

## CODESWITCHING AS A MEANS AND A MESSAGE IN HIPLIFE MUSIC IN GHANA

Millicent Quarcoo,<sup>#</sup>Evershed Kwasi Amuzu\*, and Augustina Pokua Owusu\*\*<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

Ghana is a linguistically diverse country where the alternate use of multiple languages in conversations (i.e. codeswitching / CS) is an everyday phenomenon. However, CS in the popular music industry has been rare, a situation that is changing, with the emergence of bilingual hiplife songs. Unlike CS in spontaneous speech which is largely unconscious, the CS in Ghanaian hiplife music is usually premeditated, designed to elicit certain audience reactions. This paper explores the motivations for the use of CS in three hiplife songs: Praye's *Angelina*, Okyeame Kwame's *Medo Mmaa* and Eduwoji's *Yenko Nkooa*. We show that these artistes do more with CS in their songs than to merely use it to reach out to clients in their multilingual country and beyond. They use it (i) as a means to achieve aesthetic effects, which make their songs memorable and danceable, and (ii) as a message on various social issues, including love and social harmony. It is argued that in using CS for these purposes the artistes are simply reflecting what has long been a widespread communicative praxis, especially among fellow (urban) youths.

Keywords: hiphop, hiplife, youth culture, multilingualism, codeswitching, Ghana

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<sup>1</sup> # Lecturer, Wisconsin International University College, Accra, Ghana. Corresponding author. email: akosquarcoo@gmail.com

\* Senior Lecturer, Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, Legon

\*\* Graduate student, Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, Legon

## RÉSUMÉ

Le Ghana est un pays présentant une diversité linguistique où l'alternance codique est un phénomène quotidien. Cependant, dans l'industrie de la musique populaire, l'alternance codique a jusque-là été rare; et ceci représente une situation qui est en train de changer dû à l'émergence de chansons hiplife bilingues. Contrairement à l'alternance codique tenue lors du langage courant qui est en grande partie spontanée et inconsciente, l'alternance codique dans le hiplife ghanéen est généralement intentionnelle, voulant faire réagir son audience. Cet article examine les raisons de l'utilisation de l'alternance codique dans trois chansons hiplife: Angelina de Praye, Medo Mmaa de Okyeame Kwame, et Yenko Nkoa de Eduwoji. Nous démontrons que ces artistes usent de l'alternance codique pour plus que la simple intention d'atteindre une audience venant de pays multilingues. Ils l'utilisent (i) afin d'obtenir des effets esthétiques qui feront de leurs chansons des tubes mémorables et dansables, et (ii) comme message portant sur des sujets sociaux tels que l'amour et l'harmonie sociale. L'article fait valoir qu'en utilisant l'alternance codique pour ces raisons citées, les artistes reflètent simplement ce qui a longtemps été une pratique de communication courante, surtout parmi les jeunes urbains.

## Introduction

Dako and Quarcoo (forthcoming) argue that, 'there are indications that Ghanaians seem to have apportioned various sectors of language use between English and Twi / indigenous languages'. One area that has benefitted from this demarcation is the music industry. In Ghana, most songs are sung in unilingual Twi, a dialect of Akan,<sup>2</sup> although Ewe and Ga arguably play an important role as well. Very few songs are sung in English, confirming Bosire's (2006) argument that 'languages in a repertoire have defined roles' (p: 47). Some of the lyrics in Akan / indigenous languages have some English elements but the English elements are

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<sup>2</sup> Akan is the most dominant language spoken in Ghana claiming about 50% of the population (2000 population census results). The Twi dialect is widely spoken as a lingua franca across the country.

insignificant.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of hiphop music, which is mostly in Akan (Twi, to be specific) and occasionally in Ga, Ewe or English, makes extensive use of CS, the interchangeable use of two or more languages in an utterance, in this case, in a song. There is a popular notion that CS in hiphop music is largely a marketing tool to reach out to the linguistically diverse fans in the country. A close study, however, shows that there is more to the use of CS in songs. In this paper we focus on three songs to demonstrate that there is more to the use of CS in hiphop music beyond the quest for wider audiences and patrons. The songs are *Angelina*, a hiplife song by a group called Praye, *Medɔ Mmaa* by Okyeame and *Yenko Nkoa* by Eduwoji (see section 3 for a brief note on the groups and their activities). It will be shown through in-depth literary analysis of the songs, the full texts of which appear as Appendices, that the artistes switch codes deliberately, i.e. as a stylistic device, to create some aesthetic effects and to perhaps, even more pertinently, convey some social, and sometimes personal, messages (on e.g. love and national unity) to their audiences.

The study of hiphop music is relatively new to the field of Sociolinguistics. Two known scholars in this area are Morgan (1998, 2001) and Smitherman (1997) who wrote on African American English (AAE). The two studied the language of rap within the context of Black American culture. Morgan looks at how particular language-forms, e.g. Crew or Master of Ceremonies (MC), are used to create hiphop identity. She sees the delight in hiphop as a means of 'casting lexical havoc' (2001:194). Hiphop music, also called rap music, is a musical genre that comprises a stylized rhythmic music that commonly accompanies rapping; it may in other words be described as a rhythmic and rhyming speech that is chanted (Toop, 1984). Hiphop music developed as part of hiphop culture, a subculture defined by four key stylistic elements: MCing/rapping, DJing/scratching, breaking/dancing and graffiti writing (Keyes, 2002 and Newman, 2002). The term hiphop music is sometimes used synonymously with the term rap music although rapping is not a required component of hiphop music (Keyes 2002).

According to Kurtis Blow (1984), hiphop emerged as an upshot of disco music and as a reaction against it (disco music). He reiterates that the early days of hiphop were characterized by divisions between fans and detractors of disco music. Hiphop music in its infancy has been described as an outlet and a "voice"

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<sup>3</sup> Two examples of songs with bilingual lyrics are *Iron boy* by Amakye Dede and *Maria* by E.T. Mensah.

for the disenfranchised youth in low-economic areas, as its culture reflected the social, economic and political realities of their lives (McLeod, 2002). Sarkar et al (2005: 2060) argued that ‘a great deal of American rap music is openly critical of a political and economic system’ and went on to state that ‘the undertones of rebellion and resistance that characterise much (not all) rap music make it attractive to young people across cultures’. For these reasons, rap music has become popular among the youth all over the world, including Ghanaian youth.

Hiphop music started in Ghana in the 1980s, and among the pioneering stars were K.K. Kabobo and Gyedu Blay Ambolley. It soon transitioned into a new music genre, hiplife music, under social pressure. Hiplife is a combination of elements of hiphop and an older, popular Ghanaian music genre, highlife. It is, in fact, a compromise of old and new genres which have turned out to be indispensable as far as music loving Ghanaians are concerned. On the one hand, highlife music had been the unchallenged repository of the Ghanaian popular music identity but has in recent times come to be regarded by the youth as old-fashioned. On the other hand, hiphop music originates from abroad, where it enjoys true international fervor among the youth, and may thus not be emblematic of a uniquely Ghanaian identity. In combining hiphop with highlife, therefore, hiplife successfully integrates the new and international with the old and truly Ghanaian. In so doing, hiplife unites two generations of Ghanaian music lovers: the older folk who are already patrons of highlife and the youth whose burning desire is to connect and fraternize with fellow hiphop loving youths worldwide. The advent of YouTube, a video-sharing internet technology, has made this inter-connection of youths through music a daily reality.

It is believed that the artiste who accelerated the transformation of hiphop into hiplife is Reggie [Rockstone] Osei. Some notable young musicians who subsequently emerged as popular hiplife artistes/groups are 4x4, Sydney, Akatekyie, Samini, Sakodee, Ayigbe Edem, Praye, Trigmatic, Misbell, Tictac, and Efyia. Although, as noted, hiphop was an outlet for criticizing the politics of present governments and for voicing against social vices, the theme of most Ghanaian hiplife songs has been love. However, some of the artistes have maintained the old order, i.e. they have devoted attention to discoursing on social vices and chastising unbecoming politicians. One such musician is Sidney; in the song *African Money*, he disparaged the unbridled misappropriation of public funds by public officials in African countries. Another such musician is Obrafo, who in his song *Pae mu ka* released in 2000 talked about the need to be bold and criticize government officials who squander public money. *Pae mu ka* is acclaimed as the

best hiplife music of all time (Nsiah Asante/OMGGhana.com). Obuor is yet another such musician: in 2006, he released a song — *Me wu biom* (I will die again), a road safety campaign song in which he alerts society about crazy things they do on the roads that lead to the untimely death of many able-bodied Ghanaians.

