier message said. Furthermore, it was observed from the data that the political speaker employed one code for the main message and another for clarification. Finally, the study revealed that the speaker employed code-switching to show the extent or degree of his involvement or distance from an utterance and/or message that had been uttered.

Other findings emanating as a result of observable evidences in the present study that have not been accounted for by Gumperz (1982) are discussed below.

First, it was the finding of the study that bilingual speakers of Akan, such as Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, switched codes from their monolingual modes to their bilingual modes for proper nouns. The speaker, from the finding, switched codes for proper nouns because there were no local (Akan) equivalence for such unique entities. Another key finding from the study was that the political speaker, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, code-switched to make phatic expressions. It was observed from the study that the speaker switched from his monolingual to bilingual mode to include phatic expressions to enable him to discontinue his speech (Yankova & Vassileva, 2013). Again, it was observed that the speaker switched to his bilingual mode to speak the unspeakable and also show courtesy and/or refinement in his speech (Asilevi, 2011). Thus, the data showed that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo would have sounded harsh and impolite in his speech had he not switched to English. Finally, another key finding that needs special mention is

133

that the result of the study revealed how the political speaker switched codes as a means to show off his linguistic competence.

Conclusion

Following the discussions made and the findings of the work, the following conclusions are drawn with respect to the objectives of the study. It can be concluded that code-switching evident in political campaign speeches is a means through which political speakers identify themselves with the electorates. The present study has, again, shown code-switching as a communicative strategy adopted by political speakers. However, the use of more intra-sentential code-switching type, especially that which involves a second language such as English, indicates that the language user is urban and educated and his or her language skills can be described as good. Again, a conclusive statement can be made based on the findings that the use of code-switching, especially, more of the intra-sentential code-switching make speeches delivered at campaign rallies informal as these speeches are usually not documented and the switches which are evident in these speeches are usually not evident in the delivery of formal speeches. Political platforms, such as rallies, where campaign speeches are delivered, are usually not homogeneous in nature and as such a speaker's attempt to consciously and/or unconsciously switch codes, to a large extent, enables any speaker reach his targeted audience and/or listeners. From the findings, I am of the view that Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model can, to a very large extent, account for the socio-psychological motivation of code-switching in political campaign speeches since it goes beyond the linguistic motivation for code-switching.

134

Recommendations for Further Studies

From the findings that emerged from this work, I put forward some recommendations:

First, further research should be conducted on code-switching in political campaign speeches with focus on two or more political speakers other than Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, since it was not the focus of this present research, to determine whether the code-switching types particularly, the intra-sentential code-switching which this study identified to be the most dominant, is typical with all politicians in Ghana.

Second, I recommend that a study be conducted to determine whether political speakers are able to achieve their objectives by their use of code-switching. Politicians, especially presidential aspirants, are expected to be unifiers. This study would seek to confirm or disconfirm the opinion that switching between and/or among some indigenous Ghanaian languages and English undermines other indigenous languages, and threatens the national linguistic identity.

Third, I suggest another research that would compare the code-switching behaviour of political speakers, taking into consideration their political campaign speeches delivered during the period of their search for political power and after having gained political power. This study would seek to determine what communicative functions code-switching serves in political campaign speeches.

135

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136

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137

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150

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: VIDEOS

LOCATION, DURATION OF SPEECH AND THEIR SOURCE

Table 2: Videos, Location, Duration of speech and their Source

Videos	Location	Duration of speech	Source
1	NPP's 2016 final Rally, Accra	last 22m: 50s	GhanaWeb TV
2	NPP's 2016 Rally at Mallam, Accra	last 10m: 10s	Sunshine Media
3	Ablekuma West	last 3m: 47s	GhanaWeb TV
4	NPP's Manifesto Rally, Accra	last 28m: 48s	Khemical TV
5	NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani	last 32m: 27s	Abofour TV
6	NPP 2016 Rally at Techiman	last 27m: 27s	Abofour TV
7	Koforidua Rally June, 2016	last 15m: 40s	Ampodan
8	Awutu Senya East district	last 8m: 21s	PROUD GHANA TV
9	NPP Rally at Tema West	last 7m: 23s	Ghanaweb TV
10	Regional Rally at Nkawkaw	last 31m:41s	Facebook

Source: field survey, Antwi (2021)

✓   NPP's 2016 final Rally at Trade Fair, Accra.

This video was uploaded on YouTube on December 5, 2016 by GhanaWeb TV. It has 14,879 views as at November 17, 2020. It lasts 25m: 48s. This video captures the full political rally which took place at the Trade fair in the Greater Accra region. However, only the last 22m: 50s of the video

154

clip where Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo spoke has been transcribed for this study.

      ✓   NPP's 2016 Rally at Mallam, Accra.

This video was uploaded on YouTube on November 1, 2016 by Sunshine Media. It has 21 views as at November 17, 2020. This rally took place at Mallam in the Greater Accra region. It lasts 1: 5m: 00s. However, only the last 10m: 10s of the video clip where Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo spoke has been transcribed for this study.

      ✓   Nana Addo takes Campaign Tour to Ablekuma West.

This video was uploaded on YouTube on October 5, 2016 by GhanaWeb TV. It has 10,075 views as at November 17, 2020. This rally occurred in Ablekuma West in the Greater Accra region of Ghana. It lasts 4m: 02s. Only the final 3m: 47s of the video clip was transcribed for the study.

      ✓   NPP 2016 Manifesto Rally

This video was uploaded on YouTube by Khemical TV on October 10, 2016. This video clip has accumulated 20,212 views as at November 17, 2020. This rally which also took place at the Trade fair Centre in the Greater Accra region does not capture the full manifesto rally but however captures the full speech of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. It lasts 28m: 48s.

      ✓   NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani.

This video was uploaded to YouTube on November 28, 2016 by Abofour TV. It has 19,628 views as on November 17, 2020. The rally was at Sunyani in the Bono region of Ghana. It lasts 52m: 01s. The last 32m: 27s of the video clip was transcribed for this study since it captured the speech of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

✓   NPP 2016 Rally at Techiman.

This video clip was uploaded on YouTube on November 28, 2016 by Abofour TV. This rally occurred the afternoon prior to the rally at Sunyani. The rally was at Techiman in the Bono East region of Ghana. The video clip has 10,940 views as on November 17, 2020. It lasts 51m: 40s. The last 27m: 27s of the video clip which captured the speech of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was transcribed for this study.

✓   Nana Addo Dankwa at Koforidua Rally June, 2016.

The video clip was uploaded on YouTube on July 1, 2016 by Ampodan. The video clip has 411 views as at November 17, 2020. The rally took place at Koforidua in the Eastern region of Ghana. It lasts 24m: 22s. However, the last 15m: 40s of this video clip was transcribed for this study.

✓   NPP's biggest campaign crowd at Awutu Senya East district.

This video clip was uploaded on YouTube on September 22, 2016 by PROUD GHANA TV. The video has accumulated 60,429 views as at November 17, 2020. It lasts 1: 13m: 31s. The video clip captures the full political campaign rally which occurred at Awutu Senya East in the Central region of Ghana. However, only the last 8m: 21s of the video clip which captured the speech of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has been transcribed for the study.

✓   NPP takes Campaign Tour to Tema West

The video clip was uploaded on YouTube on September 24, 2016 by Ghanaweb TV. The video has 13,389 views as at November 17, 2020. The rally was at Tema West in the Greater Accra region of Ghana. It lasts 12m:

156

53s. However, the last 7m: 23s of this video clip was transcribed for this study since it captured the speech of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

✓   Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw

This video clip was uploaded on Facebook on November 30, 2016 on the Facebook handle of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. The video clip has 5,741 views as at November 17, 2020. The rally took place at Nkawkaw in the Eastern region of Ghana. It lasts 1:57: 57s. The last 31m: 41s of the video clip was captured and transcribed in this study since it contains the speech of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

157

APPENDIX B: SPEECHES

SPEECH A

NPP Manifesto Rally (2016) -Trade Fair Centre (Accra)

Yoo (.) majɛ shishi akɛɛ (.) esane m'ada nyɛ fɛɛ shi (.) akɛɛ shwane nɛɛ kɛ gbɛkɛ nɛɛ (.) nyɛ ba lɛ babahoo. Nyomo adjoo nyɛ fɛɛ shi kome kome (.) ekome ekome. (.2) Yɛse adeɛ reyɛ asa nti asɛm no nso reyɛ asa (.) merenkasa mma no nware. Afe yi (.) Onyankopɔn ne Ghana mmra ama kwan (.) sɛ yɛn haw (.) yɛn ahokyerɛ a abɛdware Ghanaman yi na biribiara mu ayɛ dendenden (.) **school fees** yɛntumi ntua (.) **electricity** no deɛ yɛnka ho asɛm (.) adwuma nsoso nni hɔ. Afe yi (.) yɛabue kwan no ama yɛn sɛ yɛbɛfa yɛn kokromoti (.) yɛbɛfa yɛn kokromoti so na saa ɔhaw no yɛayi ne nyinaa (:) afiri yɛn so. Na (.) Mahama aban no yɛayi no asi nkyɛn brɛ oo ama Akufo-Addo ne **NPP** aban aba sɛ wɔreba abɛsɔ ɔman no mu ama Ghanaman no akɔ n'anim. Nsɛm a yɛaka ato hɔ (.) sɛ Onyankopɔn ma yɛ kwan na yɛba a yɛreba abɛyɛ (.) te sɛ **National Health Insurance** Owura Kuffour de baaɛɛ a ɛnɛ asɛɛ no (.) mede ahoɔden foforɔ reba abɛhyɛ mu sɛ moma mekwan na meba a. Saa nso na **Free Senior High School education policy** no nso no sɛ Onyankopɔn bɛma me kwan na mede aba abɛboa Ghana afanan nyinaa. Afidie fidie adwuma a ɛde adwuma bɛba ama yɛn mmabunu (.) **One district** (.) **One factory** (.) saa nhyehyɛ no nyinaa (.2) **constituencies** a sika no bɛba mu **directly from the central budget** a ɛde **development** bɛba asɛ hɔ no (.) saa nhyehyɛɛ nyinaa no (.) yɛma me kwan na meba a mereba abɛyɛ no pɛpɛɛpɛ (:) ama obiara ne Ghana ni biara nso atumi anya ho mfasoɔ (.) nyɛ sɛ mereba abɛdwidwa m'anum kɛkɛ. Mereba **(unclear)** abɛyɛ no pɛpɛɛpɛ ama mo. Na m'adesrɛdeɛ kɛseɛ a Ghanafoɔ mede reto mo anim afe yi (.) Ghana badwa kɛseɛ yi mepreeɛ

158

2008 (:) ɛkaa kakra nka meforoeɛ. Onyakopɔn se ma mentwɛn **(.)** **2012** nso saa ɛkaa sei. Nti ne mprɛnsa so ɛna merepere no seisei **(.)** nti mesrɛ Ghanaman **(.)** mesrɛ mo nyinaa **(.)** momoa me na mompia me na merentumi mforo Ghana badwa keseɛ no **(crowd cheers)**. //Na kɔ a yɛrekɔ no **(.)** ɛnyɛ sɛ yɛrekɔ akɔma yɛn ho so **(.)** aba abɛhyehyɛ nnipa so aka nsɛm a ɛmfata **(.)** yɛrekɔ sɛ yɛreba abɛsom Ghanafoɔ na nimdeɛ kakra a Onyankopɔn de ama me no **(.)** saa nimdeɛ no ne nyansa ne ahoɔden no mede ɛpia Ghana afidie no ama Ghana afidie so. Yɛn wura Mahama **(.)** ɔse me menam na mereserɛserɛ Ghanafoɔ sɛ yɛmfa tumi nhyɛ me nsam na mennyae sɛ mereserɛserɛ. Mɛkɔso aserɛ Ghanafoɔ **(.)** aserɛ wɔn, aserɛ wɔn a! **(unclear)**. Na **President** adwuma no ɔse ɛnyɛ **trial and error** na sɛ yɛ **try** wo na sɛ wonnyɛ papa a yɛnsesa wo? Yɛ**try** wo na anyɛ yie a yɛnsesa wo? Yɛ**try** wo no ɛdeɛn na ɔde abrɛ yɛn? ɔse ɔpɛ sɛ yɛma no mfeɛ nan sɔ n'adwuma no so **(.)** yɛse saa na mpaninfoɔ ka **(.)** ɛnyɛ saa? Sɛ edwa no bɛba a ɛfiri anɔpa. Wobaa **eight years (.) four years vice president (.) four years president** ɛdeɛn na yɛhunu wo adwuma a ɛwɔ wonsam. Ohia ne ahokyerɛ ne adwuma a ɛnni hɔ. Yɛbɛma w'atoa so? Daabi! Ghanafoɔ yɛwɔ nyansa sene saa **(.)** yɛbɛma wo asi fɔm brɛ o. //Afe yi a yɛwɔ mu yi sɛ wopɛ aban a ɛde nhyehyɛeɛ papa bɛba a **(:)** ɛde adwuma bɛba ɔman no mu **(.)** m'adeserɛdeɛ no no. Na deɛ mede gya mo **(.)** mesrɛ mo **NPP** ekuo yi yɛwɔ mmarima ne mmaa a wɔwɔ mu a wɔyɛ nimdeɛfoɔ pa ara yɛde ɔman yi hyɛ wɔn nsa a **(:)** wɔbɛhunu kwan a yɛbɛtumi abu ɔman no ama sika ne ahotɔ ne adwuma aba Ghanaman yi mu. Nti meserɛ mo **(.)** afe yi ma no ɛnyɛ obiara adwɛn sɛ yɛrebɛfa ha afa ha. **We are the only party capable of rescuing this country and preventing another four years of the government of John Dramani Mahama (crowd cheers)**. //Yɛsrɛ sɛ momma yɛn kwan na yɛmmra

na Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma me a **(:)** mereka wɔ mo anim Ghanafoɔ **(.)** merenni mo nhwammɔ nnɛ na merenni mo nhwammɔ nso da **(.) I am never going to disappoint you. We are going to do what we have to do to bring prosperity and progress to our country**. ɛnɛ yɛbaa yɛ a **(.)** nwoma wei ɛna yɛbaa sɛ yɛbɛ da no adi na yɛmma Ghanafoɔ nyinaa ahunu nhyɛhyeɛ yɛbɔho pɔ **and it is the Manifesto (.) the 2016 Manifesto of the New Patriotic Party (.) manifesto for change and agenda for jobs (.) creating prosperity and equal opportunity for all (.) that is our manifesto and our contract with the people of Ghana**. //Nti mede mekasa no ɛba ɛwieyɛ **(.)** na aba no saa no **(.2)** neɛ yɛserɛ Tweduampɔn Onyankopɔn ne sɛ **seventh of December** anadwo fa no **(.)** ansa na yɛbɛda no **(.)** yɛbɛte asɛm pa no yɛbɛte no yɛse **the New Patriotic Party has won the parliamentary majority in our parliament of Ghana. (Crowd cheers)** //**Under the New Patriotic Party (.) candidate for the presidency Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo by the grace of the Almighty God and of Allah has been elected president-elect of the fourth republic of Ghana**. (Crowd cheers) Nea yɛserɛ sɛ aba no yɛnto no kann na asɛm biara ne ho. Ghanafoɔ mpɛ basabasa na menim sɛ **NPP**foɔ nso ɛnyɛ yɛn na basabasa bi bɛfiri yɛn hɔ aba Ghana. Yɛn yɛpɛ asomdwoe **(.)** yɛpɛ nkɔsoɔ **and we are looking for the peace and stability of Ghana. So (.) I can assure the Ghanaian people (.) it is not the NPP that is going to be the source of any (:) upheavals of disturbances in the country. What we will continue to advocate for is for a fair (.) clean (.) transparent election** nea yɛrehwehwɛ no a no no. Na sɛ ɛba no saa na yɛbobɔ so wie a na yɛhunu sɛ aba no na aba na **NPP**foɔ edi nkunim no **(.)** na ɛkyerɛ sɛ yɛn haw no nso so no Onyankopɔn ayi ɛfiri yɛn so **(.)** na saa anadwo fa no ansa na yɛbɛda no yɛn

160

nyinaa ayɛ krado na y'abɔ mu baako aka sɛ **(.)** John Dramani Mahama **bye (:)**

bye bye (:) bye bye (:) bye. **Thank you and may God bless you all and**

bless mother Ghana. **Thank you and have a good night**.

