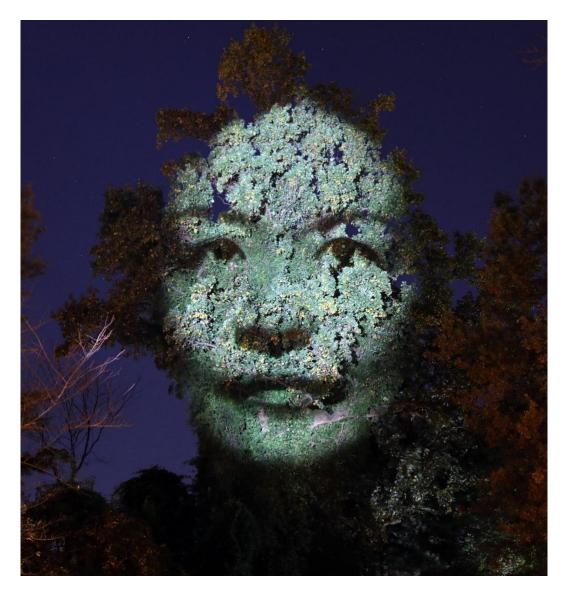
VIEWERS' DISCUSSION GUIDE TO

Talking Black in America: Roots

Prepared by Noble Kofi Nazzah with Dr. Renee Blake (New York University)



Credit: This photo is part of a collection called "Monuments" by artist Craig Walsh, put in trees in Charlotte, North Carolina, to pay tribute to all enslaved people buried in "graves with no names". In the poetry of the Ghanaian poet Kwadwo-Opoku Agyemang and in a collection of poems titled <u>Cape Coast Castle</u> he talks about "graves without bodies" in Africa: victims of the slave trade who were stolen and kidnapped and their families back home in Africa were denied the cathartic benefit of burying their loved ones. There are "graves with no names" in America and "graves with no bodies" in Africa, and this is because of an inhumane system of dislocation that introduced chaos into the social life of Africans.

Using This Guide

Talking Black in America: Roots explores the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in Africa and its impact on linguistic variations and cultural expressions in the Black diaspora. The scenes from Africa in the film were shot in Ghana in Accra, Navrongo, Assin Manso and Elmina.

The documentary is organized around interviews with scholars, poets, musicians, artists, local tour guides at important slave monuments in Ghana: the slave castles, the slave river, and a slave camp.

The educational goals for the documentary include 1) fostering an understanding and appreciation of origins of African American English and its associations with African languages; 2) developing an understanding of the evolution of African American English in America and how the institutions of segregations determined the variations in African American English; 3) raising awareness about African American English and speech in a manner that highlights issues around language prejudice and stereotypes that have often been associated with non-mainstream varieties of languages.

A classroom viewing of the film could complement lessons in US History, Afro-Caribbean Studies, Social Studies, and Music curricula. Taught in conjunction with this guide, the film will challenge students to think critically about the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery in Africa and America and provide an empirically grounded understanding of the origins of African American English and Black vernacular.

Introduction

Slavery: "the living wound under a patchwork of scars"

Professor Kwadwo Opoku-Agyemang, Ghanaian poet

<u>Ghana</u>

Ghana is a country located on the Western Coast of Africa. It is 1 of 16 countries in this region of the continent South of the Sahara. The population of Ghana is approximately 33 million and, 1 in 6 Ghanaians live in Accra, the capital city. Ghana like any other African country is multilingual.

Ghana is the world's second largest exporter of cocoa, a major cash crop which was a source of revenue for the British colonial government and subsequently and, post-colonial governments after independence. The cultivation of this major cash crop became dominant only after the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was abolished in 1848.

The Slave Market in Ghana

The coastline of the Gold Coast (renamed Ghana after independence) played a critical role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. It had the highest concentration of slave-posts anywhere in the world: a total of 76 forts and castles of various sizes sit on the 500-kilometer coastline built by the various European countries involved in the slave trade. Portugal, Spain, Netherlands, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Britain built and owned various slave castles on the Gold Coast. Those countries, like the United States, that did not build castles or forts had slaving ships that carried Africans away to plantations in the Caribbean.