The Ghanaian music industry (especially that which relates to secular music) has generally been dominated by men. Few women have dared to enter it because it was customarily considered a profession for men. Women who entered it were thus seen as having low morals. For many years, the only female secular musicians in Ghana were Awurama Badu and Asabea Cropper (also called the ‘Kente Woman’). Most women musicians found a safe haven in gospel music. Collins (2004: 420) explains this situation when he writes that “Another difference I noticed was the growing number of women who came as singers with gospel bands. Whereas families would forbid their daughters becoming professional musicians, they could hardly stop them singing and dancing to gospel music.” It is therefore not surprising that most of the young musicians who sing hiplife are males. However, with changing mindsets about musicians—a process being driven in part by the mushrooming of music shows on radio and television and in part by seeming evidence that musicians are now making genuine money—many young women have become encouraged and emboldened to push their way through to fame by singing hiplife. Examples are Abrewanana, Becca, Raquel, Misbell, and Afya. Faces of some of these icons constantly decorate large commercial signboards across cities in the country.

The youth of multilingual, multicultural Ghanaian cities have multilingual and multicultural orientation. Many of them have a home language different from what obtains in their immediate communities. In addition, they have a school language which is obligatorily English. Many in urban centres like Accra also have Twi chiefly because it is the most widely spoken lingua franca in Ghana. Some of them also speak Pidgin, specifically Student Pidgin (SP), which they acquire in secondary school or at the university (Forson 1996, Huber 1999, Nettey 2001, Dako 2002, Osei-Tutu 2008). A young Ghanaian might therefore have two or three languages in addition to English and may use these languages quite frequently. The use of CS in hiplife may thus be attributed to the linguistic orientation of young people, who represent the core audience of the music. The artistes, who are themselves young, take advantage of their multiple linguistic backgrounds to create a kind of style that enables them to achieve, as Sarkar et al

(2005:2060) would say, ‘extraordinary creativity ... the way musicians interweave rhythms, sounds and lyrics from several linguistic and cultural origins, all in the same song’. However, hiplife artistes do not create the said style to achieve aesthetic beauty merely, as will be shown in this paper.

In section 2, we review literature on work done on CS in hip pop and related types of songs. In section 4 we turn to the analysis of data after a preliminary presentation in section 3 of information about the artistes whose songs constitute the data.

### **Literature**

Bentahila and Davies (2002) in their analysis of Arabic-French lyrics of Algerian *rai* music point out that ‘code-switching in song lyrics is a very different phenomenon from code-switching in conversation, as it is neither spontaneous, nor is it intimate’ (Bentahila and Davies 2002, cited in Sarkar et al, 2005: 2069). This is because CS in this category is not addressed to small group interlocutors or individuals but to a whole public. The authors say that ‘it is a means by which writers use some special words, sounds etc in their works to get the attention of readers’ (ibid). Sarkar et al, using the ‘Social Identity’ model of codeswitching by Rampton (1998) argue that CS is an important identity marker for the youth in bilingual/multilingual communities in their study of Montreal rap lyrics.

Babalola and Taiwo (2009) report that CS in Nigerian hiphop is used to create unique identities which ‘have positive local and global influences for music and artists, and reflect the ethnolinguistic diversity of the Nigerian nation’(pp.1). They also believe that artistes ‘who seek commercial success within the huge market of popular music use code-switching as a stylistic innovation in their song lyrics’ (Babalola and Taiwo 2009: 4). These points are not very different from what Zagoria (2009: 87) finds in a study titled “Performing Glocal Identities: Codeswitching in African Songs produced in Perth”. In this work it is argued that CS enables African migrant musicians in Perth to simultaneously proclaim their African identity and pride as well as to successfully entertain their Australian nightclub audience. Zagoria also argues that CS enables these African musicians to indicate their multi-national identities in the context of being Australian nationals and Africans at the same time. This places the Africans in a ‘glocal’ world as their songs appeal to both the Africans in Perth, who may be of different nationalities, and Australians.

Fenn and Perulio's (2000) paper also argues that rapping in Swahili enables Tanzanian hiphop musicians to speak directly to social and cultural issues pertinent to their country's youth, like jobs, drugs, destruction of education, etc. To them, the various languages are associated with different ideologies as English supports ideological interests different from what Swahili supports. Like Fenn and Perulio (2000), Liadi and Omobowale (2011) say that hiphop musicians in Nigeria alternate various Nigerian languages in their songs in order to engage in social dialogue with their audience, a situation that enables them to address social issues which English may not adequately address. Fenn and Perulio also note that the use of Standard English (SE) alone may "distort some of the rhythms and free flow styling which afforded the [songs their] aesthetic and commercial success" (p.471).

To the best of our knowledge, the only previous work on hiplife music in Ghana is Shipley (2009). Shipley notes that hiplife musicians choose their words for the message they convey and for their aesthetic value and 'marketing savvy' (Shipley 2009: 642). He explains that the musicians make these choices because of intense competition for audiences and because of a constant need to couch a niche for themselves. Basically, Shipley analysed just one hiplife song, Sidney's 'Scenti no', the Akan rendition of the English word 'The Scent'. According to him, Sidney describes the song as a "hilarious and informative moral comment on sanitation and personal hygiene" (Shipley 2009: 635). The song criticises the "decay concealed behind public facades" (638), such as "stinking feet that are hidden beneath the respectability of shoes" (635), and charged that these vices are perpetuated by both high and low persons in society. Although Shipley's work was not on language use in hiplife music, he shows awareness of the role of codeswitching as a key communicative tool in this type of music in his following remark about Reggie [Rockstone] Osei: "Rockstone's rapping in Twi, English, and pidgin, reflects the codeswitching and informality of urban youth communication" (p.649).

As will become clear in section 4, similar remarks may be made about other hiplife artistes in Ghana. Three hiplife artistes whose songs we have selected to discuss in section 4 are introduced in the following section.

## The artistes

As indicated, three songs will be discussed in this paper, namely *Angelina*, a hiplife song by a group called Praye, *Medo Mmaa* by Okyeame, and *Yenko Nkoa* by Eduwoji. As a preliminary, background information about each of the three artistes will be discussed, starting with Praye.

### 1 Praye

Praye is the Twi word for broom. Even though metaphorically a broom may symbolize unity, this group insists that it chose the name because it wants to sweep away social vices from society (see Wikipedia). Praye is made up of Eugene Baah, Steven Fiawoo, and Nana Kwame otherwise known respectively as Praye Tenten (tall broom), Praye Hɔ-Ne-Hɔ (broom which is in-between) and Praye Tiatia (short bloom). The group became popular on the music scene when it won several competitions, including first prize in Ghana in the NESCAFE's African Revelations pop contest in 2004, and the Kora award for the best group from West Africa in the grand finale competition in 2005. In 2006, they won the New Artiste of the year and hiplife song of the year awards from the Ghana Music Awards.

Praye is well known for its funny lyrics and even though it is normally classified under hiplife artistes, it is more of an African pop group that combines multiple genres: the hiplife, rhythm and blues, pop and rap music. The group's lyrics and videos are very funny. Some of the songs it sang are *Medo wo*, *Wodin*, *Courage brother*, *Wo nkoa*, *Koko ase krakye, ɔdɔ*, *Somebody dey carry my wife*, etc. Most of them became instant hits; e.g. *Shordy*, *Efie ne fie*, and *Lasupadora* (named after a popular Spanish telenovela shown in Ghana). Almost all these songs are in Twi (actually Twi-English CS). As noted, this paper focuses on the song *Angelina*, the text of which is in Appendix 1. *Angelina* became a hit in 2009 and dominated the Ghanaian airwaves till early 2011.