SPEECH B

NPP 2016 Rally at Sunyani

Yoo Sunyaniman (**.2**) Yɛhyɛ yɛn **regional rallies** ase ɛwɔ **Volta region**. Kwasiada yɛkɔɔ (**.**) Aflao. Yɛfiri hɔ na yɛbɛsene kɔɔ (**.**) Bolgatanga ɛwɔ **Upper East** ɛbaa Tamale. ɛnora akyi nso na yɛwɔ Wa. Yɛfiri hɔ na y'aba yi. Baabi ara a yɛkɔ no (.) yɛkɔ **rally** baako baako (.) **Brong Ahafo** nko ara na yɛreyɛ **rally** mmienu (**.**) **two regional rallies**. //Anɔpa yi, anɔpa yi, na yɛwɔ Techiman. Yɛkɔɔ Techiman dɔm a yɛbɛhyiaa wɔ ho no ɛsɛ w'ani (**.**) ɛyɛ me sɛ Techimanfoɔ koraa bɛhunu sɛ **yes!** (**.**) mpaninfoɔ wɔ mu. Sunyani ha (.) **crowd** a yɛhunu deɛ ɛyɛ hu (.) ɛyɛ hu (.) yɛda mo ase(.) yɛda mo ase paa ara(.) yɛda mo ase ɔdɔ soronko a moayi ama **NPP** ɛne me(.) meda mo ase papaapa. Adeɛ reyɛ asa nti meremma mekasa nware. Moate nhyehyɛɛ a yɛpɛ sɛ yɛde ba (.) ɛboa ɔman nkɔsoɔ ɛno na mepɛ mebɔ so (.) na me ma mo hunu sɛ deɛ yɛrehyehyɛ nyinaa a yɛreka sɛ yɛreba abɛyɛ no (.) ɛyɛ nhyehyɛɛ a ɛrebɛboa ɔman yi. ɛnyɛ sɛ nhyehyɛɛ a yɛde reba abɛgye **vote**(.) nhyehyɛɛ a ɛrebɛboa Ghana nkɔsoɔ. Deɛ ɛdikan, agyapadeɛ kɛsɛ a Kufuor de gyaa (.) Ghana ne **National Health Insurance Scheme**. Yɛn wura Mahama nom ɛregu no (.) Onyankopɔn ma me kwan na meba a mereba abɛyɛ no yie biom ama Ghanafoɔ anya ho mfasoɔ. //Sɛ woreba na waba abɛyɛ, woreba na waba abɛyɛ **Health Service** yie a (.) na wohia nkurofoɔ sɛ ɔmo bɛboa ama **Health Service** no atumi ayɛ adwuma ne ne titiriw ɛne **nurses**. ɛno nti na Owura Kufuor abrɛ so **nurses trainees** ɛwɔ **Nurses Training Colleges** na wɔhyɛda tua wɔn **allowances** ɛma ɛboa adwuma no yɛ (.) boa wɔn adesua no nso (.) yei nom aba abɛtwa mu (.) meba a **Nurses training allowances** //yɛde ne nyinaa reba wɔ Ghana. ɛna yɛaka ato hɔ (.) sɛ yɛpɛ sɛ yɛbɔ Ghana daakye ho ban. ɛwiase

162

daakye wɔ hɔ yi (.) adesua hia wɔ mu paa ara (.) ɛno nti yɛse yɛn mmabunu (.) yɛreba abɛ**maki sure** sɛ obiara bɛnya kwan akɔ **school**. Nnwoma adesua na ɛda wo koma so a (.) woanya kwan ayɛ. Wo nsa ho adwuma nso na ɛda wo koma so a (.) wo nso w'atumi anya ho kwan ayɛ. ɛnɛ a biribiara ayɛ dendenden (.) awofoɔ (.) sɛ yɛreba abɛgyina wɔn so ama mmɔfra no akɔ **school** a (.) dodoɔ no ara ɛrenkɔ **school**. ɛno nti me ne m'aban aka sɛ yɛreba abɛfa saa ka no ama **Senior High School Education** (unclear). //ɛnam sɛ (.) ɛnam sɛ (.) ɛnɛ ewiase mu a yɛwɔ yi (.) biribi ara **computer revolution** (.) **IT revolution** (.) nti adesua ne ho hia pa ara. Adeɛ a na nka ɛwɔ so wɔ ɔman yi mu a ɛnnɛ monte nka biom (.) ɛne **adult education** ɛma yɛn nuanom a anyini a (.) wɔn mmɔfra ase woannya kwan ankɔ **school** no. **Adult education programme** no ɛno nso ɛreba abɛka adwuma a yɛrebɛyɛ no ama ɛno nso so aboa. //Na sɛ adesua ɛrebɛba abɛyɛ biribi a ɛyɛ nsɛmhia kɛseɛ a na ɛkyerɛ sɛ (.) ɛkwan a yɛbɛfa so a yɛbɛnya **teacher**foɔ a wɔbɛtumi agyina wɔn nan so akyerɛ adepa no (.) ɛno nso hia. ɛno nti (.) ɛna **allowance** a Owura Kufour na ɔtua ma **teacher trainees** ne berɛ so no (.) me nso me ba a mereba abɛtua saa //**teacher trainee allowances** no nyinaa. //Saa **allowances** yi a yɛn wura Kufuor tua no (.) saa nso na na ɔtua **allowance** ɛma **Islamic teachers** (.) na wɔn nso so yɛtua **allowances** ma wɔn. Saa **allowances** yi (.) saa berɛ a na wɔn tua sika no na yɛnni **oil** sika (.) nso ɛnam nhyehyɛeɛ pa na ɛwɔ n'aban no ho nti no na wɔtumi tua saa **teacher trainee allowances** (.) **Islamic school allowances**. Mahama anya **over four billion dollars of oil revenue** (.) bɛsi nnɛ ɔse ɔntumi ntua. Meba a, mereba abɛtua ama ne nyinaa (unclear). //Saa nso (.) saa nso (.) ɔman Ghana yɛkyɛ sika a (.) ɛnhyɛda nnuru fɔm. Nti wobɛhunu babiara **sanitation problems** (.) **toilet problems** (.) nsuo **problems**

(.2) nti yɛreba abɛkyɛ sika no ɛkwan foforɔ (.) ama sika no ba a **sanitation** (.) **water** (.) **electricity problems at the grassroots** no atumi abɔ ho ban. **Constituency** biara (.) **every year** (.) **every constituency** (.) **twenty-nine constituencies** a ɛwɔ **Brong Ahafo** no ka ho (.) **one million dollars a year** (.) **every year** (.) **every constituency //to come and deal with the issues of infrastructure and development at the grassroot**. //Mepɛ sɛ adwuma bu wɔ Ghana, //mepɛ sɛ adwuma bu wɔ Ghana (.2) ɛno nti ɛna yɛde yɛn **policy** reba (.) **one district** (.) **one factory all (:) across the two hundred and sixty districts of Ghana** (not clear). Na afei nso na yɛpagya kuayɛ. Ghana (.) **cocoa** akuafoɔ titiriw (.) na ahyɛda abɔ Ghana ho ban. Yɛn wura Kufuor (.) ɔbɛpɛgya a cocoa adwuma no (.) yɛbaeɛ **three hundred and twenty thousand metric tonnes** (.) na aduru **one million tonnes**. Mahamanom aban (.) **seven hundred thousand tonnes** koraa ayɛ den ma wɔn ɛnam sɛ nhyehyɛeɛ a Kufuor ɛde baa **cocoa** adwuma no (.) **mass spraying** (.) **subsidized fertilizer** (.) **hitech import** (.) **bonus** a ɔtua (.) saa nnoɔma yi nyi (:) naa y'ato atwene (.) ɛnyɛ adwuma biom. Onyankopɔn ma me kwan na meba a (.) mereba na mede saa nhyehyɛeɛ pa abɛma cocoa akuafoɔ apagya cocoa adwuma no biom (crowd cheers). //ɛnyɛ cocoa akuafoɔ nko ara (.) nyɛ cocoa akuafoɔ nko ara na Akufo-Addo aban ba a (.) ɛrebɛbɔ wɔn ho ban. Wɔn a wɔdua aburoo (.) wɔn a wɔdua ba- bayerɛ (.) bankye (.) titiriw atea (.) **cashew** ɛno nso so no (.) **we are coming to set up policies and instituting** (unclear). Yɛnya sika a (.) ɛnam sɛ Cote D'Ivoire aban ɛde n'ahoɔden ɛtaa (.) **cashew farmers** yi akyi ɛwɔ Cote D'Ivoire no (.) sika wɔrenya wɔ hɔ no ɛnyɛ sika ketewa. Saa sika no yɛn nso bɛtumi anya bi. Yɛn yɛreba abɛyɛ saa nhyehyɛeɛ pa yi nyinaa ama **cocoa and cashew** ɛɛ- sika aba adwuma no mu. //ɛfiri (.2) berɛ a Ghana nyaa ne fahodie

bɛsi nnɛ (.) yɛde biribi reba a (.) yɛ sikasɛm ne nhyehyɛeɛ no (.) yɛhunuu bi da wɔ Ghana **(.) first time will be in the 2017 budget (.) the zongo development fund is going to be a lying item in the 2017 budget (not clear)**. //Nhyehyɛeɛ a (.) nhyehyɛeɛ a yɛde bɛba a (.) ɛreba apagya ɔman Ghana ɛma sika ne adwuma aba mu(.) afei nso so atumi abɔ yɛn ankasa ho ban. Wo yare a (.) wotumi kɔ **hospital** na yɛhwɛ wo a (.) ɛnyɛ sika sɛm. Wo ba nso so tumi kɔ **school** a (.) ɛnyɛ ha- ɔhaw mma awofoɔ. Saa nnoɔma yi nyinaa (:) ɛna Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma me a (.) mereba a mede reba abɛ bɔ Ghana ho ban (crowd cheers).// ɛsɛ sɛ yɛyɛ (.) ɛsɛ sɛ yɛyɛ. ɛfiri sɛ (.) Ghana y'ayɛ mmɔbɔ dodo (.) y'ayɛ mmɔbɔ koraa dodo (.) y'ayɛ mmɔbɔ dodo (.) yɛte sika so (.) nso ɛkɔm de yɛn (.) yɛte sika so nso ɛkɔm de yɛn. Meserɛ Tweduampɔn Nyankopɔn sɛ ɔmma me kwan na me mmra, mereba abɛsesa saa nnoɔma yi nyinaa (not clear). //Na sɛ paa (.2) sɛ nkɔsoɔ a yɛrehwehwɛ no bɛba no (.) adeɛ baako nso so a yɛhia pa ara ne nhyehyɛeɛ pa na afei nso baakoyɛ ɛwɔ yɛn ankasa Ghanafoɔ mu (.) baakoyɛ ɛwɔ yɛn ankasa Ghanafoɔ mu. Yɛnfa kasapa ɛntena ɔman yi mu (.) na yɛn nyinaa yɛnfa yɛn ahoɔden ɛnka mmɔmu na yɛn tumi mpia Ghana afidie no na afidie no nkɔ n'anim. Yɛnka nkyerɛ (.) yɛnka nkyerɛ (.) wɔn a **time** biara yɛpɛsɛ yɛde mpaepaemu ɛba yɛn ho (.) yei ɛfiri ɛsirem (.) yei yɛ Kramonii (.) yei yɛ okyenii (.) yei yɛ kusaasinii (.) yei yɛ pepeni (.) yei yɛ sei (.) wɔn a wɔde saa mpaepaemu kasa no nyinaa ɛbɛba yɛn mu no a yɛwie nso na tumi no bɛhyɛ wɔn nsa wɔn ni adwuma papa bi a yɛreyɛ ma yɛn. Yɛn nka kyerɛ wɔn sɛ hoooooo! Hoooooo! Yɛmpɛ saa kasa no (.) yɛpɛsɛ yɛde baakoyɛ (.) yɛn nyinaa de yɛn ahoɔden ka- ɛka bom (.) yɛn nyinaa yɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) yɛn ntena ɔman yi mu asomdwoe mu na yɛnfa baakoyɛ mpia ɔman no afidie na afidie no nso nkɔ n'anim. //Mebaa sɛ (.)

165

mereba abɛsrɛ Brong Ahafoman (.) sɛ afe yi (.) mehia mo mmoa (.) mehia mo mmoa (.) yɛnim sɛ abatoɔ wɔ hɔ yi (.) Ghana abakɔsɛm kyerɛ sɛ (.) deɛ ne nsa bɛka Brong Ahafo no na ne nsa aka Ghana. Afe yi (.) Brong Ahafoman mesrɛ mo motaa **NPP** akyi (.) mommɛ tena ɔsono no akyi. //Ghana bɛdwa yi (.) Ghana bɛdwa yi (.) **2008** ɛkaa sei nka meforoeɛ (.) **2012** deɛ mo ara mo nim deɛ ɛsiieɛ (.) **2016** ɛyɛ ɛmprɛ mmiensa a merepere Ghana bɛdwa yi. Mesrɛ mo (.) Brong Ahafoman (.) Sunyanifoɔ (.) mo mfa mo ahoɔden mmɛ taa m'akyi (.) mo mmɛboa me na mo mpagya me (.) na merenkɔsi badwa no so (.) na menkɔ nkɔso ɔman no mu mfa ɔman no nkɔ n'anim (crowd cheers). //Yɛkɔ hɔ a (.) yɛrenkɔ sɛ yɛrekɔ akɔ ma yɛn ho so (.) akɔka nsɛm a ɛmfata ɛnkyerɛ Ghanafoɔ (.2) sɛ **oh** Ghanafoɔ deɛ (.) deɛ wobɛyɛ wɔn nyinaa ɛmfa ho (.) mese ɛnkyɛ na wɔn werɛ fi asɛm (.) ɛnyɛ saa kasa no bi na merebaa abɛka. Merenkɔ hɔ nso sɛ merekɔ akɔbɔ mo korɔno (.) merekɔ akɔwia Ghanafoɔ sika aba abɛhyɛ me kotokuom (.) ɛnyɛ ɛno nti na mebaa **politics** mu. Me mebaa **politics** mu sɛ nimdeɛ (.) nyansa ne ahoɔden kakra a Tweduampom Nyankopɔn de ama me no (.) mereba abɛboa ama yɛpia a Ghana afidie no ama afidie no nso atumi akɔ n'anim ma adwuma ne sika ne ahotɔ ɛtumi aba yɛn man Ghana mu. //M'adesrɛdeɛ a mede reba abɛto mo anim no no. Na (:) ɔmanpanyin ɔse me me nam ɛna me meresrɛ Ghanafoɔ(.) sɛ yɛmma me kwan na me mmɛtena Ghana akonnwa kɛseɛ no so (.) na mennyae sɛ meresɛrɛ adeɛ ɛwɔ Ghanafoɔ hɔ. Yei na ɛma wohunu sɛ (.) ka bi na menka bi amammuo no ɔnte aseɛ. Tumi no ɛnyɛ mo mo nsam na ɛwɔ? ɛnyɛ mo mo hɔ na tumi no wɔ? Na sɛ ɛte saa na sɛ me mese mepɛ sɛ mode fɛm me na mede bɛyɛ adwuma pa a (.) ɛnyɛ srɛ na mereba abɛsrɛ mo? ɛnyɛ srɛ na mereba abɛsrɛ mo? Merenyae mo srɛ nnɛ! Nnyae no ɔkyena! Mɛkɔ so ara asrɛ mo (crowd cheers). //ɛna me me se,

meresrɛ sɛ afe yi (.) obiara mfa ahoɔden mmra mɛtaa ɔsono no akyi. Baabi a y'aduru seisei yi (.) baabi a yɛduru seisei (.) yɛhia obiara aba (.) mesrɛ mo (.) yɛmpɛ sɛ yɛbɛ te **skirt and blouse** anaa biribi saa wɔ Sunyani ha. //Yɛwɔ ɔsono no ara na ɛgyina yɛn anim (.) ɔno so na yɛn nyinaa bɛba abɛtena. Sunyani ha (.) **Sunyani East** (.) yɛwɔ **candidate** baako pɛ (.) ɔno na yɛfrɛ no Kwasi Ameyaw Kyeremeh (not clear). Yɛmpɛ **skirt and blouse** asɛm biara (.) obiaa mpia ɔsono no na ɔsono no ɔnkɔ na ɔnkɔ wura **Jubilee House** hɔ. **Because** afe yi yɛ yɛn afe (.) yɛrekɔ no sei (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) gigim (.) ɛde ɛwura **Jubilee House** hɔ. *Je parle très bien français. Alors (.) je me demande de parler un peu français ce soir. J'ai venu ici à Brong Ahafo (.) à Sunyani (.) aussi bien à Techiman. Aujourd'hui (.) pour demander votre appui (.) je compte sur vous cette année (unclear) Enfin qu'à là fin(.) au fin du vote de sept décembre il y a est une déclaration qui sera fait ici au Ghana par la commission électorale que Nana Akufo-Addo a eu une victoire eclante au premier tour. C'est ça vos cries (.) c'est ça vos demandes. Merci (.) merci (.) merci.*