There are three prominent slave posts at the time of the slave trade: Cape Coast Castle, Elmina Castle, and Christiansburg Castle. The Cape Coast Castle served as the headquarters for the Britain's Royal African Company and was the busiest in the region. In 1673, a year after the founding of the Royal African Company, the British had 33 percent share of the global slave market, by 1683 the British increased their share to 74 percent. The Gold Coast (Ghana) was the stronghold of the British and they ran an average of 23 voyages a year.

Cape Coast Castle— Headquarters for the Royal African Company of Britain



Elmina Castle— of the dozen slave posts on the coast of Ghana.



Africans who were stolen, kidnaped, and bought in the Northern regions of Ghana were transported in foot on a very long journey to the coast. Many died on this journey. They were only allowed one bath at the banks of a river called the Assin Manso River.

Assin Manso River: The Last Bath



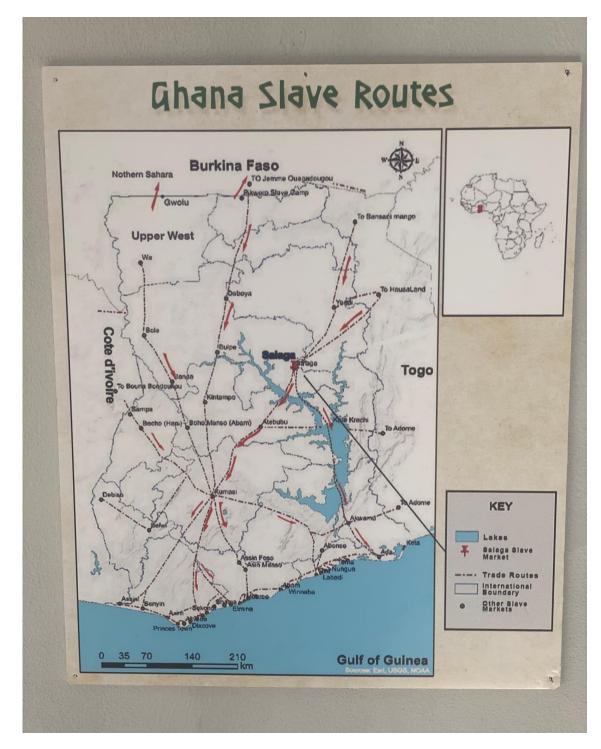


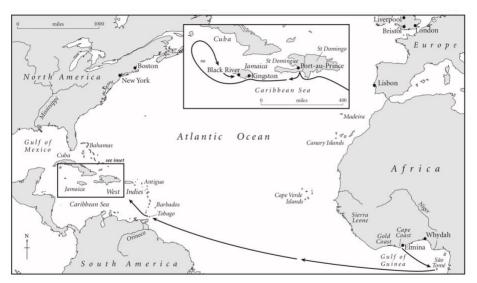
Fig 1.3. Ghana Slaves from the North to South

Inside the castles, living conditions were harsh because captured Africans were crammed into airless and dark underground dungeons. They were poorly fed and clothed. Many died in these dark and narrow. In here they awaited the Middle Passage, a journey which made their living conditions even worse. Many died again on this arduous journey. In as much as the trans-Atlantic slave trade was an industry that transported stolen, bought, and kidnapped African abroad, it was also an industry of death, that unleashed a system of mass murder in Africa and of Africans: many died at home at on the journey from the North to the coast, many died in the dungeons, many died on the Middle Passage, and many died still on the plantations abroad.

The Coromantee

The British had a system that sorted and labeled Africans once they have arrived in the Caribbean or the Carolinas in the United States. Enslaved Africans captured from the Gold Coast were known as the Coromantee. Slave owners described this group as good workers who were prone to rebellion. In fact, the famous Tacky's Revolt in Jamaica was started by the Coromantee. The brain behind this revolt, a man named Tacky (derived from the Ga royal name "Tackie"; Ga is one of the ethnic groups found in Ghana). Tacky's Revolt was the largest slave uprising in the British Empire in the second half of the 18th century. The warfare strategy used by the Coramantees during this revolt was the same as the style of war Gold Coast Warriors used during military campaigns at home.