### 2 Okyeame Kwame

Okyeame Kwame is one of the few Ghanaian musicians who have a university degree. He began his career in music as one half of the hip-life duo "Akyeame" (plural for Okyeame, which means 'the linguist') in 1997. The duo enjoyed six years of success and released four albums. In 2003, however, Kwame and his



partner Quofi decided to go their separate ways. He went solo in 2004 as Okyeame Kwame and became very successful. In 2009, he picked up the much-coveted “Artiste of the Year” award in the *Ghana Music Awards* as well as the Joy FM *Nite with the Stars* “Artiste of the Year” award. He also won the “Hiplife song of the Year” in 2011, the “Best West African Artiste” award in the *African Music Awards UK* 2009, and the “Best Rapper of the Year” award in 2011/2012. He has over the course of his career produced countless hits and performed on many stages worldwide. Some of his award-winning songs are *Anaa*, *Woso*, and *Ɔɔɔ Nkɔn*. He is also known for his varying rap styles, hence his name Mr Versatile. The current paper focuses on his song *Medɔ Mmaa* ‘I love women’ in which he reminisces the dying Ghanaian culture of polygyny. This is achieved by combining Twi, Ga and English to create style and symbolism.

### 3 Eduwoji

Eduwoji, a name which means ‘He vanquished them’, is the latest hiplife sensation in Ghana. His song *Yenko Nkooa*, in which he featured the artiste called Stay Jay, was released in the latter part of 2013. He is from the Ewe ethnic group and hails from Keta in the Volta Region but generally combines Akan and Ewe lyrics in his songs, as he did in *Yenko Nkooa*.

### **Data analysis**

In this section we discuss one song each by the three artistes. We show that in each song the artiste(s) does more with CS than to merely use it to reach out to linguistically diverse clients; we show that perhaps, even more pertinently, they use it to achieve aesthetic effects that make the songs highly appealing and to convey certain social, and sometimes personal, messages to their audiences.

#### *Angelina* by Praye

The song is performed as a conversation among the three members of Praye who regularly join to do the choruses. The song opens on a rather surprising note, with one of them calling out the introductory line, ‘Yehowah’. Yehowah is the rendition of Jehovah in most Ghanaian languages, so it instantly arouses

religiosity in just about every Ghanaian.<sup>4</sup> This forthright mention of Yehowah at the onset of the song is intended to shock fans because the group had not been known for gospel music; as noted, they are an out-and-out secular music group. Fittingly, the response to the call (in line 2 of the song), from another of the three singers, is the rhetorical question, “*Chaley, what dey happen?*” (Charley, what is happening?). The choice of Pidgin for this question, immediately after the call on Yehowah, is another radical surprise because it swings the pendulum from the extreme religiosity encoded in the opening call to extreme secularity, which is symbolised by Pidgin. Pidgin in Ghana, especially the variety called ‘Student Pidgin’, is a youth language associated with low life particularly among lawless school guys. It is frowned upon by most parents, teachers, and religious leaders and is least expected in gospel music or any music targeted at an audience that includes adults. So, coming this early in the song, the signal is given that there is going to be brazen disregard for what is expected, for laid down norms. If there was any doubt left about the artistes’ intention to cause a revolution, the reply to the question “*Chaley, wat dey happen?*” should erase it; it is a resounding announcement, this time in Twi, which most listening adults should understand, that they are back and ‘are destroying things’:

Extract 1 (from lines 3-4):

Praye, yaaba bio,	Praye, we are back again,
hey, yeresee adze!	hey, we are destroying things!

Thus, the stage is set; the older generation is being called upon to accept the new wave of change that the song seeks to choreograph.

After the dramatic opening, the subject matter of the song is announced: different dance rhythms and the fact that a certain girl called ‘Angelina’ has become a master dancer to all of them. The narrator claims to have been the one who introduced Angelina to some of the dance movements but has now turned admirer because he is now no match for her:

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<sup>4</sup> The following transcription format has been used: **English – bold**; Akan – normal font; *Ga – italics*; Ewe – normal font underlined; ***Pidgin – bold italics***; *Hausa – italics underlined*; LOCAL DANCE NAMES – CAPITALISED; FOREIGN DANCE NAMES – **CAPITALISED (bold)**. Unknown language – Algerian font. The original song text appears to the left of the transcript while the English version appears to the right. Each line of the song has been numbered for easy reference.

Extract 2 (lines 5-7):

Na anka me na kyere **Angelina**  
sɛnea yɛsaw KETE ne **MOONWALK**  
AGORO ne PATAPATA  
Mpanyinsɛm nti no, seisei mentumi no.

I used to teach Angelina  
how to dance Kete and Moonwalk,  
Agoro and Patapata  
Because of over-confidence, now I can  
no longer compete with her.

As it turns out, the story is not merely about Angelina's dancing prowess, it is mainly about the fact that she has demonstrated that given the right attitude one can master the art of dancing to any dance rhythm. The dance rhythms are grouped into three categories: the traditional, the modern, and the foreign. The foreign are Moonwalk, Dancehall, Salsa, Macarena and Mapuka; the modern are Kɔɔɔɔn, Gbɔhe and Shuperu; and the traditional are Adowa, Agbadza, Patapata and Kete. These dance rhythms represent unique cultural identities and traditions across Europe and America, the Caribbean, and Ghana. In reporting that a single individual can feel at ease in dancing to each of them interchangeably, Praye effectively drums home the core message that people from different ethnic groups, different races, different nations can co-exist harmoniously, that they can do this if they are willing to learn from one another, share with one another, and make merry with one another. In lines 57-63, people are urged to dance to various rhythms from across Ghana. In line 57, for example, we learn that there was a healthy dance competition between Ajele, who hails from the Ga ethnic group, and Yaa, who hails from the Akan ethnic group, a competition which Ajele won. We are then told in line 58 that Nana, who is an Akan speaker, has fallen in love with Agbadza, one of the flagship drums of the Ewe people. So by narrating the stories of people dancing to drums identified with ethnic groups and races they do not belong to, Praye is conveying their core theme that inter-ethnic tolerance and national unity are, in fact, achievable in a country whose national politics seems to have divided along ethnic lines.

It is this message about unity that the alternation of six languages (namely English, Akan, Pidgin, Ewe, Ga and Hausa) seeks to accentuate. Through repetition of ideas in one language after the other, Praye evinces its conviction that the destinies of the speakers of these languages are inextricably interwoven in the same manner the dance rhythms are intertwined. For example, what is said in Ga in lines 9-20 is repeated in Akan in lines 21-33. Sentence alternation is not the only kind of repetition through CS in this song. We find it in other subtle ways as

well. Two of such ways are, in fact, typical features of rap / hiplife music: rhyme and rhythm.<sup>5</sup> In *Angelina*, Praye combines Twi, Ga and Ewe to achieve end rhymes with the vowel sounds in line-ending words from various languages. One example of this stylistic device is in the refrain which glosses as ‘It is only Angelina’ which comes in three languages Ga, Akan, Ewe. Note, for instance, that the repetition of the vowel sound /o/ creates an aesthetic effect, a harmonizing of the languages involved, and by extension, their speakers:

Extract 3 (lines 9, 13, 21, 40-41):

<i>Ga:</i> <b>Angelina</b> <i>kome to o</i>	English Gloss: It is only Angelina.
<i>Akan:</i> <b>Angelina</b> nkuto o Angelina nkuto o	English Gloss: It’s only Angelina it’s only Angelina
<i>Ewe:</i> <b>Angelina</b> <u>deka</u> <u>koe</u> Angelina <u>deka</u> <u>koe</u>	English Gloss: It’s only Angelina it’s only Angelina

Elsewhere, end rhyme is achieved with a repetition of the /a/ and /i/ vowels to achieve a similar effect, of harmonizing the languages involved and their speakers.