167

SPEECH C

Full Speech of Nana Akufo-Addo at Trade Fair Centre (2016, final)

Anwummerε yi (.) anwummerε yi mebaa sε mereba abε serε Ghanafoɔ (.2) mo a mo wɔ ha ne wɔn a ɛretie yεn ne ɔman no nyinaa (.) sε wukuada yi obiara sɔre anɔpa no a(.) meserε no (.) ansa na wo wɔ biribi yε (.) kɔ na kɔto aba no (.) kɔ na kɔto aba no (.) na yεmfa yεn nyinaa y'ahoɔden no εmmε tae ɔsono no akyi na yεmpia ɔsono no εnkɔhyε **Jubilee House (.)** na ɔsono no nkɔ εnkɔsɔ aban mu na εnkɔyε adwuma ma ɔman no. //Na sε Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma yεn (.) Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma yεn (.) na ɔde yεn wura hɔ nso a (.) kɔ a yεrekɔ yi (not clear) yεtumi aboa ɔman Ghana. //Meremma sε mereba abεbɔ mo korɔno. Tumi a mereserε wɔ mo hɔ no (.) εnnyε tumi a merekɔ akɔfa sε mereba aba abε bɔ mo korɔno na ma tasse Ghanafoɔ sika aba bεhyε mekɔtokuom (.) εnyε no nti na merepε tumi no. Yεreba (.) sε yεde nhyehyεεε pa reba ɔman yi mu (.) nhyehyεεε a εbεtumi ama Ghana εtu mpɔn ama sika ne ahotɔ ne adwuma εtumi aba ɔman yi mu (.) na Ghana nso ayε deεn? εtumi akɔ n'anim. Ghana (.2) Ghana y'ayε mmɔbɔ dodo (.) y'ayε mmɔbɔ koraa dodo. Yεte sika so nso εkɔm de yεn (.) yεte sika so nso εkɔm de yεn. Onyankopɔn ma me kwan na mebaa (.) yεreba na y'abε sesa saa nneεma yi nyinaa ama sika no ne adwuma εtumi εbu ama Ghana so so anya ne nimdeε. //Yεn ɔmanpanyin (.) yεn ɔmanpanyin se me me nam ɔman no mu (.) reserε Ghanafoɔ sε yεn ma me ɔmanpanyin akonnwa no nte- ntena so (.) na mennyae sε mereserε adeε wɔ Ghanafoɔ hɔ. Kasa yi (.) εno ma mehunu sε yε- yεn ɔmanpanyin no ka bi na me ka bi amamuo a yε wɔ yi (.) ɔnhyεda nte aseε. Tumi no εnyε mo mo hɔ na εwɔ? εnyε mo mo hɔ na εwɔ? Na mese mepε sε mode fεm me na mede yε adwuma papa bi ma mo a (.) εnyε serε na mereba abεserε mo? εnyε serε na

mereba abɛserɛ mo? Mɛkɔ so aserɛ aserɛ aserɛ Ghanafoɔ saa. //Tumi no ba a (.) nhyehyɛeɛ yɛpɛ sɛ yɛyɛ no (.) y'abobɔ bi so akyerɛ mo (.) mo ate bebree. Kwan a yɛreba abɛfa so ama yɛn ayaresabea papa a Owura Kufuor gya ma yɛn no a yei yi mo ɛregu no no (.) **National Health Insurance Scheme (.) I am coming to restore and put new life into the National Health Insurance Scheme**. //Na sɛ ɛyɛ saa (.) woreba abɛ ka yɛn ayaresabea ho asɛm no a (.) ɛyɛ sɛ wobɔ **doctor**foɔ din (.) ɛyɛ sɛ wobɔ **nurse**foɔ din. Na ɛnam sɛ yɛpɛ **nurses** no bebree aba na y'abɛbɔ yɛn ankasa yɛn ho ban no (.) ɛno nti na wɔn a wɔresua **nursing** adwuma no (.) Owura Kufuor nam ne nhyehyɛeɛ pa a ɔyɛ yɛ no na ɔtua wɔn **allowance**. Mahama no mo aba abɛtwa **allowance** no mu (.) mebaa saa **allowance** no a yɛde ma nurses no mede ba biom. //Biom (.) sɛ paa sɛ yɛreba abɛbɔ yɛn man no daakye ho ba- ban a (.) na ɛsɛ sɛ yɛn adesua sɛm so so yɛmfa nni agorɔ. Yɛmpɛ kwan bi ma Ghanafoɔ mma nyinaa tumi kɔ **school (.)** kɔ sua biribi. Wo a wopɛ nwoma sua (.) w'akɔ (.) wo a wopɛ wo nsa ho adwuma so wo atumi ayɛ. Na sɛ yɛse yɛde aho- ɛka no nyinaa abɛto awofoɔ no so na kyerɛ sɛ bebree ɛnyɛ kwan nkɔ **school** no. Sɛbi (.) nea yɛ wɔmu seisei no (.) aho- awofoɔ bebree ahooden nni wɔn afa. Mese (.) Akufo-Addo aban reba abɛfa saa aka no ato no ho so ama //**Free Senior High School Education** aba abɛyɛ adwuma wɔ ɔman Ghana mu. //Na sɛ (.) yɛn adesua no reba abɛyɛ yie a (.) na ɛsɛ sɛ yɛ nya **teacher**foɔ a wɔn gyina wɔn nan so a (.) yɛtumi kyerɛ yɛn mma no adepa. //ɛno nti na biom (.) **NPP** berɛ so (.) Owura Kufuor berɛ so (.) ne nhyehyɛeɛ pa a ɔyɛɛ yɛ (.) ɛmaa no baa ne sɛ **Teacher**foɔ a na yɛretete wɔn no (.) **teacher trainees** (.) na yɛ ma wɔn **allowance** ɛboa wɔn (.) na ɛyɛ. Mereba (.) na m'abaabɛ //**restore the teacher training allowances to be able to boost the teacher education** (coughs). //ɛnyɛ

mmranteɛ ne mmabawa no nkoaa adesua sɛm no na yɛreka (.) yɛ wɔ mpaninfoɔ bebree wɔ Ghana (.) a wei ne wei sei nti (.) wɔn mmɔfrabrɛ mu wɔn ɛnya kwan ankɔ **school**. Mekae (.) **adult education programme** (.) na ɛyɛ **programme** a na edi mu paa yɛrenyin wɔ Ghana. ɛno nso atɔ nsuo mu (.) **I am coming to restore and put new life into the adult education program //because we want to build a nation with knowledge for the twenty-first century**. //Yɛreba na yɛn abɛ kyɛ yɛn sikasɛm no a (.) yɛreba na yɛn abɛ kyɛ yɛn sikasɛm wɔ Ghana a (.) yɛkyɛ sika no ɛnhyɛda nnuru fɔm (.) nti nneɛma bebree wɔ hɔ a anka sɛsɛ berɛ a anka yɛtumi ayɛ abɔ ho ban dadaada nanso **still** yɛntumi nyɛ (.) **sanitation** (.) yɛn nsuo sɛm (.) yɛ kwan sɛm (.) **all these basic infrastructural matters still (:) have not been dealt with**. Yɛreba na yɛn abɛ kyɛ sika no ɛkwan foforɔ (.) **every year (.) from the capital budget of our country** (.) yɛreba abɛ yi ɛmu **two hundred and seventy-five million dollars** (.) **one million dollars for every constituency //to deal with the issues of sanitation(.) of water and basic infrastructure to keep our country moving**. //Nea yɛreka yi (.) ɛkwan a yɛbɛfa so ama adwuma aba ɔman yi mu (.) na mmɛbunu so ɛtumi ɛyɛ biri- ɛtumi ɛnya biribi ayɛ. Afidie afidie adwuma ne adwuma a titiriw yɛreba yi ɛno na yɛrepɛ sɛ yɛde ba ɔman yi mu. Yɛreba abɛhyɛaseɛ a (.) na yɛrehyɛ aseɛ wɔ fɔm (.) **every district** ɛsɛ sɛ yɛbɔ mmɔden ɛde **factory** baako ɛkɔhyɛ hɔ ma adwuma nso tumi bu wɔ hɔ (.) ɛma kuadwuma nso nso a ɛwɔ hɔ no nso ɛntumi asɔre. Nhyehyɛɛ no deɛ bebrebee. Y'ayɛ nhyehyɛɛ no bebree a ne nyinaa yɛ nhyehyɛɛ a (.) ɛreba abɛ pagya ɔman no ama adwuma aba na afei so so na ɛreba abɛbɔ Ghanafoɔ ankasa ho ban. Na saa nhyehyɛɛ a mereka yi (.) meremma sɛ mereba abɛ daada mo (.) meremma sɛ mereba abɛ ka asɛm akyerɛ mo a (.) menim sɛ

merentumi ɛnyɛ (.) merennyɛ no saa da. Sɛ mereba abɛ di atorɔ akyerɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) merennyɛ no saa da (.) mentumi ɛnyɛ a (.) merenka sɛ mereba abɛyɛ. Mereka sɛ mereba abɛ yɛ **because** menim sɛ mɛtumi ayɛ. ɛno nti na mereka akyerɛ mo sɛ mo ma mekwan a mɛyɛ no pɛpɛɛpɛ (:). Na nhyehyɛɛ yi a yɛreka yi (.) ɛyɛ nhyehyɛɛ ɛreba abɛka obiara (.) **everybody is going to be involved in the movement forward of our country (.) we are not leaving any group of people behind (.) //zongo development fund is going to be an item in the budget of the Akufo-Addo government (.) something that has never happened in the history of Ghana before** (crowd cheers). //Mebaa sɛ mereba abɛ serɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) mepɛ sɛ mo ɛnya gyidie wɔ me mu (.) mo ɛnya gyidie wɔ me mu (.) na mo- mo ɛnye menni (.) na meserɛ mo (.) momfa tumi no nhyɛ me nsam wukuada yi. Me wɔ nnipa (.) mmarima ne mmaa (.) Bawumia nom ne wɔn a aka nyinaa (.) Kyeremateng nom wɔ hɔ a (.)ɛreba abɛboa me. ɛrenkyɛ Ghana anii bɛdane (.) //**the mother face of our country is going to change (.) it is going to change and we are going to bring back progress and prosperity into the country**. **John Dramani Mahama says we should give him another four years (.) are we going to give him another four years? We are not going to give him another four years. He is threat to the future of our country(.) we are going to put him aside and bring in Akufo-Addo and the NPP to lift our country up and get Ghana to work again to keep Ghana going again** (crowd cheers). //Aba no saa (.) sɛ ɛnɛ mframa ɛbɔ wɔ ɔman Ghana (.) ɛyɛ **NPP**foɔ mframa. Babiara wobɛkɔ (.) esrem (.) **Volta region** (.) **Western region** (.) **Brong Ahafo** (.) **Eastern region** (.) **Upper West (.) Upper East (.) Northern all over our country (.) there is a strong wind blowing behind the elephant (.) taking the elephant**

171

to a historic victory on Wednesday (.) the seventh of December (crowd cheers). //Na ayɛ sei (.) yɛn ɔmanpanyin ne **NDC**foɔ (.) ɛbabɛ- wɔn a- wɔn ahunu sɛ akonwa no (.) ɛreyi (.) akonwa no wɔn ɛreyɛ a afiri so (.) yɛreba abɛ keka nsɛm bebree. **These last forty-eight hours (.) all kinds of libelness and defamatory things are going to be said about me (.) my running mate (.) members of my party (.) and my party (.) I am pleading with you (.) don't pay any heed to any of that (.) it's utter rubbish and lies and fabrications**. //Mennkum obiara a (.) me (:) mennkum obiara wɔ me wiase a mebaa yɛ mu (.) ɛmɔɔ obiara korɔno (.) nti nea ɔreba abɛka afa meho no (.) me (.) megyina me nan so. ɛmfa me ho koraa (:) nti mo nso so no mma mom fa (.) **know that we are going to victory on Wednesday the seventh** of December. **With the language (.) the language of reaction (.) the language of yesterday (.) tribal incitement and divisive language (.) coming from the president and his supporters trying to set tribe against tribe (.) north against north (.) we are going to have an opportunity to tell him on Wednesday that is not the Ghanaian way (.) that is not what the people of Ghana want. We want one (.) united (.) indivisible (.) //indissolvable Ghanaian nation that will bring the energies of everybody together to move our country towards progress and prosperity. We are not going to fall victim to tribal language and backward politics**. //Nti anwummerɛ yi (.) m'aba sɛ mereba abɛ serɛ Ghanaman (.) mereba abɛ serɛ Ghanaman (.) Ghana bɛdwa keseɛ yi (.) **2008** ɛkaa sei yi nka meforoeɛ (.) **2012** deɛ mo ara mo nim nea ɛbaeɛ. Afe yi (.) ɛyɛ mprɛ mmiensa a (.) merepre bɛdwa yi. Mesrɛ mo (.) Ghanafoɔ (.) mo ma me kwan (.) mo mfa mo ahoɔden ɛmɛ taa mɛkyi (.) mo mfa mo ahoɔden ɛmɛ taa mɛkyi ɛnkɔ kɔsi bɛdwa no so (.) na yɛn nkɔ so ɔman no mu ɛnyɛ ade papa