On 18 August 1781 a ship called *Zong* sailed from Cape Coast with 442 Africans. Before reaching its destination in the Caribbean the captain of the *Zong* commanded his crew to throw over-board a fraction of its cargo: captured Africans. 132 Africans who were taken from Cape Coast were murdered by drowning because the captain feared there was not enough drinking water on board to last until the end of the journey. When the case of the *Zong* was brought to court it was not because of the murder of the Africans on board but as a suit against the insurers who denied the owners' claim that their "cargo" had been necessarily jettisoned. The story of the *Zong* stocked the flames abolishing movement.



The route taken by the Zong, 18 August-22 December 1781.

Forms of Resistance

Forms of local resistance against the European slave trade in Ghana took both violent and non0violent forms. Europeans exploited their artillery upper hand during periods of violent struggles to overcome Africans. They also armed local collaborators who served as middlemen during the slave trade. Nevertheless, African by employed ingenious ways to resist capture and kidnapping.

IN the Northern Region where most of Africans were captured, with the help of slave raiders, the landscape is the typical rocky African savannah, and one could see several miles ahead with the unaided eye. In a town called *Pikoworo*, which means "land of rocks", the rocks served as bowls for eating and receptacles for storing water, and as musical instruments- in the film you will see locals reenact a song sang by Africans who were imprisoned at the Pikoworo Slave Camp. The forms of local resistance could be grouped into 3 categories:

Active Resistance: This took the form of wars and violent confrontations. The Europeans won most of these wars because of their artillery upper hand, but Africans sometimes defeated and overcame their captors using weapons found in their immediate environments, bows and arrows etc. In Pikoworo, for instance, locals often rolled down large rocks in the direction of raiders, threatening them with death.

The Foek Festival is celebrated by the Builsa Traditional Area in Northern Ghana to commemorate those who fought and lost their lives to defend their community against slave raiders.



Indigenous regalia for warriors in Northern Ghana

Passive Resistance: This took various forms like the architecture of communal homes in villages; scarring the body- slave captors often preferred bodies without physical blemishes or scars. This practice is the root of tribal marks in some African societies (checkout the Senegalese filmmaker and writer Ousmane Sembene's short story titled *Tribal Scars or The Voltaique*); relying on gods and charms for protection- in the small town of Elmina there are about 99 different gods because the people of this town often imported powerful gods from elsewhere that they believed could protect them.

Fig 2: Architecture of homes in Northern Ghana

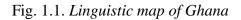
The main entry point into the house is very narrow so that only one person could enter at a time, and upon entry the visitor encounters a wall and an alley that leads into the main compound. These initial barriers gave the members of a household time to prepare and attack if slave catchers invaded the compound; also, there is a hidden exit that only people living in the house know.

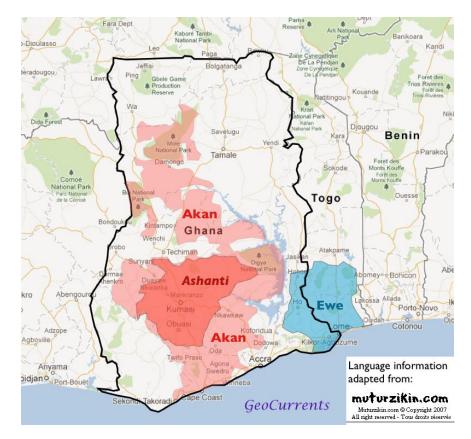


Ultimate Resistance: This is when victims took their own lives in order to avoid being captured into slavery. Sometimes, men would kill their children and wives and then kill themselves when the attack of slave raiders.

Languages in Ghana

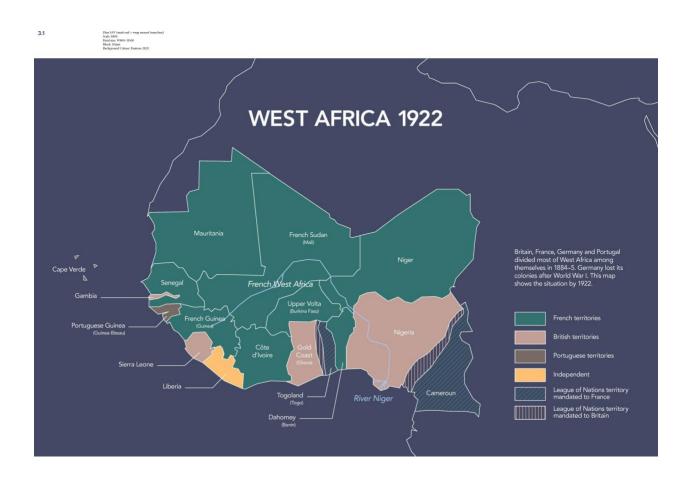
Multiple languages are spoken in Ghana: about 81 different dialects. Therefore, the first indications of linguistic contact happened in the various slave camps and forts.