Consider the following extracts:

Extract 4 (lines 68-71):

<b>If you were used to</b> <u>ADOWA</u> , <b>used to</b> <u>AGBADZA</u> Dee wohia ne ntoma <b>and dance with your</b> <u>kappa</u>	If you were used to Adowa, used to Agbadza All you need is cloth and dance with your capability / capacity
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Extract 5 (lines 65-66):

Angudugudu hi, hi, hi Hwε so di w’asa nabu wo sisi	They have ran ran hi, hi, hi Watch and dance and shake your waist
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Repetition of *shikome shikome* and *dwe, dve, dve* across the song is also intended to achieve rhyme. Rhyme is also achieved through alliteration by repeating the

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<sup>5</sup> Hiplife, like any Rap music, relies more on rhyme and rhythm for aesthetic effect than on melody (Keys 2002, cited in Sarkar et al 2005: 2070), and Keys notes that although internal and end rhyme structures are often complex and extremely sophisticated, the availability of many languages makes it possible for artists to create these rhymes.

consonant sounds /g/, /s/, /sh/ and /m/ across words from different languages as we see in extract 6 below:

Extract 6 (lines 25-27)

Sɛ ɔ sa SHUPERU ne <b>SALSA</b>	When she dances Shuperu and Salsa
Sɛ ɔ sa GONGON ne GBOOHE	When she dances Gongon and Gboöhe
<b>MACARENA</b> ne MAPUKA,	Macarena and Mapuka,

We now turn to the function allocated the separate languages alternated. English as a prestige language figuratively represents that which is right, that which is acceptable, that which is expected. Therefore it is the language used in the lines 68-71 (see extract 4 above) to talk about the traditional dance rhythms Adowa and Agbadza, which are considered decent dance movements suitable for formal/ceremonial occasions. Pidgin is, however, used in line 72 to announce that there is a change of rhythm, from the traditional dance rhythms mentioned in lines 68-71 to some other rhythms:

Extract 7 (lines 72-77):

<b>But now hey hey, <i>the rhythm change o</i></b>	But now hey hey, the rhythm has changed o
<b>Now it's GBOOHE, GBOOHE, now it's GONGON GONGON</b>	Now it's Gboöhe Gboöhe now it's Gongon Gongon.
<b>Now it's PUSESE PUSESE PUSE. PUSESE nakai nɔɔ.</b>	Now it's Pusese Pusese Puse. <i>that's it</i> Pusese.
<b>Now it's GONGON GONGON.</b>	Now it's Gongon Gongon.
<b>Now it's PUSESE, PUSE PUPU PU.</b>	Now it's pusese, puse pupu pu

The significance of this change to Pidgin to announce that '*the rhythm change o*' is not obvious until one considers the identity of the rhythms now being adopted, namely Gboöhe, Gongon Gongon, and Pusese. All of them are modern-day, informal dance rhythms which, because they are flexible to dance to, are accommodative of any, including indecent, movements.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it is not coincidental that they are proclaimed using Pidgin, which as earlier noted has

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<sup>6</sup> These modern dance rhythms are complex compared to the traditional dances. The complex nature of the current dance rhythms is characterised by their lack of format and defined dress codes, whereas the traditional dances are simple and have identifiable format and defined dress codes- a simple cloth. One must also have the capability to perform these traditional dances properly, something that the modern ones lack.

gained notoriety for being the language of ‘bad’ school boys (and girls). Instructively, too, the names of these rhythms are in Ga, a language which has also gained some notoriety as a language of dissent and profanity.

Thus, in *Angelina*, the musical trio, Praye, used rapid alternation of dance rhythms and languages to unite the culturally and linguistically diverse society they seek to entertain. *Angelina* thus integrates beautifully into the evolving music genre hiplife, which is the Ghanaian/local version of the global youth-driven hiphop music.

*Medɔ Mmaa* by Okyeame<sup>7</sup>

In *Medɔ Mmaa* (meaning ‘I love women’), Okyeame Kwame’s song touches on two very sensitive issues in the Ghanaian society: polygyny and inter-ethnic marriage. It comes as no surprise therefore that his first line, *Sɛ ekeeki wo a, tie ha* (‘if it kicks/shocks you, listen here’), advises that if you are shocked, then pay keen attention to what he is about to say. The English word ‘kick’ (pronounced as **keeki**) is used in this context to mean ‘electrocute’, i.e. the jolting sensation one will likely experience on hearing the music. The artiste signals another reason why the song will ‘electrocute’ listeners: though the traditional Akan man is allowed to be polygamous, he never comes out openly to declare that he ‘likes’ women. He explains that it is not his fault that he loves women: he is merely reciprocating the love so many women have for him. The song makes use of two choruses, one in Twi (e.g. extract 1) and the other in Ga (e.g. extract 2) and these two are organised in a cline where the Twi chorus is more dominant and sung by the artiste himself while the Ga chorus is sung by his backers who are women.

Extract 1 (lines 4-7)

Medɔ mmaa na mempe mmaa,	I love women but I am not a womanizer,
Kwame ei 2x	Kwame ei
Mmaa tenten ne atiatia, ha me ei	Both tall and short women, crave for me ei
Adwoa, Akua, Afia, Abena, Maa,	Adwoa, Akua, Afia, Abena, Maa, Yaa Yaa,
Yaa Yaa, (Akos ka ho)	(Akos is also part)

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<sup>7</sup> The transcription convention used for this song (see Appendix 2) mirrors what is used for *Angelina*. It is as follows: **English – bold**; Twi – normal font; Fante- normal font underlined; *Ga – italics*; Ewe – italics underlined

Mmaa dɔ me dodo, ɔmo dɔ me dodo, ɔmo dɔ me, ha me, dɔ me, dɔ me, dɔ me dodo	Ladies love me too much, they love me too much, they crave for me they love me too much
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Extract 2 (Line 41-42)

<i>Wɔn sumo bo ei, wɔnsumo bo Kwame ei 2x</i>	We love you, love you Kwame eei
<i>Ajeley, Akweley, Adoley, Amerley, ei wɔnsumo bo Kwame ei 2x</i>	Ajeley, Akweley, Adoley, Amerley, we love you Kwame ei

Symbolically, the Twi dialect of Akan, which as noted, is the dominant lingua franca in Ghana, represents the man while Ga, a much smaller language, represents the women who culturally take subordinate positions in marital unions. In the chorus the man, using Twi, explains away his womanising as a situation caused by the women because they worry him too much while the women backers, using Ga, chorus their acceptance of the blame by claiming that they are the ones who crave his love. The ability of the women to love one man may be interpreted as a message of unity to Ghanaians as a people, that they as one people have what it takes to focus their love on one object, Ghana, their common husband.

The main focus of the song is to take listeners on a tour of various regions in Ghana where he has love interests. We notice that he starts from the capital of the Ashanti Region, Kumasi, which is the region he hails from and where he has more love interests than in any other region: lines 8 to 22 of the song talk about girls from this region alone. What is revealing is that though this region is the home of the Asantes, who are native speakers of the Twi dialect of Akan, his first love interest there is a native speaker of another dialect of Akan, Fante. The artiste seems to want to convey the message that migration from one part of the country to another is usual. He made this point unequivocally when he indicates that though this Fante lady stays at Bantama she hails from Efie Kuma in the Central Region. He demonstrates the extent to which he loves this lady by speaking her dialect Fante in line 11. It is almost as if by this linguistic demonstration he is assuring himself that he can easily get integrated into the lady's family and society when he encounters them.

From Bantama, he moves to his bevy of ladies in other parts of Kumasi and again describes how much they also love him. However, because he speaks the same dialect of Akan with these ladies there is no overt language change when he talks about them. From the Asante Region, he moves to the Eastern Region,

another Akan-speaking area. There he talks about his two love interests in Nsawam and Koforidua and predictably uses Twi in accommodation with the ladies' linguistic background. Then he moves to the Greater Accra Region, Accra, where he also has a bevy of ladies, some from the slums and others from affluent suburbs. In lines 32 and 33, he suddenly resorts to using Akan-English CS to talk about a particular lady at a suburb called East Legon. A cursory look at the description he gives this lady explains the rationale for this language choice: she is rich (she owns a car). In contrast, note that he quickly switches to Ga to talk about lovers in traditional Ga communities, who are presumably poorer.

Of course, he does not speak the language of each of his lovers, but when he doesn't, he makes the attempt to speak it by resorting to CS in which he inserts a word or two from the language associated with the lover into a Twi-based structure. He did this when he turned attention to his lady at Ho, the Volta Regional capital. He observes that this lady pets him very much whenever he pays her a visit and then he reminisces one Ewe expression, *ekeke vɔ* (the time has come for action) which she often uses to reprimand him whenever he fails to eat the meal she prepares for him on time:

Extract 4 (lines 52):

Mekɔ adwuma, na mamma fie	If I go and I don't come home early and my food
ntem a na m'aduane dwo a, ɔse	gets cold, she says "the time has come for
" <i>ekeke vɔ</i> !"	action!"

He employs a similar CS strategy to talk about his lovers elsewhere, e.g. in Europe, who he uses English insertions into Twi frames to identify with.

Thus, despite the moral unattractiveness of the subject matter of this song, polygyny, the artiste arguably managed to use it to preach a unity and oneness message: as already indicated, he seems to see Ghanaians (and people elsewhere) as one people who just speak different languages and who therefore have the capacity to love and share one object of love. The use of the Twi dialect of course identifies him with an ethnic group, but his switches to the respective languages of his non-Twi-speaking lovers is a message to all who wish to be leaders, that they must make conscious effort to be accommodating of the different peoples they wish to lead. It is only by doing so that they could forge genuine unity among their ethnically diverse people. It is not that it will be easy. He recounts his difficulties with ladies who are very short-tempered, e.g. the highly educated ones (cf. the



university graduate, lines 12-14) and the rich ones (cf. the East Legon girl who owns a car), but he handles such difficulties as well as he could.