172

ɛmma ɔman no. //Na aba a yɛreba abɛ to yi (.) Wukuada aba yi (.) meserɛ mo moduru hɔ a (.) menim sɛ **five** no wɔ hɔ (.) nanso **MP**foɔ no nyɛ wɔn nyinaa na ɛwɔ **five.** Nti meserɛ mo (.) moduru dan mu hɔ a (.) adeɛ baako pɛ na ehia (.) mo nhwɛ bɛbia ɔsono no wɔ. Mo hwɛ bɛbia ɔsono no wɔ (.) na bɛbia ɔsono no wɔ no na w'ayɛ deɛn? Wode wo kokromoti no atim hɔ (.) atim hɔ (.) atim hɔ (.) yɛn nyinaa mfa yɛn ahoɔden ɛnko tim ɔsono no so. //Na sɛ ɛba no saa (.) na yɛde yɛn nyinaa y'ahoɔden (.) ɛkabom ɛpia ɔsono no a (.) na kyerɛ sɛ ɔsono no ɔnam ɛrekɔ akɔ wura **Jubilee House**. ɔrekɔ ne sɛn? ɔrekɔ no gi giim (.) gigiim (.) gigiim (.) gigiim (.) gigiim (.) gigiim (.) gigiim (:) gigiim (.) ɛrekɔ wura **Jubilee House** hɔ akɔ akɔso Ghana mu na yɛn ɛtumi ayɛ no yie. //Na mede mekasa ɛba n'awieɛ (.) mereka wɔ ha (.) eb- Onyankopɔn de tumi no hyɛ me nsa a (.) na mo pene so a (.) nea merenyɛ (.) nea mɛtumi ayɛ mɛyɛ (.) nea merentumi nyɛ nso merennyɛ. Adeɛ baako mɛtumi aka (.) agyina hɔ aka akyerɛ mo ne sɛ (.) merenni mo hwammɔ da (.) **I am not going to disappoint the people of Ghana and turn my back on them. //We are coming to work for the progress of our nation so we can lift our people up and build a new Ghanaian civilization that is going to be the light of Africa and the wonder of the world. That is the Ghana (.) we are set for us to do (.) to liberate our nation from poverty (.) backwardness and disease and moving into a nation of progress and prosperity**. //Na sɛ ɛba sei nyinaa (.) yɛde yɛn ahoɔden kabom (.) yɛde yɛn ahoɔden kabom (.) na yɛpia ɔsono no kɔhyɛ **Jubilee House** a (.) na ɛkyerɛ sɛ (.) Yawoada a ɛreba yi (.) akyɛ koraa ebia fiada no (.) Ghanafoɔ yɛreba abɛte asɛmpa (.) yɛreba abɛte asɛmpa (.) yɛreba abɛte asɛmpa. Otweduampɔn Nyankopɔn (.) w'atie yɛn sufrɛ (.) ɔboadie Nyankopɔn ɛtie yɛn sufrɛ (.) yɛn amanehunu (.) yɛbrɛ (.) ɔhaw a ɛwɔ

yɛn so no (.) ɔreyi afiri hɔ (.) ɛfiri sɛ (.) ɛwuraa Charllotte Osei (.) ɛreba abɛ firi n'anum aba //**Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has won the presidential election of the 2016 and the president-elect to take over the nation to bring progress and prosperity to the people of Ghana**. Yɛte saa asɛm yi a (.) na ɛno kyerɛ sɛn? Na ɛkyerɛ sɛ onipa a ɔde ɔhaw ne ɔbrɛ no baa yɛn so no (.) yɛtumi ayi no ɛfiri asi nkyɛn brɛ oo (.) brɛ oo (.) asomdwoe mu. ɛnyɛ ntɔkwa (.) yɛde asomdwoe mu na ɛbɛyi wo asi nkyɛn (.) na yɛn nyinaa nso aka yɛn ahoɔden abom aka anigyeɛ ho sɛ yɛreda Tweduampɔn Onyankopɔn ase. Na yɛtumi aka akyerɛ no (.) John Dramani Mahama **(.) thank you and goodbye**. **Goodbye (.) goodbye (.) goodbye (:) and thank you. Goodbye**.
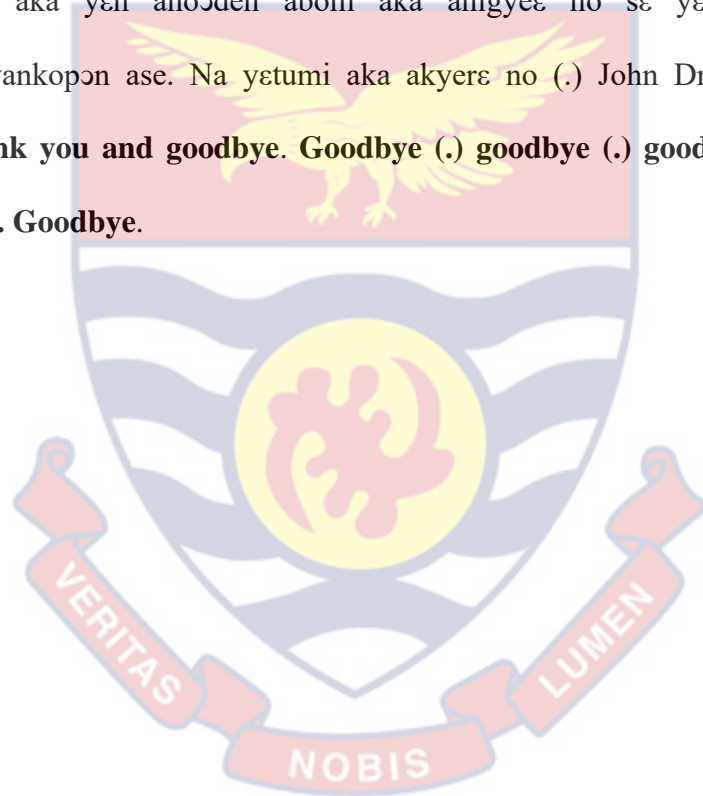
SPEECH D

Nana Addo Takes Campaign Tour to Ablekuma West

Wɔn ba bia shwane nɛɛ akɛɛ (.) memba ni (:) m'abɛ kɛɛ nyɛ akɛɛ shiki ɛ ni aba fɔn yɛ biɛ nɛɛ titiriw Ursula Owusu (.) nyɛ kwɛ ehie (.) nyɛ tsulɛ omomo (.2) ni nyɛ tsulɛ ekonn. Afe yi (.) Ghanafoɔ ayɛ yɛn adwen sɛ yɛreba abɛtena ɔsono no akyi (.) aboa ma ɔsono no aba abɛyɛ adwuma ama ɔman no. //Afarefoɔ ɛrebrɛ oo. //Afarefoɔ pɛ obi ɔrebɛba abɛkasa sɛ wɔn nnooma nyinaa sesa na asei no (.) Onyankopɔn yɛ adom na meba a (.) //mereba abɛsom ama wɔn (.) ɛsiesie saa nnooma no nyinaa. (not clear) Nti meda mo ase (.) meda mo ase sɛ ɛwia yi ayɛ sei a (.) mo aba abɛtie yɛn. Na nea mereserɛ a ne sɛ (.) aba a yɛreba abɛto yi (.) **seventh December** no (.) anadwo fa no (.) ansa na yɛrekɔ akɔ da no (.) yɛreba abɛte asɛm papa ɛfiri **Ablekuma West** ha (crowd cheers). Yɛreba abɛte no (.) yɛreba abɛ te sɛ (.) Ursula Owusu Akufo ɛna y'ama ne nsa so **as the victor of the parliamentary election**. //Yɛbɔ no nso wie a (.) na y'aka sɛ **Ablekuma West** ha nso (.) Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo ɛna yɛde w'aba abɛdi pre- ɔmanpanyin aba no wɔ **Ablekuma West**. //Yɛde ne nyinaa ɛbom na yɛka wie a (.) anadwo fa no ansa na y'ada no (.) yɛtumi aka akyerɛ yɛn ho sɛ ampa (.) John Dramani Mahama (.) **bye bye** // (:) **bye bye (:) bye bye (:) bye bye**. //Onyame nhyira mo (.) meda mo ase (.) //Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (.) baako baako baako. //Meda mo ase papaapa.

175

SPEECH E

NPP Biggest Campaign Crowd at Awutu Senya East

NPP mpanimfoɔ (not clear), ɛwura yi (.) ɛwuraa Hawa ɔka no ɔse n'ani agye (.) me m'anigyeɛ no deɛ aboro so koraa (.) meda mo ase (.) meda mo ase pa ara. //Moaba ha so akyɛ (.) nti meremma me kasa nware (.) nneɛma mmiɛnsa pɛ na me pɛ sɛ me bo so. //Deɛ edi kan (.) afe yi (.) Onyankopɔn (.) ɔne mmra- Ghana mmara ama kwan (.) sɛ yɛ haw (.) ohia (.) ne ahokyerɛ aba abɛdware yɛn no (.) yɛbɛfa yɛn kokromoti so ayi saa ɔhaw no ne ahokyerɛ nyinaa afiri yɛn so. //Yɛde yɛn kokromoti (.) yɛde ba abɛyi saa ɔhaw no nyinaa afiri hɔ. Yɛde aban papa a (.) Akufo-Addo da ano aba (.) aba bɛyɛ Ghana yie ama Ghana atumi asɔre biom. Deɛ ɛtɔ so mmienu (.) nea ɛtɔ so mmienu (.) moate (.) sɛ mereka akwan so a yɛbɛba a (.) nsɛm a ɛda ɔman no anim no (.) yɛbɛba abɛsiesie no nyinaa. Me menhyɛ bɔ (.) mereba abɛsiesie ɔman no (.) **it's not promises** (.) **that I am coming to build** (**.**) **I am coming to give solution for the problems of our country**. //Moate (.2) ɛkwan a yɛreba abɛfa so ama afidie adwuma no abu wɔ Ghana (.) **one district** (**.**) **one factory** (.) //**that is going to revive Ghanaian manufacturing and industry** (**.**) **how we are going to revive our agriculture** (**.**) **and make it possible for us to feed ourselves in Ghana. These are the solutions that we have for the problems confronting our country**. //Na nea mereka no (.) na mo a moatwa ahyia ha nyinaa anya gyedie wɔ me mu sɛ mereba abɛyɛ no (.) meba a mereba abɛdi ne nyinaa so pɛpɛɛpɛ (:). //Ghana y'ayɛ mmɔbɔ (.) nnoɔma ɛnhia koraa yɛntumi hunu ano. Yɛte sika so so ɛkɔm de yɛn (.) yɛte sika so nso ɛkɔm de yɛn (.) ɛnam amammuo bɔne. Na motee (.) nnora asɛm nwanwa bi asi (.2) **NDC**foɔ kɔɔ Sunyani (.) sɛ yɛrekɔ akɔ yi wɔn **manifesto** (.2) yɛn wura Ko- wɔn

national organizer (.) ɛfiri n'ano a (.) yɛn ɔmanpanin **manifesto** no na ɔnnim ho hwee (.) wanyɛ **contribution** kakra bi a ama no. **Manifesto** no nso mpanimfoɔ baako baeɛ a (.) ɔse **oh** ɛnyɛ saa na ɛtia (.) na ɔhweemu (.) yɛreka yi (.) na yɛn ɔmanpanin so so gyina baabi ɔse **oh manifesto** no koraa ɔno na ɔtwerɛeɛ. **Ei! manifesto** baako na **confusion** aba ho sei? (unclear) //**Manifesto** yi yɛnhunu nea ɔtwerɛeɛ? //Na (.) ɛnɛ da yi (.) yɛte firi wɔn mpanimfoɔ no baako ano a (.) sɛ ɛnyɛ nokware sɛ deɛ yɛkaeɛ no na wɔn akɔ akɔfa (.) na yɛn nyinaa adwene ayɛ baako. Yɛda Nyame ase (.) sɛ wɔn ahunu sɛ yɛ wɔ adwene papa ma ɔman no. Na **confusion** sei tumi ba (.) ɛwɔ **small matter** (.) **no small matter but a simple issue like a manifesto** a ɛbɛyɛ dɛn na **confusion** mma ɔman yi mu? Yɛreba abɛtu aseɛ (.) yɛreba abɛtu saa **confusion** no nyinaa ase (.) **we are coming to uproot the confusion and put Ghana at a better stage**. //Na mesrɛ mo (.) Kasoafoɔ (.) yɛrekɔ yi mepɛ sɛ meyi Awuraa Hawa Koomson (.) ɔno ara na mede gya mo ho akɔ (.)ɔno ara na mede gya mo ho akɔ (.) to ma no (.) na ɔntoa na adwuma pa ɔyɛ no ha no. Na Nyankopɔn so bue kwan no a (.) adwuma kɛseɛ da na n'anim ɔbɛdi ama Kasoa ɛne Ghanaman nyinaa. //Na nea yɛpɛ ɛtia a (.) nea yɛpɛ ɛtia a ne adwuma pa mereba abɛyɛ (.) ɛwura wura tokuro tokuro biara mu ɛde yɛn asɛm papa no akɔ. Na monte aseɛ baako sɛ (.) yɛwɔ mmarima ne mmaa te sɛ ɛwura yi a (.) yɛde ɔman no hyɛ ne nsa a (.) hyɛ yɛn sa (.) yɛreba abɛbu ne kwan pa so ama mpuntuo ɛne sika ne ahotɔ ne adwuma atumi aba ɔman yi mu. **We have the men and women (.) we have the men and women who will work with sincerety to uplift the country Ghana again**. //Na ɛba ne saa nso a (.) **seventh of December (.) seventh of December** (.) yɛbɛto aba no na anadwo fa no y'abɛbobɔ aba no so no (.) nea mepɛ sɛ mete ɛne sɛ Hawa Koomson

177

ɛ**win**i ɛwɔ Kasoa. Ama Akuffo-Addo nso a**win**i **presidential election in Ghana**. Na ɛno nso nyinaa to atwa soa (.) yɛn nyinaa yɛtumi aka kyerɛ yɛn wura John Dramani Mahama **bye bye (:) bye bye (:) bye bye (:)**. Nyame nhyira mo nyinaa (.) baako baako (.) meda mo ase (.) **God bless you all**.

SPEECH F

Nana Addo's NPP Rally at Mallam (2016)

Yoo (.) (unclear) nea edi kan (.) mepɛ sɛ meda mo ase (.) ɛwia yi (.) ne biribiara a ɛnɛ sɛ mo agyaeɛ biribiara ato hɔ (.) na mo aba no bebree sei yi na mo aba abɛtie me. Onyankopɔn nhyiraa mo nyinaa baako (.) baako. Meda mo ase. Na (.) afe yi (.) Ghana mmra (.) ne Tweduampɔn Nyankopɔn abue kwan ama yɛn (.) sɛ yɛn haw (.) ahokyerɛ a aba bɛdware yɛn nyinaa (.) wodi dwa a ɛnyɛ yie (.) woreba abɛtua wo mma **school fees** nso a na aba bɛyɛ asɛm (.) **electricity** no deɛ yɛnka koraa. //ɔhaw a aba (.) sɛ afe yi (.) yɛreba abɛfa yɛn kokromoti so ayi saa ɔhaw no nyinaa (.) afiri yɛn so na yɛtumi ɛyi owura Mahama aban no asi hɔ brɛ oo (:) asi nkyɛn (.) ɛde Akufo-Addo aban (.) **NPP** aban a ɛde adwuma ne nkosoɔ bɛba ɔman no mu (crowd cheers). //Yɛn ɔmanpanyin (.) John Dramani Mahama (.2) w'aba abɛdi **vice president four years** (.) w'abɛdi **president four years** (.) ɔse seisei ara n'adwuma no ɔnwieyɛ (.) nti ɔreba abɛserɛ Ghanafoɔ sɛ (.) yɛmfa nan- mfie nan nso nka ne ho. //Deɛ yɛreba abɛbusa yɛn ho ne sɛ (.) wohwɛ ne **banners** a ɔse JDM toa so. ɛdeɛn na ɔreba abɛ toa so ama yɛn? ɛdeɛn na ɔreba abɛ toa so ama yɛn? //Yɛn wura Mahama (.2) mpaninfoɔ se (.) edwa bɛba a (.) ɛfiri anɔpa. **Eight years** ni yɛnhunuu (.) edwa bia a w'atumi de aba ama yɛn (.) na yɛreba abɛtena hɔ **another four years** ansa na yɛhunu deɛ woreba abɛyɛ? Daabi. Afe yi (.2) n'adaworoma (.) ɔreba abɛsi fɔm ama yɛde aban foforo aba Ghana. //ɛsɛsɛ ɔsi fɔm (.) yɛn wura Mahama (.) yɛma no tena hɔ **twenty years** koraa a bɛbia yɛte yi a na yɛreba abɛtena (.) ɔrenyɛ biribi a papa bi a ɛmma yɛn. **He is a threat (.) he is a threat to the future of our country. The continuing presidency of John Dramani Mahama is a threat to the future of Ghana**