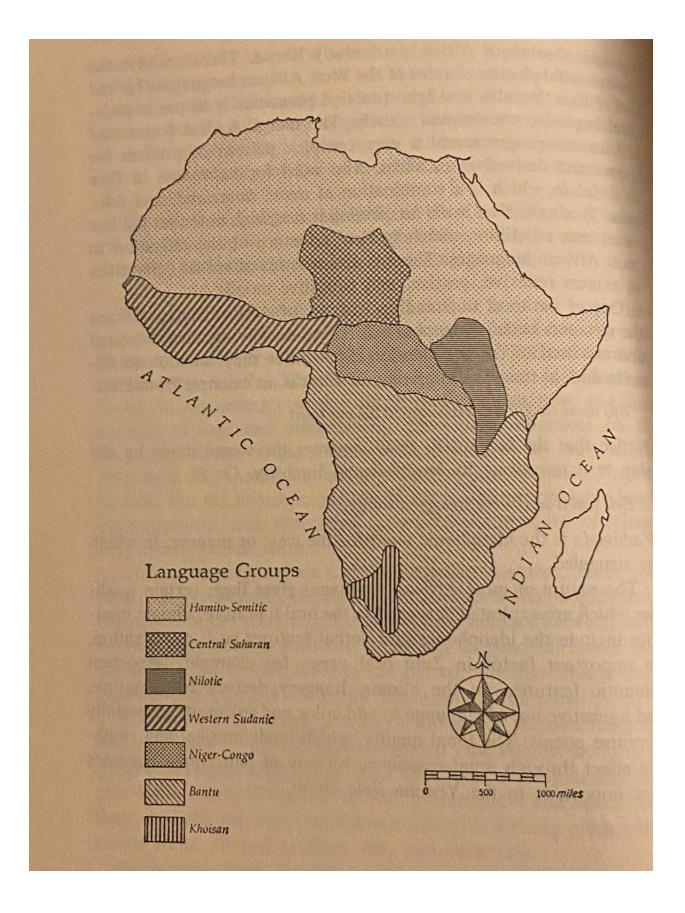


However, the official language of education, commerce, and government business is English. English was made the official language during colonization. This makes Ghana one of the 4 Anglophone countries West Africa. French is the official language spoken in 9 West African countries- making French the most widely spoken language in the West Africa region. The linguistic fragmentation in West Africa along various European languages is due to the impact of colonization. The various colonial governments that took over the political administration and economic exploitation of African countries also imposed their languages on the local population. Britain introduced English, France introduced French, and Portugal introduced Portuguese and so on.

Fig 4. A linguistic map of west Africa



However, the languages spoken in West Africa share similar characteristics over vast territories as this map shows.



References and Additional Resources

Link to "Monuments" by artist Craig Walsh

Kwadwo Opoku-Agyemang Cape Coast Castle

How this Discussion Guide is Organized Exploring the *ROOTS* of similarities & variations in the Black Diaspora

How should we explain the similarities in the linguistic and cultural ways of Black people in the diaspora? Why, for example, is it very easy to mistake the accent of African Americans in the South of the United States for Jamaican patois? Are the similarities observed in the cultural and linguistic ways of Black people in the diaspora merely coincidences?

In this film, the experts provide various evidence to show that similarities be traced to a common ancestral linguistic source in located in Africa. The idea of a common ancestral pool of language is not merely a convenient theory but is based on facts grounded in empirical data according to the various interviewees. The sections below are therefore divided into the various aspects of linguistic expressions found in America and cultural expressions in African American communities that are traceable to Africa, thus the following sub-headings:

- a) Roots: African American English
- b) Roots: African American Accents
- c) Roots: African American Symbolism and Gestures
- d) Roots: African American Blues

Each section ends with a *pre-viewing*, *active-viewing*, and *post-viewing* questions. Additional resources and readings are listed at the end of the final section.