*Yenko Nkooa* by Eduwoji (featuring Stay Jay)<sup>8</sup>

In *Yenko Nkooa* (Appendix 3), Eduwoji, like the other two artistes discussed above, used CS as a stylistic device to not only thrill his listeners but to also convey critical messages to them. The theme is on how partners should satisfy each other sexually. He wastes no time in making it clear that he is going multilingual, for in quick succession in the first six lines he traverses four languages at his disposal, English (lines 1 and 5), Pidgin (line 1), Ewe (line 3) and Twi (lines 2 and 6):

Extract 1 (lines 1-6):

<b>I don't know <i>what I de talk ooo</i></b>	I don't know what I'm saying ooo
Kase <b>K. Waa</b>	Say K. Waa
<b>K. Waa</b> 2x	K.Waa 2x
<i>Eduwuji do tso Volta</i>	Eduwuji emerges from Volta
<b>Stay J J style</b>	Stay JJ style
Sɔ me ha na sɔ me ha	Hold this part of my body (literary: hold my here and my here)

Each language is selected for a specific purpose. In the main, Twi is used to express concepts that would otherwise have been difficult to express accurately and melodiously in English. For example, in the above extract, the lover (the singer) uses it when he wishes to be caressed: the words *Sɔ me ha na sɔ me ha* expresses the man's mood and desire more rhythmically than the English gloss 'hold this part of my body and that part too'. Noticeably, the gloss removes the repetition that gives the line its rhyming effect. The chorus *ɔpɛ no yenkɔ nkooa* (see line 8 in Appendix, for example) is also difficult to translate because there is

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<sup>8</sup> Though the song is Eduwoji's, the artiste called Stay Jay also featured by singing some of the lines. The transcription convention used for this song mirrors what is used for the first two songs. It is as follows: **English – bold**; Twi – normal font; *Ewe – italics*; **Pidgin – italics bold**

no ready English gloss that captures the import of the concept it expresses. It metaphorically says that the woman is always ready for sex. Again, “*menya ɔbaa w’agyina mu se Delay*” does not translate correctly as “I’ve got a lady who is as beautiful as Delay”. The use of *w’agyina mu* expresses more than beauty. It expresses the totality of who ‘Delay’ (Delores Frimpong-Manso, a TV presenter) stands for: beauty, confidence, proper dressing, popularity, etc. The man could have used *ahoɔfɛ* ‘beauty’ if he had wanted to express only the concept of beauty. However, Twi is also used to express simple issues that the lover seems to regard as intimate, e.g. little things his lover does to assure him of her love. In the following extract, he talks in Twi about the woman’s cooking for him, a domestic chore which in traditional Africa is a sole responsibility of the women, who uses it as a channel to her man’s heart; in this particular case, *banku*, the favourite meal of the Ewes is what the woman chooses to prepare (recall that the singer is Ewe).

Extract 2 (lines 53-55):

ɔse ɔdɔ me nti ma m’akoma ntu	she says she loves me so I should not fear
edeɛn na medi?	what will I eat?
Hwɛ ɔkɔka me banku	look she’ll prepare me banku

There are insightful alternations of English and Pidgin in this song. One is captured in the following extract:

Extract 3 (lines 44-49)

<b>Whatever she used to buy</b>	whatever she buys
<i>I’m de pay</i>	I’m ready to pay
<b>Whenever she cries</b>	whenever she cries
<i>I’m gonna wipe away</i>	I’ll wipe away
ɔse me <b>singi</b> se Nana Ampadu	she says I sing like Nana Ampadu
W’ <b>changi</b> me din	she has changed my name

Note that while English is used to express the lady’s actions, Pidgin is used to express the man’s response to those actions. Even when there is a switch to Twi-English CS, note that the English insertions represent words (i.e. ‘sing’ and ‘change’) which the lady presumably used. The choice of **singi** is also for stylistic effect as it does not occur in spontaneous CS; it is its Twi counterpart *to nnwom* that is used in spontaneous speech. Thus **singi** is selected to rhyme with **changi** because *to nnwom* will not give the desired effect. They are therefore quotatives meant as fond mimicry of the lady. Meanwhile, Pidgin, as is expected (see the

analysis of *Angelina*), is a language of profanity in this song. It is used to describe the act of sex itself and for commending the lady for being efficient at it. We see this in lines 24-33 (see Appendix 3).

Ewe complements Pidgin as a language of profanity in the song; the refrain in extract 4 below is repeated several times in the song.

Extract 4 (lines 10-14):

<u><i>N'enyɛ dekapui alime ne se nawo</i></u>	if you are a young man your waist should be strong
<u><i>Alime ne se nawo</i></u>	your waist should be strong
<u><i>N'enyɛ detugbui alime ne se nawo</i></u>	if you are a young woman your waist should be strong
<u><i>Alime ne se nawo</i></u>	your waist should be strong

This use of Ewe is very uncommon as Ghanaian musicians tend to use Ga or Pidgin for this purpose.<sup>9</sup> Eduwoji probably chose Ewe, his native language, because (i) he does not speak Ga and (ii) his fans (who would be mostly Akan) may not understand that what he is saying in Ewe is thoroughly profane. Indeed, many non-Ewe listeners interviewed are unaware of the meaning of the expressions but are quick to point out that this part of the song is the most danceable segment, given its rhythm and rhymes.

## CONCLUSION

Unlike CS in spontaneous speech, which is largely unconscious, the CS in Ghanaian hiplife music is used deliberately as a stylistic device by the artistes. This paper has exposed the motivations for the deliberate use of CS in three hiplife songs: Praye's *Angelina*, Okyeame Kwame's *Medo Mmaa* and *Yenko Nkooa* by Eduwoji. We showed that each of the three artistes does more with CS in their songs than to merely use it to reach out to clients in their multilingual country and beyond; we showed that perhaps even more pertinently, they use it (i) as a means to achieve aesthetic effects, e.g. rhythm and rhyme, which make their songs memorable and danceable, and (ii) as a message on social issues, e.g. love and national unity.

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<sup>9</sup> See such use of language in *Angelina* above.

In *Angelina*, Praye used rapid alternation of dance rhythms and languages to symbolically unite the culturally and linguistically diverse society they seek to entertain. Okyeame also preaches this same message of unity in diversity in the manner in which he relates how he has become a cherished lover for countless women across the different ethnic groups in Ghana. We observed that the peace he seems to be enjoying in his multiple love relationships is attributable in no small measure to his leadership style, i.e. his ability to connect and identify with each of his lovers in her own language. In *Yenko Nkooa*, by Eduwoji, we again saw the expression of the theme of love and how the use of multiple languages creates the sense that the artiste thinks his multi-ethnic audiences are, in fact, one people who could be addressed as a unit. All this mirrors the trend in language use in *rai* music in Algeria (Bentahila and Davies, 2002), in rap music in Montreal (Rampton, 1998), in Nigerian hiphop (Babalola and Taiwo, 2009 and Liadi and Omobowale, 2011), in Tanzanian hiphop (Fenn, and Perulio, 2000), and in African Songs produced in Perth (Zagoria, 2009), among others. Thus, the Ghanaian hiplife music integrates readily into the still evolving global youth-driven hiphop music.

We argue that the hiplife artistes are able to use multiple languages in the manner they are doing because they are merely reflecting a situation in Ghana where CS has become the “first tongue” of fellow youths (Amuzu 2005, 2010) for whom it is now “a communicative praxis, socially accepted as a feature of daily conversational discourse in all aspects of informal interactions” (Asilevi 1990: 2).