179

(.2) we have to remove that threat. //Na ɛba no saa (.) ama yɛn atumi ayɛ nhyehyɛeɛ a (.) ɛde sika bɛba Ghana ha. Ghanafoɔ y'ayɛ mmɔbɔ koraa dodo (.) y'ayɛ mmɔbɔ dodo. Yɛte sika so nso ɛkɔm de yɛn (.) yɛreba abɛsesa saa no (.) na sika a ɛwɔ ɔman yi mu no ayɛ adwuma ama yɛn nyinaa aka yɛn bi…(unclear). //Nti nhyehyɛeɛ a moate (.) sɛ me me ne **NPP**foɔ de ɛreto dwa (.2) sɛ **National Health Insurance Scheme** no (.) yɛde ahoɔden foforɔ ɛreba abɛhyɛ mu ama ɛtumi ayɛ adwuma ama yɛn. Mahama abrɛ so ɛsɛeɛ yɛ. **Senior High School (.2)** ɛreba abɛyɛ **free** wɔ me m'abrɛ so. ɛreba (.) ɛnam kwan so ɛreba. Afidie afidie adwuma (.) ɛkwan a yɛbɛtumi ama- ayɛ ama yɛn sikasɛm ayɛyie (.) ama dwadie ne **business** ɛtumi asɔre biom (.) ne titiriw ankorankorɛ adwuma ɛtumi ɛtumpɔn ɛwɔ Ghana. Saa nhyehɛeɛ nyinaa a moate no (.) yɛnka sɛ yɛredwa yɛn anum akyerɛ mo (.) ɛyɛ nnoɔma a yɛreba aba yɛ no pɛpɛɛpɛ (:) baako baako baako baako. //Nti meserɛ mo (.) afe yi (.) yɛnim sɛ **time** biara yɛto aba no (.) mo to aba no ma yɛn. Mogyina yɛn akyi pintinn. Afe yi deɛ mereba abɛserɛ (.) aba a moreba abɛto yi (.) mo nto no **boom!** Mo nto no **boom** (.2) na mom moa me. Ghana bɛdwa yi (.) mepree yɛ **2008 (.2)** anyɛ yie (.) **2012 (.)** anyɛ yie (.) ne mprɛ mmiensa na merepre akonwa no. Meserɛ mo (.) mo moa me (.) na yɛn mpia me nkɔhyɛ bɛdwa no so na merentumi nyɛ Ghanafoɔ ho adwuma //na nkosoɔ a ɛreba no nso ɛtumi aba. //Na kɔ a yɛrekɔ hɔ yi (.) yɛrenkɔ sɛ yɛrekɔ akɔ me ma yɛn ho so (.) yɛrekɔ sɛ yɛrekɔ akɔsom Ghanafoɔ (.) ayɛ ɛdwuma ama Ghanafoɔ. //Na ɛnyɛ- hɔ a merekɔ no (.) ɛnyɛ sɛ merekɔ hɔ na m'akɔ sesa mo akɔ yɛ me kotokuom yie wɔ hɔ. ɛnyɛ ɛno nti na merekɔ. //Deɛ mereserɛ Tweduampɔn Nyankopɔn (.2) sɛ nimdeɛ ne nyansa ne ahoɔden kakra a ɔde ama me no (.) ɔmma me kwan na meremmɛ pia Ghana fidie no (.) na afidie no nkɔ n'anim (.) na ahotɔ ne sika ne adwuma nso so tumi

180

mmra ɔman no mu. Nti mereserɛ mo (.) afe yi deɛ (.) obiara mmra na ɔmmɛ

tena ɔsono no so (.) na yɛn mpia ɔsono nkɔ ne sei yi (.) gigim gigim gigim

gigim gigim gigim gigim nkɔ wura **Jubilee House** hɔ. //Na yɛrekɔ nso a (.) na

a Henry Quartey (.) Henry Quartey yɛde no ɛrekɔ. Mo ma so ma no wɔ hɔ

dada (.2) ɔkɔeɛ nso so ɔnguu mo anima se. Mo nsoma no biom (.) na ɔmmra

mɛka yɛn ho na yɛn yɛ adwuma. Na Quartey ɛyɛ **MP for Ayawaso Central** na

me nso di **President** a (.) afei na moreba abɛhunu ne nsa ho adwuma (.) nea

ɔbɛtumi ayɛ aboa na mo nso so mo ho atɔ mo. //N'akoma mu kann na ɔde reyɛ

adwuma no. Yɛreka no nso so (.) na ɛwura Vida (.) ɔno nso so no moa da

n'ase ama yɛn. W'ahyɛda (.2) aboa ma biribi a nso rekɔ wano waano waano (.)

kasa biara nso nnim (.) ɛyaa mo nna n'ase ama yɛn. //Na aba no sei yi (.2) aba

no sei yi (.2) (crowd cheers) **Oh wow! Oh wow! wow!** meda mo ase (h) meda

mo ase (h) meda mo ase. //Na ayɛ sei yi no (.2) ayɛ sei no (.) **seventh of**

December (.2) ansa na yɛrebɛda saa anadwo fa (.) no a **Electoral**

Commission abobɔ bobɔ aba no so no (.) yɛreba abɛtie asɛmpa (.) yɛreba

abɛtie asɛmpa. Nyankopɔn adaworoma (.2) mɛte no (.) ɛfiri **Electoral**

Commission ano a (.) **the Member of Parliament elect for Ablekuma**

Central (.) Henry Quartey na y'abo no aba so (.) **the President-elect of**

Ghana (.) Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. //Na ɛnam sɛ (.) na (h) ɛnam sɛ

(.2) yɛtie saa nnoɔma mmienu yi (.) na yɛn nyinaa ahunu sɛ ampa (.) yɛn haw

ne ahokyerɛ nyinaa no Tweduampɔn Nyankopɔn ɛtumi ɛyi ɛfiri yɛn ho. Na

ɛno no (.) yɛn nyinaa aka abɔ mu na yɛn aka kyerɛ yɛn manpanyin John

Dramani Mahama sɛ (.) **bye bye (:) bye bye (:) bye bye**. Onyame nhyira mo

(.) Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (:) baako baako baako (.) **thank you (.) may**

God bless you.

SPEECH G

NPP Rally 2016 at Techiman

Wow! Wow! Wow! (:) Techiman meda mo ase. //Techimanman meda mo ase pa ara (.) meda mo ase. **Regional rallies** a yɛhyɛaseɛ no (.) yɛde yɛn **campaign** no reba ɛwieyɛ. Yɛhyɛaseɛ wɔ **Volta region** (.2) ɛkɔɔ Aflao (.) yɛbɛ twa mu kɔɔ (.) Bolgatanga ɛwɔ **Upper East** (.2) ɛkɔɔ Tamale. Na yɛfiri hɔ na yɛbaa Wa (.2) ɛna ɛnora (.) na yɛbaa Kumasi sɛ yɛreba (.2) Brong Ahafo. Na Brong Ahafo nko ara (.) ɛna yɛreyɛ **two rallies** (.) nyɛ baako (.) **two rallies** (.) **regional rallies** wɔ Brong Ahafo. //ɛfiri sɛ (.2) Brong Ahafo ho hia yɛn pa ara (.) Brong Ahafo ho hia yɛn pa ara. Na menim sɛ (.) Onyako-Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma yɛn ma yɛn **win**i Brong Ahafo a (.) na yɛ **win**i Ghana (.) na yɛ **win**i Ghana. Techimanman (.2) meda mo ase pa ara sɛ Efiada ɛwia yi (.) ketekete sei yi (.) mo aba ne bebree sei yi aba abɛ hyia me. Mede Onyankopɔn na ɛreda mo ase (.) meda mo ase (.) meda mo ase pa ara (.) meda mo ase. //Nnɔɔma mmiensa (.2) nnɔɔma mmiensa na mede ba bɛgya mo. //Nea edi kan (.) nhyehyɛeɛ a yɛn ayɛ a (.) Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma yɛn na yɛba a (.) ɛna mepɛ sɛ mebɔ mmiensa ɛnan bi so aky- ɛkyerɛ mo ɛwia yi. **National Health Insurance (.2)** //yɛ agyapadeɛ keseɛ a Kufuor de baa Ghana (.) ɛreyɛ ase- egu (.) mebaa mereba abɛyɛ ne yie biom ama obiara ɛnya ho mfasoɔ. //**Health Insurance** (.2) sɛ ɛreba abɛ yɛ yie a (.) na **nurse** so ho hia paa. ɛno nti (.2) **nurses training allowance (.)** a Kufuor mmerɛ so yɛtumi tua yɛ a (.2) Mahama nom no bɛtwa mu no (.) Onyankopɔn ma mekwan na mebaa (.) //**nurses training allowances** no yɛde reba. //Yɛreba abɛbɔ Ghana daakye ho ban a (.) yɛreba abɛbɔ Ghana daakye ho ban a (.) na ehia (.) sɛ (:) adesua no (.) yɛma kwan ma obiara tumi yɛ bi. ɛno nti (.) **Free Senior High School**

182

education //yɛde ɛreba. //Nyɛ- ɛnyɛ mmɔfra no nko ara (.) ɛnyɛ yɛn mmɛbunu nko ara **education** na hia me. Yɛn yɛrenyini wɔ Ghana no (.) na sɛbe na yɛn mpaninfoɔ a ɛnya kwan ankɔ school no (.) yɛhyɛɛ da yɛɛ **program** bi maa wɔn (.) **Adult Education**. Mereba na m'aba abɛ pagya **Adult Education** ama kwan ama wɔn a ɛntumi ɛnnya kwan ankɔ **school** no ɛtumi akɔ **school** yi akɔ sua adeɛ. //Na ɛno kyerɛ sɛ (.) ɛkyerɛ sɛ (.) sɛ pa ara sɛ yɛn adesua ho nsɛm bɛba abɛ yɛ asɛm a ɛyɛ asɛmhia (.) na yɛ hia **teacher**foɔ. Yɛhia **teacher**foɔ a (.) na yɛhia **teacher trainees.** Yɛ **train**e wɔn ansa na wɔn aba abɛ yɛ **teacher**. Kufuor berɛ so (.) **teacher trainees** yɛtua wɔn **allowance (.)** yei nom aba abɛ twam. Mebaa (.) mereba abɛ yɛ no yie biom (unclear). //Ghana (.2) yɛrekyɛ ɔman no sika a (.) ɛnhyɛda nnuru fɔm (.) nti yɛreba abɛkyɛ no kwan foforɔ so. **Ghana capital budget (.2)** afe yi ɛreba yi wɔ **1.6 billion dollars**. Yɛreba abɛ yi ɛmu **275 million dollars (.)** na aba no sɛɛ **constituency** biara (.) ɛyɛ **twenty-nine constituencies** a ɛwɔ Brong Ahafo ha no (.) **every constituency** (.) **every year** (.) **one million dollars is coming to your** constituency (.) aba abɛ boa **constituency** no. //**There are problems** (.2) **problems of sanitation** (.) **problems of water** (.) **problems of tarred roads** (.) **infrastructure** no saa sika yi na ɛreba abɛyɛ ho adwuma **in every constituency**. //Yɛse (.2) yɛn daakye no (.2) adwuma titiriw a mepɛ sɛ ɛbu wɔ Ghana (.) ɛne afidie afidie adwuma (.2) **and that is why in every district (.)** yɛreba abɛhwɛ ama **factory** baako akɔ **every district** (.) **one district** (.) **one factory policy**. //Akuafoɔ titiriw ne **cocoa** akuafoɔ ɛna abɔ mmɔden de yɛn abɛduru bɛbia yɛdu- yɛwɔ wɔ Ghana seisei yi. Owura Kufuor aban baeɛ (.) ɛbɛ pagya a **cocoa** akuafoɔ ne wɔn adwuma yɛ (.) Mahama no moa ban egu no. Nneɛma ɛsɛ sɛ yɛyɛ nyinaa yɛntumi nyɛ (.) **mass spraying** no aba abɛyɛ basaa. **Fertilizer** a yɛde ma

183

cocoa akuafoɔ ɛntumi tɔ biom (.) **hitech inputs** ne nyinaa ayɛ basaa (.) **bonus** koraa nso so yɛntua biom. Saa nhyehyɛeɛ pa Kufuor de baeɛ a yɛpagya a **cocoa** adwuma mereba na m'aba abɛhyɛ mu kena (crowd cheers). //Na a (.2) yɛreka (.) **cocoa** eku- kuadwuma no (.) menim sɛ titiriw Brong Ahafo ha (.) **cashew nut** ɛbɛ- (.) ateaa adwuma no nso so no ɛreyɛ pagya (.2) ehia sɛ aban bɛhyɛda de n'ahooden so aba abɛ taa ee- ee- wɔn a edua ateaa no (.) te sɛ deɛ yɛyɛ ma **cocoa (.) that is the policy of the New Patriotic party (.) //to bring development in cashew nut production in Ghana**. //Sika a (.2) sika a Cote D'Ivoire (.) sika a Cote D'Ivoire ɛrenya ɛwɔ **cashew** adwuma no ɛnyɛ sika ketua. Saa sika no yɛn nso bɛtumi ɛnya bi wɔ Ghana (.) sɛ yɛhyɛda ɛyɛ **cashew** ne ho adwuma a (.) ɛbɔ cashew ne ho ban (.) **a proper policy** (.) **a proper strategy it will work**. //**Budget** a (.) **2017 budget (.)** a ɛreba yi (.) **2017 budget** a ɛreba (.) **Akufo-Addo yɛ first budget** a ɛrebɛba no (.) yɛde biribi ɛreba abɛhyɛ mu a Ghana (.) abakɔsɛm ɛbi mmaa da (.2) **Zongo Development //Fund is going to be a lying item in** the **2017 budget** (.2) a ɛreba abɛboa Zongo Zongo Zongofoɔ ɛho ban. Na yɛreka yi so (.) **Islamic teachers** (.) **Islamic teachers** a Kufuor abrɛ so (.) no **Islamic teachers** na yɛtua wɔn **allowance** te sɛ yɛtua **teacher traineefoɔ** no **allowance** ne **teacher**foɔ **allowance** (.) yɛtua ma wɔn **Islamic teachers allowance**. //Na yɛbaa na yɛde nhyehyɛeɛ pa ba a (.) na yɛbɔ yɛn sika ho ban a (.) yɛbɛhunu ɛnkyɛ **petrol prices** bɛba fɔm (.) na **petrol prices** ba fɔm a (.) **premium** ne **insurance** ne saa nnooma yi nyinaa so ɛbɛba fɔm ama **driver**foɔ nso ɛtumi ɛnya ahooden. //**NPP** berɛ so (.) **NPP** berɛ so (.) ɛna yɛde **new pensions act** baeɛ a (.2) yɛhyɛda ayɛ nhyehyɛeɛ pa (.) ama yɛn papa nom ne yɛn maame nom ne yɛn mpaninfoɔ a (.) ayɛ adwuma a afei wɔrekɔgye wɔn ahome no. Yei nom no

baeɛ a (.) sika a yɛhyɛda ayi ama **pensioners** no (.) **the two-tier system** no (.) saa sika no yɛnhunu babia sika no akɔ akɔ fa. Yɛreba na yɛn aba a abɛkyɛ sika no (.) na yɛde sika no bi aba abɛbrɛ yɛn **pensioners** (.) **we are going to make sure (.) the pensioners of our country get what they deserve**. ɛnyɛ fɛ! ɛnyɛ fɛ sɛ (.) w'ayɛ adwuma aberɛ (.) na worekɔ akɔgye w'ahome a (.) na sika a ɛsɛsɛ yɛde ma wo no obiara ntumi nnye (.) yɛreba abɛ gye wɔn adeɛ ama wɔn. //Na menim sɛ (.) Brong Ahafo ha asɛm (.) asɛm keseɛ wɔ hɔ a ɛha mo (.2) na m'aka ato hɔ (.) mereba abɛka biom (.2) sɛ berɛ no duru na sɛ yɛto aba no (.) na Mahama aban ɛntumi yɛɛ ho hwee (.) ama wɔn a yayera yɛn sika ɛwɔ **DKM** a (.) Onyakopɔn ma me kwan na me baa (.) mereba na m'abɛ di akyere ama yɛn nsa aka yɛn sika nyinaa. //ɛyɛ saa nhyehyɛɛ yi (.) saa nhyehyɛɛ ne nhyehyɛɛ a (.2) **NPP** ne me yɛn ayɛ ato hɔ a (.) yɛreba sɛ (.) Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma yɛn na mopene so na meba a (.) mereba abɛdi akyere ayɛ ne nyinaa pɛpɛɛpɛ (:). //Nnɔɔma mmienu (.2) nnɔɔma mmienu na yɛn hia (.) ɛma ɔman no nkɔsoɔ. Nea edi kan na m'aka yi (.) nhyehyɛɛ pa. Deɛ ɛtɔso mmienu (.) ɛne baakoyɛ (.) ɛwɔ yɛn Ghanafoɔ mu (.) baakoyɛ ɛwɔ yɛn Ghanafoɔ mu. Sɛ kasa a (.) ɔmanpanyin ɛne ne- ne namfofoɔ no ɛreka wɔ Ghana (.) yɛpɛ sɛ yɛde mpaepaemu ba yɛn mu no (.) yei firi esirem (.) na yei firi ha (.) ɛnyɛ kasa a ɛbɛboa yɛn (.) ɛnyɛ kasa a ɛbɛboa yɛn. **We (:) We are against the policy** (.) **we are against the policy (.) of setting the north against south** (.) **setting East against West** (.) **tribe against tribe** (.) **that is not the politics of tomorrow** (.) **that is not the politics that we need in Ghana (.) to build progress and prosperity**. //Yɛn nyinaa yɛ nnipa baako wɔ Ghana (.) sɛ wofiri hen o (.) sɛ wofiri hen o (.2) woyɛ Kusaseni o (.) anaa woyɛ Asantenii o (.) anaa Mamprusi anaa Dagaateni anaa Dagombani (.) anaa woyɛ Asantenii anaa

185

Kwahuni (.) yɛn nyinaa yɛ deɛn? Yɛn nyinaa yɛ nnipa baako ɛwɔ Ghana. //Saa kasa na ɛde mpaepaemu bɛba (.) sɛ Kristoni anaa Musliminii yɛn nyinaa ɛyɛ nnipa baako (.) Onyankopɔn mma ne yɛn nyinaa. //Nti kasa a ɛde mpaepaemu ba (.) sɛ ɛyɛ mpaepaemu (.) wei te sei (.) wei firi ha (.) wei firi ha (.) meserɛ mo saa kasa no ɛremmoa yɛn (.) ɛremmoa yɛn. Wɔn a ɛfiri esirem ba ha a (.2) sɛ yɛreba abɛ dɔ **Cocoa** (.) **Cocoa** no ɛ- yɛ yie ma wɔn a (.) ɛnyɛ **cocoa**foɔ nyinaa na ɛ- ayɛ yie ama wɔn? Nea hia ɛne sɛ (.) yɛn bɛnya nhyehyɛeɛ pa ɛrebɛboa ɔman no nyinaa. **Let us stand for one united indivisible Ghana (unclear).** Na saa baakoyɛ no wɔ yɛn mu a (.2) saa baakoyɛ no wɔ yɛn mu a (.) yɛn nyinaa te aseɛ (.) sɛ saa baakoyɛ no wɔ yɛn mu a (.) ɛno ɛna yɛbɛhunu sɛ Ghana daakye (.) Ghana daakye no (.) a ɛda yɛn anim no (.) ɛreba abɛyɛ daakye papa (.) daakye a ahoɔden wɔ mu (.) daakye a ɛde sika ne adwuma ɛna ahotɔ bɛba yɛn man Ghana. //Nti (.2) mebaa ha a (.) yɛreba abɛserɛ Brong Ahafoman (.) yɛreba abɛserɛ Brong Ahafoman sɛ afe yi (.2) mereserɛ mo (.2) mo nhyɛda mfa mo ani mɛsi ɔsono no so (.) na mo mmoa ɔsono no. Mo nyinaa mo mmra mɛtena ɔsono no so (.2) **we are looking for the majority of the popular votes in Brong Ahafo and the majority of the parliamentary seat** (.) **that is the aim of the NPP in this election in 2016**. //Na sɛ ɛba no saa a (.2) ɛba no saa a (.) na obiara ba na ɔbɛtena ɔsono no so (.) na yɛpia ɔsono no (.) yɛpia ɔsono no sɛ ɔnkɔ na ɔnkɔ hyɛ **Jubilee House**. Na ɔnam na ɔrekɔ (.) gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim na w'akɔ akɔhyɛ **Jubilee House** hɔ (.2) na w'akɔ (.2) na w'akɔ akɔgye aban no. Na kɔ a yɛrekɔ hɔ yi (.2) yɛrenkɔ sɛ yɛrekɔ akɔ ma yɛn ho so (.2) anaa (.2) abɛka nsɛm a ɛmfata abɛkyerɛ Ghanafoɔ. Ghanafoɔ deɛ (.) bibiara a wobɛyɛ wɔn no ɛnyɛ hwee firi sɛ ɛnkyɛ (.) na wɔn werɛ afiri adeɛ. Nyɛ saa kasa no bi na mereba na m'abɛ yɛ.

186

Merenkɔ so so sɛ merekɔ akɔ bɔ mo korɔno (.) aba abɛ tasse Ghanafoɔ sika (.) aba abɛgu me kotokuom. Nyɛ ɛno nti na merekɔ hɔ. Merekɔ sɛ (:) nimdeɛ ne nyansa kakra a Tweduampɔn Onyankopɔn de ama me no mereba abɛboa apia Ghana afidie no na adwuma ne sika ɛna ahotɔ aba ɔman Ghana mu (unclear). Nti m'aba sɛ mereba abɛserɛ mo (.2) mereba abɛserɛ mo sɛ (.) **20- 2008 (.)** Ghana bɛdwa no ɛkaa sei anka meforo yɛ (.2) **2012** deɛ mo ara monim nea ɛsiiɛ (.) ne mprɛ mmiensa na merepre badwa no (.) ɛne **2016** aba yɛreba abɛ to. Mereserɛ mo Brong Ahafoman (.) Techiman ne Brong Ahafoman (.) mo mfa m'ahoɔden mɛtae m'akyi. //Yɛn ɔmanpaynin se me menam Ghana (.) ɛna mereserɛ Ghanafoɔ (.2) sɛ yɛmfa ɔmanpanyin akonwa no ɛma me na metena so (.) na mennyae sɛ mereserɛ nneɛma wɔ Ghanafoɔ hɔ. Na saa kasa no ma me hunu sɛ (.) yɛn ɔmanpanyin no (.) ka bi ma me nka bi amamuo no ɔnte aseɛ. Tumi no ɛnyɛ mo mo hɔ na ɛwɔ? ɛnyɛ mo mo hɔ na ɛwɔ? Tumi no wɔ mo mo hɔ! Na sɛ mese (.) mepɛ sɛ mode fɛm me na mede yɛ ade papa ɛma mo a (.) ɛnyɛ serɛ na mɛserɛ mo? ɛnyɛ serɛ na mereba abɛserɛ mo? Mɛkɔ so aserɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) aserɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) aserɛ Ghanafoɔ saa. //Na sɛ pa ara sɛ ɛreba a (.2) pa ara sɛ ɛreba a (.) na Tweduampɔn Onyankopɔn tie yɛn sufrɛ a (.2) n'awɔtwe yi a ɛda yɛn anim yi (.) yɛreba abɛtie asɛm papa a (.) ɛdeɛn asɛm papa na yɛreba abɛte? ɛne sɛ (.) y'ato aba no ɛwie (.) na y'abobo so (.) na meserɛ mo (.) aba yɛrekɔ akɔ to yi (.2) ɛmma obiara nyɛ n'adwen sɛ **NPP** koraa afa (.) nti no merekɔ to bi koraa a ɛnhia. ɛsɛ sɛ obiara a kɔ na ɔkɔ to n'aba (.2) **everybody must go out to vote (.) if we want change** (.) **we have to vote for change**. Meserɛ mo (.) adeɛ baako pɛ na yɛrehwehwɛ (.) babia ɔsono wɔ no (.) ɛhɔ na wode wo nsa no bɛkɔ na wode wo nso nsa no akɔ titim so. Saa da no (.) anadwo fa anaa ne adekyeɛ no (.) ɛna yɛbete asɛm papa.

187

Yɛbete sɛ (.) **Electoral Commission** (not clear). John Dramani Mahama (.) **thank you and goodbye** (.) **goodbye** (:) **goodbye** (:) **goodbye** (**:**). Onyankopɔn nhyira mo nyinaa.

188

SPEECH H

Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo at Koforidua Rally (June, 2016)

Eii! (.2) Juabenman (.) Koforiduafoɔ (.2) meda mo ase (.) meda mo ase papaapa. Ne titiriw (.) sɛ mo atumi atwɛn yɛn saa (:) ama adeɛ asa mo (.2) Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (:) baako baako. Meda mo ase pa ara (.) ɛkyerɛ ɔdɔ (.) a mo wɔ ma (.) **NPP** ne me (.2). Na (:) sɛ **Doctor** kaa yɛ yi (.) adeɛ asa (.2). Mpaninfoɔ se adeɛ asa so a na asɛm asa (.) nti meremma me kasa no nware (crowd cheers). // Afe yi a yɛreba abɛto aba yi (.2) yɛn ɔmanpanyin (.) John Dramani Mahama (.) ɔse (.) ɔnwie n'adwuma (.2) nti ɔreba abɛsrɛ Ghanafoɔ (.2) sɛ wɔn mpia no na ɔrentua n'adwuma so (.) na yɛn nto aba no mma no. Yɛn mpia no (.) yɛn ntumi (.) yɛn ntumi mpia no ma ɔnkɔ. Na yɛrebisa yɛn ho sɛ (.) ɛdeɛn na ɔreba abɛtoa so? Ohia no anaa? Ohia no na ɔreba abɛtoa so anaa? Ahokyerɛ no na ɔreba abɛtoa so anaa? **Prepaid** no na ɛreba abɛtoa so saa? Daabi. Afe yi yɛde yɛn kokromoti (.) yɛde yɛn kokromoti ɛreba abɛsesa aban no na yɛpia Mahama afiri hɔ (.2) na yɛde **NPP** aban aba a **ɛrm** me meda ano a yɛreba abɛyɛ ɔman no adwuma. // Yɛwɔ nhyehyɛeɛ pa (.) yɛreba abɛsiesie Ghana sikasɛm (.2) na korɔno no nso so na adɔɔso bebree no (.) nso so mɛtwa mu ama Ghanafoɔ sika ayɛ adwuma ama Ghanafoɔ. //Na ne titiriw adwuma (.2) motie kyeremateng (.) **industry industry** no (.) Onyankopɔn ma yɛn kwan a (.) ɔno na ɔreba abɛhwɛ so ama yɛn. Asɛm a meka to hɔ (.2) sɛ **every district will have one factory no** (.) megyina so ɛreka wɔ ha (.) ɛwɔ Koforidua ha (.) ama mo nyinaa mo ate. //Yɛn ayɛ ho adwuma (.) yen ahwehwɛ mu (.2) //yɛhunu nhyehyɛeɛ nyinaa. Yɛn yɛ nsɔre ɛregyina Ghanafoɔ anim (.) nka nsɛm a (.) yɛrentumi yɛ (.) yɛreba abɛdwedwa yɛn anum (.) aba abɛ dane- daadaa Ghanafoɔ (.) yɛn yɛ saa adeɛ no da. **NPP** nso so no (.) yɛn yɛ

189

saa. Mobɛkae Owura Kufuor ɛreba no (.2) ɔka to hɔ sɛ (.) **National Health Insurance Scheme** no (.) ɔbaa ɔde bɛba. Mokae? (crowd responds) Sɛ mokae? (crowd responds). Atta Mills a w'anaya ni baabi kɔ (.) ɛkaa sɛ Kufuor boa ɔrentumi nyɛ. W'anyɛ? (crowd responds) Wanyɛ? (crowd responds) Yɛn anya ho (:) mfasoɔ? ɔne Atta Mills hwan na ɔredwa- ɔreka nokorɛ? Me (.) meka to hɔ (.2) sɛ mebaa (.) **Senior High School** no ɛbɛyɛ **free** wɔ Ghana (.) meboa anaa? // Mekaa yɛ no (.) Mahama se yɛnte bi da (.2) ɛntumi mma so (.) mennim deɛ mereka (.) meredadaa Ghanafoɔ. ɔkɔtena akonwa no so no (.) ɛna ɔsesaa n'adwen na ɔse (.) **oh** (.) **Free Senior High** no koraa wɔn ɛreba abɛyɛ. Me ne no hwan na na ɔre- ɔyɛ ɔtorofoɔ? Me ne no hwan na na ɔka nokorɛ? //ɛno koraa w'antumi anyɛ. ɔse ɔbɛma yɛn **Two Hundred Community Day Schools** (.) bɛsi nnɛ (.) yɛreba abɛto aba yi (.) **five** (.) **five** ɛna w'atumi ayɛ. //Bibia ni hɔ a (.) ɔtumi kaa ho nokore (.) bɔhyɛ biara ni hɔ w'atumi adi so. //Esrem nkɔsoɔ (.) ɛna yɛkaa sɛ yɛbaa yɛde **Northern Development Authority** bɛba na aboa Ghana nkɔsoɔ (.) titiriw esirem hɔ (.) ɛno nso so ɔgyee ho akyineɛ (.) ɔse yɛntumi nyɛ (.) sika no wɔ hen? Nso (.) ɔtenaa akonwa no so no (.) na ɔse ɔde biribi a yɛferɛ no sɛn? **SADA** ɛbaeɛ. **SADA** ɛbaeɛ nso so no (.) ɛdeɛn na ɛbɛyɛɛ yɛ? Sika die pɔtɔɔ (:). // Nti (.) Ghanafoɔ montie (.) **NPP** (.) yɛhyɛ bɔ nnɛ yi a na yɛnim nea yɛ- yɛ- yɛreyɛ. Y'adwen ho (.) ahwehwem (.) apensempensem mu (.) nti na yɛreka (.) nti na yɛreka sɛ adeɛ a meyɛɛ bi wɔ Cape Coast sɛ **one factory** (.) **one district** no (.) ɛreba so (.) ɛreba so Ghana ha ama mo nyinaa so ɛnya adwuma no bi ayɛ. //Nti mereserɛ mo (.) afe yi (.) wɔn ahyɛ- afiri aseɛ (.) wɔn afiri aseɛ sɛ yɛrekyekyɛ kyekyɛ nneɛma (.) yɛrekyekyɛ kyekyɛ nneɛma. Afe yi (.) meserɛ mo (.2) ma yɛmfa **one hundred cedis** biara mma ha ɛmmɛ daada obiara. //Yɛn daakye ho asɛm

190

(.) aba na yɛn yɛreba abɛto no. //Yɛmfa yɛn kokromoti (.) ɛnyɛ biribi papa mma yɛn nyinaa (.) yɛn ankasa yɛn ho. //Yɛreba abɛsesa aban no (.) na yɛde aban foforo aba a ɔreba aba abɛyɛ Ghanafoɔ ho adwuma. //Na sɛ ɛbɛba no saa no (.) mehia mo mmoa (.) mehia mo mmoa (.) mo mmoa me (.) mo (:) mmoa me (.) na abatoɔ no ɛmmra ma afa. // Na afei nso (.2) Asibey Yeboah (.2) ɔwɔ ha (.) ɔno ɛna yɛhia no wɔ mmrahyɛ badwam hɔ. Adwuma a yɛreba abɛyɛ (.) sɛ **government** no ba yɛn hɔ a (.) ɔrebabɛ- ɔreba bɛboa pa ara (.) nti mo nto aba no **boom** (.) ɛmma me (.) na mo nto no **boom** ɛmma no (.) na obiara nhunu sɛ ampa Koforiduafoɔ motaa yɛn akyi. Yɛwɔ anidasoɔ (.) yɛwɔ anidasoɔ wɔ Ghana (.2) ɛmma obiara nyɛ no sɛ (.) nea yɛte mu a (.) na yɛte mu (.) saa na ɛsɛ sɛ ɛba no daa (.) daabi (.) ɛnyɛ saa na Onyankopɔn bɔɔ no ɛmaa yɛn. //Nhyehyɛeɛ bɔne (.2) ne korɔno ɛna ama no aba sei na ohia aba abɛdware yɛn no. Yɛwɔ anidasoɔ (.) aban foforo ɛnam kwan so ɛreba (.) //**NPP** aban ne Akufo-Addo (.) ɛreba ɛreba. //Na ɛno (.) ba a ɛna Ghana (.) bɛdane (.2) na Ghana aba abɛyɛ krabɛhwɛ man (.) ɛrenkyɛ koraa yɛn nyinaa bɛhunu sɛ ampa (.) nhyehyɛeɛ pa nso wɔ hɔ. Meda mo ase (.) //Onyankopɔn nhyira mo nyinaa (:) meda mo ase papaapa. Yɛbɛba na yɛn aba abɛ kasa (.) **thank you and may God bless you all**.