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: ANGELINA BY PRAYE

#### VERSE 1

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Yehowah!                                   | Jehovah!   |
| 2. <i>Chaley what dey happen?</i>             | Charley what is happening?   |
| 3. Praye, yaaba bio,                          | Praye, we are back again,  |
| 4. hey, yeresee adze!                         | hey, we are destroying things!                                       |
| 5. Na anka me na kyere <b>Angelina</b>        | I used to teach Angelina   |
| 6. senea yesaw KETE ne <b>MOONWALK</b>        | how to dance Kete and Moonwalk,                                      |
| AGORO ne PATAPATA                             | Agoro and Patapata   |
| 7. Mpanyinsɛm nti no, seisei mentumi no.      | Because of over-confidence, now I<br>can no longer compete with her. |
| 8. Chorus                                     |  |
| 9. <b>Angelina</b> kome to o                  | It is only Angelina.   |
| 10. <i>Kɛɛ ke SHUPERU ke SALS</i> A           | When she does Shuperu and Salsa                                      |
| 11. <b>MACARENA</b> kɛ MAPUKA,                | Macarena and Mapuka,   |
| 12. <i>shikome shikome</i>                    | one time, one time.  |
| 13. <b>Angelina</b> kome to o                 | It is only Angelina.   |
| 14. <i>Kɛɛ ke SHUPERU ke SALS</i> A,          | When she does Shuperu and Salsa,                                     |
| 15. <b>MACARENA</b> kɛ MAPUKA                 | Macarena and Mapuka  |
| 16. <i>shikome shikome</i>                    | One time one time  |
| 17. <i>Kɛɛ ke SHUPERU ke SALS</i> A           | When she does Shuperu and Salsa                                      |
| 18. <i>Kɛɛ ke GŌNGŌN ke GBŌŌHE</i>            | When she does Gŏngŏn and<br>Gbŏŏhe                                   |
| 19. <b>MACARUNA</b> , WU, kɛ <b>DANCEHALL</b> | Macaruna Wu and Dancehall  |
| 20. <i>Shikome shikome</i>                    | One time one time  |
| 21. <b>Angelina</b> nkutoo                    | It is only Angelina  |
| 22. Sɛ ɔ sa SHUPERU ne <b>SALS</b> A          | When she dances Shuperu and<br>Salsa                                 |
| 23. <b>MACARENA</b> ne MAPUKA                 | Macarena and Mapuka  |
| 24. <i>Shikome shikome</i>                    | one time one time  |
| 25. Sɛ ɔ sa SHUPERU ne <b>SALS</b> A          | When she dances Shuperu and<br>Salsa                                 |
| 26. <i>shikome shikome</i>                    | one time one time  |
| 27. Sɛ ɔ sa GŌNGŌN ne GBŌŌHE                  | When she dances Gŏngŏn and<br>Gbŏŏhe                                 |
| 28. <b>MACARENA</b> ne MAPUKA,                | Macarena and Mapuka,   |

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 29. <i>shikome, shikome</i>   | one time one time  |
| 30. Sɛ ɔ sa SHUPERU ne SALSA  | When she dances Shuperu and Salsa  |
| 31. Sɛ ɔ sa GONGON ne GBOOHE  | When she dances Gɔngɔn and Gboɔhe  |
| 32. <b>MACARENA</b> nso ne <b>DANCEHALL</b> ,   | Macarena and also Dancehall  |
| 33. <i>shikome shikome</i>  | one time one time  |
| 34. <b>Choir master (3x)</b>  | Choir master (3x)  |
| 35. <b>Angelina</b> tumi bisa sɛ menkyerɛ no sɛ deɛ yɛsa <b>BOBBY BROWN, MERRY-GO-ROUND</b>                     | Angelina sometimes asks me to teach her how to dance Bobby Brown, Merry-go-round                     |
| 36. <b>Don't be shy baby, do some two, three steps to your back, and front and back and front and back (3x)</b> | Don't be shy baby, do some two, three steps to your back, and front and back and front and back (3x) |
| 37. <b>Now wait a minute girl</b>   | Now wait a minute girl   |
| 38. <b>Don't forget to pull your underwear up up when it's down</b>   | Don't forget to pull your underwear up up when it's down   |
| 39. <b>Now shake your belly left, right, front, back turn around and smile. (2x)</b>                            | Now shake your belly left, right, front, back turn around and smile. (2x)                            |
| 40. <b>Angelina</b> nkuto o Angelina nkuto o  | It's only Angelina it's only Angelina.   |
| 41. <b>Angelina</b> <i>deka koe</i> Angelina <i>deka koe</i>  | It's only Angelina it's only Angelina.   |
| 42. Otumi woso neho ma mesuro,  | She is able to shake herself to send shivers down my spine   |
| 43. nani mmu no dwe, dwe, dwe   | without an eye blink, blink, blink.  |
| VERSE 2   |  |
| 44. Sɛ ɛye asa a yɛbesa yɛbesa no saa   | If it's a dance we'll dance we'll dance it like that   |
| 45. Sɛ ɛye SHUPERU yɛbesa no saa  | If it's Shuperu we'll dance it like that   |
| 46. Sɛ ɛye <b>DANCEHALL</b> nso a, yɛbesa no saa  | If it's also dancehall we'll dance it like that  |
| 47. Na yɛresa, ne yɛresa, yɛbesa no saa   | And we are dancing and dancing we'll dance it like that.   |
| 48. Sɛ ɛye asa a, yɛbesa yɛbesa no saa  | If it's a dance, we'll dance we'll dance it like that.   |



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|--|--|
| <p>49. Sɛ ɛyɛ GŊNGŊN nso a yɛbɛsa no saa</p> <p>50. Sɛ ɛyɛ GBŊŊHE, GBŊŊHE nso a</p> <p>51. Na yɛresa, na yɛresa yɛbɛsa no saa</p> <p>52. Na yɛresa, na yɛresa yɛbɛsa no saa</p> <p>53. GŊNGŊN, ADOWA, GBŊŊHE, ne<br/>ŊKPŊKPŊ</p> <p>54. <b>Slim things</b> woso wo ho</p> <p>55. POPOLOMO, NATTY DREAD,</p> <p>56. woso woho</p> <p>57. Sa sa Ajele atwa Nana Yaa</p> <p>58. Nana nso se AGBADZA</p> <p>59. Ebi se GŊNGŊN, ebi se GBŊŊHE</p> <p>60. Ebi se KETE, <b>BIG J</b>, AZORPETE saa<br/>saa</p> <p>61. Sa AYEKEBŊMBŊMBŊM</p> <p>62. AYEKEBŊMBŊMBŊM</p> <p>63. AYEKEBŊMBŊMBŊM</p> <p>64. Chorus</p> <p>VERSE 3</p> <p>65. <i>Angudugudu</i> hi, hi, hi</p> <p>66. Hwe so di w'asa nabu wo sisi</p> <p>67. Si meso bŋme so, bŋme so na si me so<br/>saa daa (2x)</p> <p>68. <b>If you were used to</b> ADOWA,</p> <p>69. <b>used to</b> AGBADZA</p> <p>70. Deɛ wohia ne ntoma</p> <p>71. <b>and dance with your kappa</b></p> <p>72. <b>But now hey hey, the rhythm change o</b></p> <p>73. <b>Now it's GBŊŊHE, GBŊŊHE, now it's</b><br/>GŊNGŊN GŊNGŊN</p> | <p>If it's gŋngŋn too we'll dance it<br/>like that</p> <p>If it's gbŋŋhe gbŋŋhe too</p> <p>We are dancing, and we are<br/>dancing we'll dance it like that.</p> <p>We are dancing, and we are<br/>dancing we'll dance it like that.</p> <p>Gŋngŋn, Adowa, Kpŋhe and<br/>ŋkpŋkpŋ</p> <p>slim things shake your body</p> <p>Popolomo, Natty dread</p> <p>shake your body</p> <p>Dance, dance Ajele has surpassed<br/>Yaa.</p> <p>Nana also says Agbadza</p> <p>Some say Gŋngŋn others say<br/>Gbŋŋhe</p> <p>Some say Kete, Big J, Azorpete<br/>dance, dance.</p> <p>Dance Ayeke bŋm bŋm bŋm</p> <p>Dance Ayeke bŋm bŋm bŋm</p> <p>Dance Ayeke bŋm bŋm bŋm</p> <p>They have ran ran hi, hi, hi</p> <p>Watch and dance and shake your<br/>waist</p> <p>Give me more, hit me more and<br/>give me more forever. (2x)</p> <p>If you were used to Adowa,<br/>used to Agbadza</p> <p>All you need is cloth</p> <p>and dance with your capability /<br/>capacity</p> <p>But now hey hey, the rhythm has<br/>changed o</p> <p>Now it's Gbŋŋhe Gbŋŋhe now it's<br/>Gŋngŋn Gŋngŋn.</p> |
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| 74. <b>Now its</b> PUSESE PUSESE PUSE.    | Now it's Pusese Pusese Puse.  |
| 75. PUSESE nakai nɔɔ.                     | that's it Pusese.             |
| 76. <b>Now it's</b> GONGON GONGON.        | Now it's Gongon Gongon.       |
| 77. <b>Now it's</b> PUSESE, PUSE PUPU PU. | Now it's pusese, puse pupu pu |