SPEECH I

NPP takes Campaign Tour to Tema West

Err Tema mpaninfoɔ (.) ɛwia yi mo ama m'ani agye papa (.2) meda mo ase (.) meda mo ase sɛ mo mabom aba bebree sei. Afe yi (.) yɛn nyinaa nim adwuma a ɛda yɛn so. Yɛreba abɛpɛ o- deɛ yɛde ɔman no bɛhyɛ ne nsa mfie nan a ɛda yɛn anim yi. Na yɛn ɔmanpanyin (.2) yɛn wura John Dramani Mahama (.2) w'abɛdi Presi- **Vice President** (.) **four years** (.) w'abɛdi **President** (.) **four years** (.2) ɔne ne **party eight years** na wɔn awɔ aban mu. ɔse (.) adwuma ɛsɛ sɛ ɔyɛ (.) ɛma adwuma (.) ɛma sika (.) ɛba Ghana no afei na ɔreba aba abɛyɛ (.2) nti Ghanafoɔ ɛnyɛ n'adom na yɛn mma no **four more years**. Na **four years** a ɛda yɛn anim no (.) afei na yɛreba abɛ hunu ne nsa ho adwuma. Ei (.) **eight years** yɛnhunuu wo nsa ho adwuma (.2) na yɛreba abɛtena hɔ ama wo **another four years**. Na adɛn na wore- woreba abɛyɛ atoa so. Dumsor no na yɛreba abɛtoa so anaa? (crowd responds) Adwuma a ɛnni hɔ no na yɛreba abɛtoa so anaa? ɛnɛ **National Health Insurance System** ɛgu (.) ɛno na yɛreba abɛtoa so anaa? (crowd responds) ɛduru berɛ sɛ mmɔfra kɔ **school** a na Ghanafoɔ nyinaa ɛresu (.) ɛnam sɛ sika yɛde reba abɛtua **school fees** no nni hɔ (.) ɛno na yɛreba abɛtoa so anaa? **We have to save Ghana from John Dramani Mahama and secure the future of our country** (wild cheers). //**The stay (.) the continuous stay in office of John Dramani Mahama is a threat to the future of our country** (.) **that is why in December** yɛrebɛ yɛ deɛn? Yɛreba abɛsesa mu (.) yɛreba abɛsesa mu (.) **we are coming to change him**. Yɛde aban a- ɔrebɛba a ɛreba abɛyɛ Ghanafoɔ ho adwuma (.) aban a ɛreba bɛboa nneɛma ano (.) ama sika ne adwuma aba ɔman Ghana mu. Yɛbɛtumi ayɛ (.) ma obiara nyɛ n'adwen sɛ (.) nea yɛwɔ mu yi saa

192

na ɛsɛsɛ ɛba no (.) ɛnnyɛ saa na ɛsɛ ɛba no. Onyankopɔn nyɛ saa nhyehyɛɛ na ɔde maa yɛn Ghanafoɔ. Yɛte sika so nso ɛkɔm de yɛn (.) ɛnam sɛ yɛwɔ amamuo bɔne (.) yɛba (.) amamuo papa ɛrebɛba ama sika bɛpue ama adwuma ɛne sika ɛne ahotɔ aba ɔman Ghana mu. // Nti meserɛ mo (.) asɛm a yɛreba abɛyɛ no mo ate (.2) **defining the NHIS** (.) **Free Senior High School Education** (.2) **industrial development of Ghana** (.) a **one fac- one district one factory** no ɛka ho (.) **reviving our agriculture** (.) adwuma a yɛreba abɛyɛ no no. Yɛhia mom moa (.) Temafoɔ. Afe yi (.) **Tema West** (.) yɛfiri asɛe a yɛreto aba yi (.) mogyina **NPP** akyi dendenden (.2) ɛnaasɛe kesɛe na mede ma mo ɛwɔ (unclear). Na afe yi (.) yɛrepɛ nyinasoɔ soronko ama **NPP** (.) ɛwɔ afe yi mu. //Na aba yɛreba abɛto no (.) **Tema West** yɛnto no **boom!** Na obiara nte asɛe sɛ ampa (.) **Tema West** nso yɛ **NPP**. Na yɛreba yi (.) yɛreba yi (.2) yɛreba abɛyɛ adwuma ama ɔman no (.) nyɛ ɔman no sika na yɛreba de abɛgu yɛn kotokuom. Me (.) ɛnyɛ ɛno nti na mebaa **politics** mu (.) sɛ mereba abɛdi Ghanafoɔ sika ɛde aba abɛhyɛ me kotokuom. Yɛbaa sɛ yɛreba abɛboa (.)ɛma nnimdeɛ ɛne nyansa ne ahoɔden kakra a Tweduampɔn Onyankopɔn de ama me no (.) me nso mede ba bɛpia Ghana afidie no ɛma afidie no nso atumi akɔ n'anim. (crowd claps) // Nti mehia mo mmoa (.2). Ghana akonwa kesɛe no (.) badwa no (.2) **2008** ɛkaa kakra anka meforoeɛ (.) anyɛ yie! **2012** (.)ɛno nso ɛkaa sei anka meforo (.) ɛno nso anyɛ yie. Mprɛ mmiensa mu na merepre ho seisei (.) mehia mo mmoa sɛ mprɛ mmiensa yi deɛ (.) Onyankopɔn ne mo bɛboa me ama yɛtumi ɛpia me akɔ hyɛ hɔ. (wild cheers) // Na merekɔ no nso no (.) na me ne Carlos Ahenkorah (.) Carlos Kingsley Ahenkorah ɛna ɛne merekɔ. **NPP** mu (.) yɛn yɛto nnipa so aba ansa na y'ama wo nsa so. Me a megina ha yi (.) y'ato me so aba nti na megyina ha sei (.2) na Tema so so saa

(.2). Wei deɛ me- mekaeɛ (.) yɛwura **Majority leader** (.) yɛn wura Abraham Aidoo ɔno na na anka ɔku- ɔtu yɛn franka no (.) yɛkɔtoo aba no (,) ɛna yɛmaa obi foforo so (.) obaapanyin a ɔwɔ ha yi (.2) Naa Toshi Addo (.) ɔno (.) ɛna ɔno nso baa yɛ. Y'akɔto aba biom (.) ɛna afei Carlos Ahenkorah na ɛreba. Yɛn adwuma no saa na ɛteɛ wɔ **NPP** mu (.) yɛn nyinaa nso ɛyɛ deɛn? ɛte aseɛ (.) nti na wɔn nyinaa ɛgyina ha na yɛbɔ Carlos akyidom sɛ ɔnkɔ n'anim na ɔnkɔ ko den ɛma yɛn. (wild cheers) // Yɛte yɛn adwuma no ase (.) ɛte yɛn mmra no ase (.) ɛte yɛn ɛrr.. yɛkyekyere (.) ɛkwan a yɛkyekyere kuo no (.) yɛte aseɛ. Nti meserɛ mo (.) aba yɛreba abɛto yi (.) yɛmpɛ sɛ aba baako koraa ɛbɛyera. Yɛhia obiara aba (.) yɛpɛ sɛ Ghana nyinaa ɛbetena ɔsono no so (.2) na yɛpia yɛn baako baako (.) gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim na yɛkɔ kɔ wura **Jubilee House** hɔ. Mo mmra bɛtena ɔsono no so (.) na yɛmfa asɛm papa mmra Ghana. Ghana ayɛ mmɔbɔ dodo (.) Ghana ayɛ mmɔbɔ koraa dodo (.) yɛte sika so so ɛkɔm de yɛn. Yɛreba abɛsesa saa nnoɔma no nyinaa ɛde asɛm papa abrɛ ɔman Ghana ama mmrantɛɛ ne mmabawa no nso aba abɛyɛ nnipa wɔ ɔman no mu. Mesrɛ mo (.) mma obiara adwen nhimhim no (.) mma obiara adwen nhimhim no (.) **we- this is the year of the elephant** (.) **we are heading for a decisive victory in December in the name of the Almighty God and the people of Ghana**. (wild cheers) // Nti no (.) Carlos Ahenkorah na mede no regya mo (wild cheers). Mo nto aba no mma no na mo nto ma me. (wild cheers).

194

SPEECH J

Eastern Regional Rally at Nkawkaw

(Wild cheers) (unclear) //**The battle is the Lord's**. //Afei na ma hunu sɛ m'aba fie ampa (.) m'aba efie ampa (.) meda mo ase (.) da mo ase (.) da mo ase. //Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (:) baako baako baako. Meda mo ase. // Yɛde yɛn **campaign** (.) //yɛde yɛn **campaign** no reba ɛwieyɛ (.) yɛba bɛyɛ **ten regional rallies**. //Yɛhyɛɛ aseɛ ɛwɔ Tema (.) yɛbɛtwam kɔɔ Aflao (.) kɔɔ Bolgatanga (.) baa Tamale (.) Wa (.) ɛna yɛbaa Sunyani (.) ɛno n'akyi na yɛkɔɔ Sekondi (.) yɛbaa Dunkwa wɔ **Central region** (.2) ɛna yɛbɛsene kɔɔ Asanteman mu. Mo ara monim nea ɛsi ɛwɔ hɔ (.) yɛn ɔbaapanyin (.2) Asantehemaa Nana Afia Kobi Serwaa Ampem a ɔto so mmienu (.) akɔ ne kra akyi. Nti Asante amammerɛ no kyerɛ sɛ yɛtumi nnyɛ dede wɔ hɔ (.) (unclear) ɛna ɛnɛ **thirtieth of November** (.) **one week exactly** (.) **to the seventh of December** (.2) (wild cheers) ɛnɛ nnawɔtwe pɛpɛɛpɛ ɛna yɛde yɛn **regional rallies** no nyinaa ɛreba ɛwieyɛ ɛwɔ **Eastern Region**. Nea m'aba abɛhunu wɔ Nkawkaw yi (.) na m'aba- m'aba Nkawkaw aba Nkawkaw aba Nkawkaw (.) //na ɛnɛ da yi Nkawkaw dɔ wɔn ayi akyerɛ me nnɛ ɛyɛ biribi soronko (.) Onyame nhyira mo (,) Onyame nhyira mo (.) **I am very very grateful for your support** (.) **thank you may God bless you** (.) **thank you**. //Nhyehyɛeɛ a- nhyehyɛeɛ a (.) yɛpɛ sɛ yɛde ba no (.) mo ate bi (.) anadwo fa yi (.) mo ate bi (.) mereba abɛbobɔ kakra so. Yɛwɔ bebree (.) na nea ehia no na mereba abɛka ho asɛm (.2) na mo ahunu (.) na Onyankopɔn bue kwan ma yɛn a (.) ntotoeɛ a yɛreba abɛyɛ (.) ama yɛpagya ɔman Ghana ama sika ɛne //adwuma ɛne ahotɔ aba Ghanaman mu. (wild cheers) //Nea edi kan (.) a ɛfa nnipa dasani (.2) ɔno ankasa ne nnipadua (.2) //yɛn wura- (.2) yɛn ɔmanpanin dada (.) John

195

Agyekum Kufuor (.) ogyaa agyapadeɛ kɛseɛ maa Ghana (.2) yɛferɛ no **National Health Insurance Scheme** (.2) sɛ ɔreba (.) ama obiara ayaresam atumi ayɛyie (.) na ohianii koraa sɛ asɛm to wo na wokɔ **hospital** a yɛtumi de hwɛ wo ɛma wo aduro so ɛma ɛyɛ yie (.) wokota wo **card**. Mahamanom mo baeɛ yi (.) wɔn ɛregu no (.) wɔn pɛsɛ wɔn sei no (.) ɛreba abɛyɛ **cash and carry.** Onyankopɔn ma me kwan na mebaa (.) **National Health Insurance** no mereba abɛyɛ no yie biom. (wild cheers) // Na woreka- ɔman no ayaresabea ho asɛm (.) ɛwɔ sɛ wobɔ **doctor**foɔ (.) ɛne ne titiriw ɛsɛ wobɔ **nurses**foɔ din. Kufuor berɛ so (.) ɛnam nhyehyɛeɛ pa n'aban tumi yɛɛyɛ (.) Osafo Marfo no mma na ɛdii **Finance Minister** (.) nhyehyɛeɛ pa wɔn de yɛɛ yɛn sikasɛm no nti no (.2) na Kufuor tumi etua-. Mahamanom aba (.) wɔn aba abɛtwam (.) ɛnɛ a yɛreba abɛto aba yi (.) yɛde **azar payment** bi aba. Nea me- mereka ne sɛ (.) Onyankopɔn ma me kwan na mebaa (.) **nurses training allowance** no **we are coming to restore them (.) we are going to restore them**. Saa nso ɛna paa sɛ yɛpɛ sɛ yɛbɔ (.) yɛn daakye ho ban a (.) na ɛno kyerɛ sɛn? ɛkyerɛ sɛ (.) ewiase mu a yɛwɔ seisei (.) ayɛ **technology ɛne science** na ɛsɛ sɛ adesua (.) ɛmu yɛduru pa ara (.) na ɛka Ghanafoɔ nyinaa. Na sɛ yɛka sɛ yɛrebɛ ma adesua no abɛyɛ awofoɔ no nko ara asɛm a (.) na kyerɛ sɛ mmɔfra no bebree ɛrenya kwan nkɔ **school** nyɛ saa awofoɔ no sɛbe bebree ahoɔden ne wɔn afa. Nti mese Akufo-Addo aban no baa (.) ɛka ɛda awofoɔ no so no (.) Akufo-Addo aban ɛrebɛfa saa ka no ama ɔman mu no nyinaa atumi asua biribi (wild cheers). Wɔn a wɔn mmɔfra berɛ mu wɔn ɛnya kwan ankɔ **school** no (.) na **programme** wɔ hɔ ma wɔn (.) **adult education programme** (.) ɛno nso so no ɛnɛ ato nsuom (.) mereba na m'aba abɛpagya //**adult education programme** no biom (wild cheers). //ɛnɛ ewiase yi a yɛwɔ yi (.) wɔn a yɛne wɔn resi akan

Chinafɔɔ (.) Japanfɔɔ (.) South Afrikafoɔ no (.) wɔn nyinaa wɔn mfa wɔn adesuadeɛ nni agorɔ koraa (.) saa nso na yɛreba abɛyɛ yɛdeɛ nso ɛwɔ Ghana ha na yɛtumi atitim mu ama Ghanafoɔ (.) //**we will build a knowledge-based population enough for the Ghanaian people to be able to confront the struggles of the twenty-first century of science and technology (.) that's the way we are going to go on behalf of our future (wild cheers)**. //Woretu kwan na wobɔ w'aprɔ wɔ Ghana a (.) babiara wo bɛkɔ (.) nneɛma ɛda amanfoɔ akoma so (.) wɔn akwan (.) wɔn nsuo (.) **sanitation ne toilet** nsɛm (.) **sixty years after independence** (.) **still** yɛntumi nyɛɛ saa nneɛma yi (.) ɛnam sɛ ɛkwan a yɛkyɛ sika no- ɔman no sika no (.) ɛnhyɛda nnuru fam. Nti yɛn yɛde adwen- dwen ɛreba abɛfa ho (.) yɛreba abɛkyɛ sika no ɛkwan foforo. // **Ghana capital budget** (.2) **2016** (.) **2016 2017 capital budget 1.6 billion dollars** (.) yɛreba abɛyi mu **275 million dollars** (.) **every constituency** (.) **275 //the 33 constituencies in the Eastern Region** obiara reba abɛnya **one million dollars** afe biara ɛtumi abɔ saa nkosoɔ yi ho adwuma (.) **infrastructure in sanitation** (.) **in roads** (.) **in water** (.) **we are coming to bring progress to our country development**. // ɛsɛ sɛ adwuma so ba ɔman yi mu (.) adwuma a ɛne ha (.) ɛno koraa na yɛnhwɛ yie a damaabi nea ɛbɛto yɛn no yɛmu biara mpɛ. Yɛse y'afa adwen (.) yɛrebɛ pɛ kwan bi a yɛde adwuma bɛba (.) ama yɛn mmabunu nso atumi anya bi nso ayɛ na wɔn nso so atumi agyina wɔn nan so. **Every district (.) every district (.) one factory I mean one factory is going to established in every district of our country (.) the two hundred and sixteen districts of Ghana**. (wild cheers) // Nti (.2) yɛn ayɛ ho **survey** (:) yɛreka yi (.) **already** (.) **three hundred and s- projects have been identified across the two hundred and sixteen consti- erm- districts of Ghana**. Already (.) three

hundred projects have been identified across the two hundred and sixteen districts in our country (.) **plan** aba ho (.) **marketing plan** aba ho (.) **markets for the project are already been worked out**. Nea ɛhia ɛne sɛ (.) **seventh of December** (.) ɛne nnawɔtwe **(.) you will give me the authority to be able to implement that project** (wild cheers). // Nea ɛyɛ adwuma kɛseɛ (.) adwuma kɛseɛ (.2) aka mu a bɛsi nnɛ yɛntumi nyɛ ho hwee no (.) Onyankopɔn ma me kwan na meba a (.) me me berɛ so mɛreba abɛyɛ ho adwuma (unclear) //**Atiwa bridge** a ɛwɔ nhyina- Asanteman (.) //**we are coming to man the (unclear) create an interpreted** (unclear). //Akuafoɔ (.) akuafoɔ (.) mo ara monim (.) onipa a ɔba na ɔbɛpagyaa **cocoa** akuafoɔ (.) ɛne JA Kufuor (.) n'aban na ɛbaeɛ- ɔbaeɛ na **cocoa** a na yɛtɔn no amanone (.) **three hundred and twenty thousand tonnes** (.) ɔresɔre ɛfiri Ghana akonwa kɛseɛ no so no (.) na akɔduru **one million tonnes** (.2) ɛnam nhyehyɛeɛ pa a ɔde brɛ **cocoa** akuafoɔ (.) **mass spraying**. **Mass spraying** no nso so yɛnhwɛ w'anim nka sɛ oh (.) wo woyɛ **NDC**nii nti twe wo ho yɛmmɛ w'afuo no so. Obiara ɔyɛ **cocoa** akuafoɔ yɛde bi ba ɛba bɛgu n'akua- n'afuo ne so. **Subsidiary** a (.) yɛhyɛda tua ɛboɔ soronko (.) **subsidized fertilizers for our farmers** (.) **hitech inputs** (.) **bonus** a yɛtua **farmers** (.) saa nhyehyɛeɛ ne nyinaa na Kufuor de baeɛ a ɛtumi pagyaa **cocoa er-** kuadwuma no. Mahamanom aba (.) **even seven hundred thousand tonnes** (.) ɛyɛ asɛm ma wɔn (.) ɛnam sɛ saa nhyehyɛeɛ yi nyinaa no (.) wɔn aba abɛsei no. **Politicising and using it for (unclear) instead of giving it to our farmers (.) stop paying the bonus (.) politicising the mass spraying** (.) Onyankopɔn ma me kwan na //mebaa (.) saa nneɛma no (.) yɛreba abɛsesa ne nyinaa na nhyehyɛeɛ pa Kufuor de baeɛ ma **cocoa** akuafoɔ no (unclear) //**Cocoa** adwuma yi nso (.)

198

yεwɔ nnooma ahodoɔ ahodoɔ bebree a (.) aban hyɛda de n'ahooden ba bɛtae wɔ- akuafoɔ no akyi a ɛno nso bɛtumi de sika bebree aba ɔman Ghana mu. Mereka yi abɛ (.) abɛ wɔ hɔ (.) a **Eastern region** ha yɛn edua pa ara (.) **Akufo-Addo's government is coming to //support the farmers who are growing //and cultivating palm oil in Ghana**. (wild cheers) //Cote D'Ivoire (.) //Cote D'Ivoire yɛn ne wɔn bɔ hyeɛ yi (.) Cote D'Ivoire yɛn ne wɔn bɔ hyeɛ yi (.)**five cashew- five cash crops (.) cocoa (.) coffee (.) cashew (.) cotton (.) palm oil (.) it brings them twelve billion dollars (.) every year (.) export revenues and we are going to do the same thing here in Ghana (wild cheers)**. //Saa nhyehyɛeɛ yi a yɛreka yi (.) //ɛyɛ nhyehyɛeɛ ɛreba abɛka obiara (.) **nobody is going to be left out in the forward march of our people** (.) **nobody under the NPP and Akufo-Addo**. Zongos (.) y'aka **the first time in the history of our country (.) Zongo Development Fund** yɛde reba ɛtumi aboa Zongo nkosoɔ ama Zongo nso so no atumi //apagya (wild cheers). // (unclear) Na saa nhyehyɛeɛ yi mereka yi no (.) wei nyɛ **electioneering** nhyehyɛeɛ (.) ɛyɛ nhyehyɛeɛ a **NPP**foɔ na ahyɛda atena ase apensampensam (.) yɛnim sɛ yɛbɛtumi ayɛ (.) ɛno nti na me nso so m'anya akokoduro a meregyina aka akyerɛ Ghanafoɔ (.2) sɛ mo ma me kwan na mebaa (.) saa nhyehyɛeɛ yi (.) mereba na m'aba abɛyɛ ne nyinaa pɛpɛɛpɛ (wild cheers). Men- mensɔre ɛmmɛ gyina Ghanafoɔ anim ɛmmɛ ka kyerɛ wɔn sɛ mereba abɛyɛ adeɛ a menim sɛ merentumi nyɛ (.) menni saa atorɔ no nkyerɛ Ghanafoɔ da. Menka wɔn a wɔn bɛgyina Ghanafoɔ anim aka akyerɛ wɔn sɛ (.) **National Health Insurance** wotua no baako a (.) **that is it for your life** (.) **one lifetime premium** (.) **one payment** ɛduru hɔ a na w'aka asɛm foforo biom ɛnyɛ saa asɛm no bi na mene mo ɛreba abɛyɛ (wild cheers) //Yɛwɔ gyedie ɛwɔ ɔdɔ ma Ghanafoɔ dodo sɛ

mereba abɛgyina mo anim adaada wɔn (.) aka kyerɛ wɔn nso merentumi nyɛ. //Mframa a ɛrebɔ no (.) ɛyɛ ɔsono no mframa (.) **it is the NPP wave (.) that is blowing metaphorically in all regions of Ghana**. (wild cheers) // Nti aba no sei (.) yɛn wura Mahama (.) ɛne n'abusuafoɔ wɔn yam ɛ- ɛrehyehye wɔn (.) nti afiri wɔn ano a wɔn reba abɛkeka nsɛm bebree (.) ɛfa me ho (.) ɛfa **NPP** ho (.) nsɛm a wɔn ba yɛreka sɛ wɔn ba a wɔn reba abɛyɛ (.) yɛreba abɛkeka nsɛm bebree (.) nsɛm a ɛmfata. Me medeɛ menim (.) sɛ wɔn ayi me ahyɛda asi hɔ (.) yɛreba abɛka meho asɛm (.) mereserɛ mo ma mo abɛm mmu (.) ma mo ma mo abɛm remmu (wild cheers) //megyina hɔ yi (.2) megyina hɔ yi (.) me menkum obiara wɔ me wiase da (.) ɛmɔɔ obiara korɔno (.) nti no nea wɔn reba abɛka afa me ho no (.) ɛmfa me ho nnɛ (.) ɛmfa me ho kyina (.) megyina menan so pa ara. (wild cheers). // (unclear) Yɛreba abɛka **NPP** asɛm (.) sɛ yɛn deɛ wei mo asɛm (.) yɛmpɛ esremfoɔ asɛm (.) yɛmpɛ ayigbefoɔ asɛm (.) yɛmpɛ nkranfoɔ asɛm (.) yɛbaa yɛreba abɛpamo wei (.) aba abɛ pamo wei (.) yɛnni asɛm papa bi ka nti na wɔn reka no (.) yɛde mpaepaemu kasa reba. Me medeɛ meyɛ esremni (.) nti esremfoɔ mo nto ma me (.) saa na yɛde kasa wɔ Ghana? (crowd responds) Yɛkasa mpaempaemu? (crowd responds) //**It is North against South (.) East against West (.) tribe against tribe (.) religion against religion** (.) **is that what we want in this country**? //**We don't want that (.) we don't want that**. //Yɛn nyinaa yɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) yɛn nyinaa yɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) sɛ wofiri ha (.) wofiri ha (.) wofiri ha (.) wofiri ha (.) ɛnyɛ ɛno na ehia (.) yɛn nyinaa yɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) yɛn nyinaa te asaase yi so fɛfɛɛfɛ (.) yɛmpɛ mpaepaemu biara (.) yɛpɛ sɛ yɛde yɛn ahoɔden ɛkabom epia Ghana afidie no ɛma afidie no tumi kɔ n'anim na adwuma nɛ //sika ɛne ahotɔ ɛba Ghana. Na sɛ wokeka nsɛm wei a (.) **we want the politics of progress (.) the politics of**

unity (.) **the politics of prosperity that is the politics the man of the New Patriotic Party visions**. Yɛn ɔmanpanyin se (.) adwuma na wa- w'ayɛ no yɛn hunuu bi da (.2) **unprecedented** (.2) w'aye adwuma papa a (.2) nyɛ kyidifoɔ na ɛka (.) yɛse adepa na ɛtɔn ne ho (.) ɛnyɛ saa? Na sɛ ɛyɛ saa (.) adɛn na wo-wo- wo nenam akurase ɛrekyɛ sika (.) ɛrekyɛ **sewing machine** (.) ɛrekyekyɛ bentoa (.) ɛrekyekyɛ kyekyɛ **hoes** (wild cheers). W'ayɛ adwuma papa a (.) **why are you going round buying the people of Ghana** (wild cheers). //Na (.) Ghanafoɔ ɛretwen (.) sɛ ɔse yɛ- yɛ- yɛwɔ awirifie (.) ɛnkyɛ na yɛn werɛ ɛfiri adeɛ (.) **seventh of December** (.) **seventh of December** (.) ɛnɛ nnawɔtwe ɛna John Dramani Mahama ɔbɛhunu sɛ ampa (.) yɛwɔ //nkaeɛ anaa yɛn werɛfi adeɛ (.) **seventh of December that is when we are going to tell him**. (wild cheers) //ɔse (.2) ɔno **eight years** a ɔbaa aban mu (.) **eight years** (.) **NDC in office** (.) ɔntumi fa a adwuma mmaeɛ (.) na **next term** (.) **the third term** a ɔreba yi ɛna ɔde **three million jobs** ɛrebɛba. **Eii** (.) na **all this time** a yɛreka yi (.) adɛn na yɛntumi hunu wo nsa ano adwuma? Adɛn na yɛreba abɛba yi ɛna worebɛ kyerɛ yɛn sɛ- (.) yɛtwɛn nnɛ (.) yɛntwɛn ɔkyena (.) yɛreyi wo afiri hɔ (wild cheers). //Nnaadaa no adɔɔso (.) ntorɔ ne nnaadaa no adɔɔso (.) **we want to build a new Ghana** (.) **we are going to build a new Ghana**. //Kwahuman (.) nkawkawfoɔ (.) anwummerɛ yi (.) m'aba sɛ mede m'adesrɛdeɛ ɛreba abɛto mo anim. M'adesrɛdeɛ no no ne sɛn? Mehia mo mmoa (.) mehia mo mmoa (.) mo mmoa me (.) Ghana badwa yi (.) **2008** ɛkaa sei anka meforoeɛ (.) **2012** deɛ mo ara mo ne tua (.) mo ara mohunuu deɛ asiieɛ (.) **2016** ɛne mprɛ mmiensa a merepre Ghana badwa yi (.) mesrɛ mo (.) mo- kwahuman (.) mo mfa mo ahoɔden ɛmmɛ tae m'akyi (.) mpia me (wild cheers). //Onyankopɔn ma me kwan a na ɛba no saa na yɛkɔ a (.) yɛnkɔ sɛ yɛde tumi no ɛrebɛma yɛn ho so (.)

na yɛn abɛka nsɛm a ɛmfata akyerɛ Ghanafoɔ na mede Ghanafoɔ sika akɔ-abaabɛhyɛ me kotokuom (.) ɛnyɛ ɛno nti na mebaa **politics** mu. Me mebaa **politics** mu sɛ (.) nnimdeɛ (.) nyansa (.) ne ahoɔden kakra a oboadeɛ Tweduampɔn Nyankopɔn ɛde maa me no (.) memfa mmɛboa na yɛmpia Ghana afidie no na afidie no nkɔ n'anim (wild cheers). // Yɛn ɔmanpanyin Mahama (.) ɔsee (.2) me menam Ghanafoɔ so (.) ɛna mereserɛ wɔn sɛ wɔn mfa ɔmanpanyin akonwa ma me na mentena so (.) na mennyae sɛ mereserɛ adeɛ wɔ Ghanafoɔ hɔ. Wei nyinaa na ɛkyerɛ sɛ yɛn ɔmanpanyin no (.) ka bi na menka bi amamuo no ɔnhyɛda nti aseɛ. Ka bi na menka bi amamuo a yɛwɔ yi (.) tumi no mo mo hɔ na ɛwɔ (.) mo mo hɔ ɛna tumi no ɛwɔ (.) mo mo hɔ na ɛwɔ (.) na mesee (.) mepɛ sɛ mode tumi no ɛfɛm me na mede yɛ adepa ma mo a (.) ɛnyɛ srɛ na mereba abɛsrɛ mo? ɛnyɛ srɛ na mereba abɛsrɛ mo? Mennyae nnɛ (.) nnyae kyena (.) mɛkɔ so asrɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) asrɛ Ghanafoɔ (.) asrɛ Ghanafoɔ saa (wild cheers). //Ne titiriw (.) ɛne nnawɔtwe a worekɔ no (.) menim sɛ mframa a ɛrebɔ wɔ Ghana ha nyinaa yɛ **NPP**foɔ mframa nanso (.) ɛmma ɛnnyɛ obiara adwen sɛ aba no y'ato (.) yɛtoeɛ (.) yɛto aba no nso a yɛn nnyae hwɛ (.) mesrɛ mo (.) obiara aba hia (.) mmerɛ no duru a (.) wo sɔre **seventh** a wo a worekɔ akɔ di dwa (.) worekɔ afuom (.) worekɔ ba- bia-worekɔ school (.) **wherever you are going** mede Onyankopɔn din srɛ mo (.) fa ɛno to nkyɛn na kɔ na kɔto wo aba. Mo ara mo ahunu (.) sɛ mo kɔto aba bɔne na anyɛ yie a (.) mo ahunu berɛ a yɛreberɛ yi. Mesrɛ mo (.) obiara nsɔre na ɔrenkɔ to aba (.) na wo wura hɔ nso a, hunu sɛ meda **number five** (.) yɛn wura Boakye ɔno nso da **number two** (.) wobɛkɔ baabi nso na yɛ nnipa no da **number three** (.) **number four** (.) nti meserɛ mo (.) mma mo mfa **Hi five** no nyɛ adwuma. Wohwɛ babia ɔsono no wɔ **vote for the elephant** (.) **vote for**

202

the elephant. Babia ɔsono no wɔ (.) ɛhɔ ɛna wode wo nsa bɛtim hɔ ɛbɛtim hɔ ɛbɛtim hɔ ɛbɛtim hɔ (wild cheers). //Na sɛ pa ara sɛ yɛn nyinaa de yɛn ahoɔden bom na yɛkɔ (.) na yɛtesi ɔsono no so a (.) na ɛno kyerɛ sɛn? Na ɛkyerɛ sɛ ɔsono no ɛrenam kwan so rekɔ **Jubilee House**. Na ɔreba ne sɛn? ɔreba no gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim gigim (.) ɛrekɔ wura **Jubilee House** hɔ (wild cheers). // Na ayɛ saa no (.) sɛ yɛn nyinaa de yɛn ahoɔden bom na yɛkɔ so- na ɔsono no kɔ a (.) na ɛno kyerɛ sɛn? Oboadeɛ (.) Tweduampɔn Onyankopɔn atie yɛn sufrɛ (.2) w'atɔ nsupa ɛgu adwuma a yɛreyɛ yi so. Anadwo fa no yɛn ato aba no awie no (.) anodwo fa anaa na adekyeɛ no (.) ɛna ɛbɛfiri **Electoral Commission** no ano sɛ (.) **the results of the 2016 presidential election** (.) **Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo** (wild cheers). //**The New Patriotic Party has won a clear and decisive victory in parliament** (.) na ɛno (:) yɛtie saa asɛm pa yi a (.) na ɛno kyerɛ sɛ (.) yɛn haw a ɛwɔ yɛn so (.) berɛ a yɛreberɛ yi nyinaa (:) Oboadeɛ ɛ- ɛyi ɛfiri yɛn so. Na nnipa koraa a ɛnam ne so a (.) saa ɔhaw no aba yi (.) ɔno nso so no yɛn ayi no asi nkyɛn brɛ oo. Yɛyi no si nkyɛn so a (.) na yɛn nyinaa (:) ɛde yɛn ahoɔden aka abom anigyeɛ mu wɔ Ghana afanai nyinaa aka sɛ John Dramani Mahama (.) **thank you and goodbye**. **Goodbye (:) goodbye (:) goodbye (:) thank you and goodbye** (.) Onyame nhyira mo nyinaa (.) **thank you and may God bless you**.