VERSE 4

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| 78. <i>Hami</i> <b>DANCEHALL</b> <i>fio ko</i> | Give me a little Dancehall |
| 79. <i>Hami</i> <b>SALSA</b> <i>fio ko</i>     | Give me a little Salsa     |
| 80. Chorus                                     |                            |

**APPENDIX 2: MEDɔ MMAA BY OKYEAME KWAME**

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| 1. Sɛ ekeeki wo a, tie ha  | If it kicks you, listen here   |
| 2. ɛye wo dɛ a, to wo nsa  | If you like it, throw your hands   |
| 3. ɔkyeame Kwame <b>Rap doctor</b> ,<br>mene hwan? Jay Q   | Linguist Kwame, Rap doctor, who did I<br>come with? Jay Q                              |
| 4. Medɔ mmaa na mempe mmaa,<br>Kwame ei 2x   | I love women but I am not a<br>womanizer, Kwame ei                                     |
| 5. ɛmmaa tenten ne atiatia, ha me<br>ei  | Both tall and short women, worry me  |
| 6. Adwoa, Akua, Afia, Abena, Maa<br>Yaa Yaa, dɔ me ei 2x<br>(Akos ka ho)   | Adwoa, Akua, Afia, Abena, Maa, Yaa<br>Yaa, love me (including Akos)                    |
| 7. Mmaa no dɔ me dodo, ɔmo dɔ<br>me dodo, ɔmo dɔ me, ha me, dɔ<br>me, dɔ me, dɔ me dodo<br>Adwoa, Abena, Afia, Maa Yaa<br>Yaa ha me ei. Akos ka ho | Ladies love me too much, they love me<br>too much, worry me they love me too<br>much   |
| 8. Mewɔ <b>girl</b> bi wɔ Bantama  | I have a girl at Bantama   |
| 9. N'ano ne Fante ɔfiri Efie Kuma  | She speaks Fante, she is from Efie<br>Kuma   |
| 10. Manhu no da koro a, na maku no<br>koraa  | If I don't see her one day, it kills her.  |
| 11. ɔse ebaadze ntsi na ɛretsew<br>m'akoma   | She says why are you breaking my<br>heart  |
| 12. Mewɔ <b>girl</b> bi wɔ Asokwa<br>ɔko <b>UST</b> , ɔsan ye dadaba   | I have a girl at Asokwa, she attends<br>UST and also a daddy's daughter (rich<br>girl) |
| 13. <b>snap card</b> baako na w'agyaga   | One snap card and she is angry   |

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| <p>14. Deɛ ɔfili wɔ me ho ne sɛ nea me<br/><i>shada</i></p> <p>15. Hwe, mewɔ <b>girl</b> bi wɔ Ashtown</p> <p>16. Metumi frɛ no, ɔsɛ Kwame mma<br/>ɛnye <b>crow</b>n</p> <p>17. Wo hye Bantama ni a, <b>pound</b><br/><b>for pound</b></p> <p>18. Na Asokwa ni no deɛ ɔbɛyɛ no<br/><b>down</b></p> <p>19. Mewɔ <b>girl</b> bi wɔ Krofrom</p> <p>20. Me ne <b>burgers</b>foɔ na ɛkurakura<br/>mu</p> <p>21. ɛbi kura <b>Jaquar</b>, ɛbi kura <b>ML</b><br/>nanso mede me <b>taxi</b> duru a, na<br/>wɔahuri asi mu</p> <p>22. Mewɔ <b>girl</b> bi wɔ Nhyiaeso</p> <p>23. Ne papa hu me a na ɔhoroso<br/>ɔsɛ me nim sɛ wo <b>rappo</b> nanso<br/>sukuu no deɛ ɛwɔsɛ wo toa so<br/>Medɔ mmaa na mempe mmaa,<br/>Kwame ei 2x</p> <p>24. Mmaa tenten ne atiatia, ha me<br/>eiAdwoa, Abena, Afia, Maa Yaa<br/>Yaa ha me ei. Akos ka ho<br/>Me wo girl bi wo Nsawam</p> <p>25. Ohu me pe na n'ano damu "sɛ<br/>ɛnye Accra na wookɔ Kwame<br/>beda m'akoma mu ma to me<br/>mpaa tofoo sɛ premani awaamu</p> <p>26. Koforidua nso me wo bi wo ho</p> | <p>What she likes most about me is how I<br/>dress</p> <p>Look, I have a girl at Ashtown</p> <p>I can call her and she will say, Kwame<br/>don't disgrace me</p> <p>If I get the Bantama one, pound for<br/>pound</p> <p>As for the one at Asokwa, she will<br/>make you down</p> <p>I have a girl at Krofrom</p> <p>I am handling her with some 'burgers'</p> <p>Some of them drive Jaquar, some also<br/>drive ML but when I get there with my<br/>taxi, she jumps into it</p> <p>I have a girl at Nhyiaeso</p> <p>When her father sees me, he starts<br/>stuttering he says "I know you rap but<br/>you also must continue schooling"<br/>I love women but I'm not a womanizer<br/>Kwame ei</p> <p>Both tall and short women worry me<br/>Ei Adwoa, Abena, Afia, Maa Yaa Yaa<br/>Worry me including Akos<br/>I have a girl at Nsawam</p> <p>When she sees me she starts shouting "If<br/>you did not have to go to Accra, Kwame<br/>come and sleep in my arms" I've laid my<br/>comfortably like the back of a play woma<br/>In Koforidua too, I have another one<br/>there</p> <p>Anytime I go to visit Daasebrɛ, when<br/>am leaving her she becomes sad.</p> <p>Therefore, I call this my flower and we<br/>chat</p> <p>When I get to Accra, Nima too, Abiba,<br/>Hadiza and Memuna are always around</p> |
| <p>27. Dabiaa mekɔ Daasebrɛ ho<br/>Megya ne ho a, na wɔayɛ mɔbɔ</p> <p>28. enti mefrɛ me <b>flower</b> yi, ne no<br/>bɔ nkɔmmɔ</p> <p>29. Meduru Nkran nso a, Nima<br/>Abiba, Hadiza ne Memuna</p>  | <p>When I get to Accra, Nima too, Abiba,<br/>Hadiza and Memuna are always around</p>  |

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| <p>Taataa me ho, di me sika<br/>30. <b>VIP</b>, promzy hu me a, na w' amuna ei</p> <p>Chorus<br/>31. Mewɔ girl bi wɔ East Legon<br/>32. okita ne <b>ride</b>, ne bo fu a, <b>she's gone</b><br/>33. <b>She keeps calling me on the phone.</b> Aɔɔfosem se, "<b>Kwame you know you wrong</b>"</p> <p>34. Mewɔ <b>girl</b> bi wɔ <b>James Town</b><br/>35. ɔwɔ bra bi, n'ano den te sɛ <b>James Brown</b><br/>36. Me <b>paake</b> me kaa na wɔafɛ ni nua baa ne se<br/>37. <i>Atwɛ, nɛkɛ gbekebi hii nne ni aɛ sheleo baa nne?</i><br/>38. Cantoments nso so, m'anida obi so<br/>39. Onɔ nso begye <b>visa</b> na wa twa <b>ticket</b> ato so<br/>40. Newtown, Alajo, La, Ashongman, <i>sumo mi ei</i><br/>41. <i>Wɔn sumo bo ei, wɔnsumo bo Kwame ei2x</i><br/>42. <i>Ajeley, Akweley, Adoley, Amerley, ei wɔnsumo bo Kwame ei2x</i><br/>43. Mewɔ girl bi wɔ Nzulezu<br/>44. N'abusua fie si nsuo bi so<br/>45. Asanteni barima, medeɛ me menkɔ <b>beach</b><br/>46. ɛpetre me a, wobɛhu sɛ metena kodoɔ so</p> <p>47. Sunyani, medɔ wu a ono na onyane no<br/>48. Obuasi, ne sika nti, menhwe ase</p> | <p>me, spending my money.<br/>VIP, promzy frowns when he sees me.</p> <p>I have a girl at East Legon<br/>She has her car, when she is angry, she's gone<br/>She keeps calling me on the phone. Speaking English saying "Kwame you know you are wrong"</p> <p>I have a girl at James Town<br/>She has a brother who is as loud as James Brown<br/>When I park my car, he calls his sister And says<br/>Atwɛ these boys who smoke leaves (marijuana)<br/>Cantoments too, I have confidence in another one<br/>She will also get me a visa and add a ticket<br/>Newtown, Alajo, La, Ashongman, Love me eei<br/>We love you, love you Kwame eei<br/>Ajeley, Akweley, Adoley, Amerley, we love you Kwame ei<br/>I have a girl at Nzulezu<br/>Her family house is on a river<br/>An Asante man, as for me I will not go to the beach<br/>If it slips you'll see me sitting in a canoe</p> <p>Sunyuni, when my love dies she awakens it<br/>Obuasi, because of her money, I will</p> |
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| 49. Bolgatanga, onfa m'akyi da   | never fall<br>Bolgatanga, she will never cheat on me   |
| 50. Takoradi, ne nkyekyew,<br>m'Awuradze ei  | Takoradi, her frying, My God.  |
| 51. Ei, mewo baako wo Ho<br>owo <b>base</b> kakra, nso mete ho   | Ei, I have one at Ho, she speaks with a<br>little base but am there.   |
| 52. Mekwo adwuma, na mamma fie<br>ntem a na m'aduane dwo a, ose<br>"ekeke vwo!"  | If I go and I don't come home early and<br>my food gets cold, she says "the time<br>has come for action!"                              |
| 53. Me wura London, Texas, New<br>York Hamburg, Toronto, me ho<br>do emma no <b>fili sexy</b>  | When I enter London, Texas, New<br>York, Hamburg, Toronto, they love me<br>The women feel sexy   |
| 54. onim kasa, san bo nkommwo  | she knows how to talk and also hold a<br>conversation  |
| 55. Medwo mmaa na mempe mmaa,<br>Kwame ei 2x   | I love women but I'm not a womanizer<br>Kwame ei   |
| 56. Mmaa tenten ne atiatia, ha me ei   | Both tall and short women worry me   |
| 57. Adwoa, Akua, Afia, Abena,<br>Maa, Yaa Yaa, do mei 2x<br>(Akos ka ho)   | Adwoa, Akua, Afia, Abena, Maa<br>Yaayaa love me ei Akos is included  |
| 58. Mmaa do ne dodo,omo do me<br>dodo, omo do me, ha me, do me,<br>do me, do me dodo<br><i>Wo nsumo bo Kwame ei wo<br/>nsumobo wo nsumobo Kwame ei</i> | Ladies love me too much, they love me<br>too much, they love me too much<br><br>We love you Kwame ei, we love you<br>Kwame we love you |

**APPENDIX 3: YENKO NKOOA BY EDUWOJI (FEATURING STAY JAY)**

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|---|--|--|
| 1 | <b>I don't know what I de talk ooo</b> | I don't know what I'm saying ooo                               |
| 2 | Kase <b>K.</b> Waa                     | Say K. Waa   |
| 3 | <b>K.</b> Waa 2x                       | K.Waa 2x   |
| 4 | <u>Eduwuji do tso Volta</u>            | Eduwuji emerges from Volta                                     |
| 5 | <b>Stay J J style</b>                  | Stay JJ style  |
| 6 | Sɔ me ha na sɔ me ha                   | Hold this part of my body and hold<br>that part too (literary: |

7	<b>Daddy</b> sɔ meha na sɔ meha 3x	hold my here and my here)
8	ɔpɛ no yenkɔ nkoaa	Daddy hold here and here She always wants it on the go (literary: she wants us to always be on the go)
9	//Saadeɛ no 6x	that thing
10	<u>N'enyɛ dekapui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young man your waist should be strong
11	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
12	<u>N'enyɛ detugbui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young woman your waist should be strong
13	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
14	<u>N'enyɛ dekapui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young man your waist should be strong
15	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
16	<u>N'enyɛ detugbui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young woman your waist should be strong
17	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
18	<u>//Neme azi de eme</u>	So that so that I can enter into it
19	<u>//Enyɛa 6x</u>	As for me
20	Sɔ meha na sɔ meha 5x	hold this part of my body and this part
21	daddy sɔ meha na sɔ ha	daddy hold here and here
22	Aah //ɔpɛ no yenko nkoaa	Aah s/he always wants it always
23	/Saadeɛ no 6x	That thing
24	<b>The way you de do am baby ibi so nɔɔ</b>	you are doing it is the right way baby
25	<b>The way you de wind am ibi so nɔɔ</b>	you are winding it the right way
26	<b>I de like am so baby make you give it to me</b>	I like it baby so give it to me
27	<b>The way you de do am baby ibi so nɔɔ</b>	you are winding it the right way
28	<b>I de like am baby</b>	I like it baby
29	<b>I de like am baby</b>	I like it baby
30	<b>Make you give it to me</b>	so give it to me
31	<b>Kiss me come hold me</b>	kiss me and hold me
32	<b>Come touch me now</b>	and touch me now
33	<b>Baby ei baby ei</b>	baby ei baby ei
34	Stay j <b>style</b> menya (re) 2x	Stay J I have got (...)
35	<b>yea men</b>	yea men
36	Aao <b>baby</b> ei 2x	aao baby ei 2x

37	Menya ɔbaa w'agyina mu se <b>Delay</b>	I've got a lady who is as beautiful as Delay
38	Daa ɔgyegye me so frɛ me se <b>stay jay</b>	always she pampers me and calls me Stay J
39	ɔnte me ho gyae	she loves me
40	me kyere <b>man of the day</b>	I am the man of the day
41	Me tumi ka me <b>one two</b> w'aduru me Jay	I just have to say one two and she is with me J
42	Ei	Ay
	ɔtumi keka ɔse m'wuradze ei	she sometimes says ei my God
43	ɔkyere ne hō efise ɔye m'awuraba ei	she likes to be pampered because she's my lady
44	<b>Whatever she use to buy</b>	whatever she buys
45	<b>I'm de pay</b>	I'm ready to pay
46	<b>Whenever she cries</b>	whenever she cries
47	<b>I'm gonna wipe away</b>	I'll wipe away
48	ɔse me <b>singi</b> se Nana Ampadu	she says I sing like Nana Ampadu
49	W' <b>achangi</b> me din	she has changed my name and
50	frɛ me bra Kwaku	calls me bro Kweku
51	ɔse ɔdɔ me nti ma m'akoma ntu	she says she loves me so I should not fear
52	ɛdeen na medi?	what will I eat?
53	Hwe ɔkɔka me banku	look she'll prepare me banku
54	ɔse me <b>singi</b> se Nana Ampadu	she says I sing like Nana Ampadu
55	W' <b>achangi</b> me din	she has changed my name
56	frɛ me bra Kwaku	calls me bro Kweku
57	ɔse ɔdɔ me nti ma m'akoma ntu	she says she loves me so I should not fear
58	ɛdeen na medi?	what will I eat?
59	Hwe w'aka me banku	look she has prepared me banku
60	Me <b>style</b> na enye no	it is not my style
61	Afei koraa na <b>style</b> aba	It is now that a new style has emerged.
62	<u>N'ɛnye dekapui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young man your waist should be strong
63	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
64	<u>N'ɛnye detugbui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young woman your waist should be strong
65	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong

66	<u>N'ɛnye dekapui alime ne se nawa yo</u>	if you are a young man your waist should be strong
67	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
68	<u>N'ɛnye detugbui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young woman your waist should be strong
69	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
70	<u>N'ɛnye dekapui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young man your waist should be strong
71	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
72	<u>N'ɛnye detugbui alime ne se nawo</u>	if you are a young woman your waist should be strong
73	<u>Alime ne se nawo</u>	your waist should be strong
74	//Enyea 6x	For me
75	<u>Alime vune 4x</u>	Her waist is open
76	Hei <u>Alime vune 4x</u>	Hei Her waist is open
77	Hei Sɔ sɔ sɔ meha na sɔ meha	Hei Hold hold hold this part of my body
78	<b>Daddy</b> sɔ meha 4x	Daddy hold this part of my body
79	ɔpɛ no yenkɔ nkoaa	She always wants it
80	Saadeɛ no 6x	That thing
81	<u>Alime ne se nawo 4x</u>	Your waist should be strong.