CHPATER 1: Roots: African American English (0.00 - 6.58)

"Now, if this passion, this skill, this (to quote Toni Morrison) "sheer intelligence," this incredible music, the mighty achievement of having brought a people utterly unknown to, or despised by "history"- to have brought this people to their present, troubled, troubling, and unassailable journey does not indicate that black English is a language, I am curious to know what definition of language can be trusted.

James Baldwin (quoted in the New York Times, 29 July 1979)

Language is a central part component of the non-material culture of a people, just like religion, customs and values. As the Ghanaian sociologist Kwesi Prah put it: "*language is the central pillar and the transactional medium through which culture is created, shaped, adopted, and adapted*" and it serves also as "*a register of the records of humanity*".

Therefore, practice of suppressing African languages during the European slave trade dealt a major cultural blow to African societies, from which most have not fully recovered. Throughout the period of colonization, which followed the abolition of the slave trade, European languages became the official lingua franca in African colonies. Africans were prevented by from communicating with their mother tongues or in African languages. In the colonial era for example, African students were severely punished, flogged, and humiliated for speaking African languages at school; punishment included wearing a placard with the inscription "*I am a fool*" around your neck.

"When the colonizers and slavers arrived here, they setup a system which despised our languages at the same time that they were afraid of them"

Professor Kofi Anyidoho

In Ghana, the English has been affected by Ghanaian languages, to the extent that there now exists Pidgin English which mixes terms, words, and phrases found in various Ghanaian languages with the standard English taught at schools. Pidgin English is widely spoken in Ghana especially in the streets and at marketplaces. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) now has a Pidgin English department. However, students are still punished for speaking Pidgin English at school.

Fun Stuff: Check out this Pidgin English from the BBC. See if you can make meaning of what is being discussed.

In a similar manner enslaved African who were forced to speak English certainly incorporated some aspects of their mother tongue into the English they spoke.

Key Quotes

"I am not one of those people who believes that enslaved West Africans were sponges and offered nothing in terms of language"

Dr. Renee Blake, New York University

"The picture we have in Africa where people move into space because then they have no mastery of the language out there, they carry whatever they were doing in this own language into their new language. Evidence abounds how the initial [African] features brought into the language persists" Professor Evershed Amuzu, University of Ghana

Pre-viewing Questions

- 1. Have you ever had any reason to question the way you communicate in English?
- 2. What triggered this introspection?
- 3. What conclusions did this introspection or questioning led you to?
- 4. Have you in the past attempted to alter the way you use the English language in order to conform to a certain accepted standard in your immediate environment, be it at school or at the workplace?
- 5. Have you felt stigmatized because of the way you communicate?
- 6. Have you ever felt embarrassed by the way you communicate in the English language? Why or why not?
- 7. How have people reacted to the way you communicate in the English language? Was it positive, neutral, or negative? How did it make you feel? How did you respond?
- 8. Why might it be important to learn about the history of a language variety?

Active-viewing Questions

- 1. Can you think of words or expressions you use that originate from African languages?
- 2. What are some of the factors that have contributed to the differentiation of African American English in the United States?
- 3. How did the segregated housing system in the United States influence the development of African American English?
- 4. What examples given in the film show the connection of African American English to African languages?
- 5. Why is the accent of the people from the Mississippi Delta regions for example different to that of people living in say New York?

Post-viewing Questions

- 1. Do you agree that African languages have had a direct and significant impact on African American English?
- 2. Have your initial impressions of African American English changed after watching the film?

References and Additional Resources

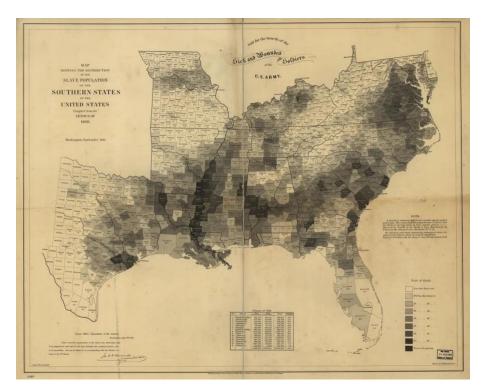
CHAPTER 2: Roots: African American Accents (6:89 – 15:67)

"In the vortex of new world slavery, the African found new and different words, developed strategies to impress her experience on the language. The formal standard of language was subverted, turned upside down, inside out and even sometimes erased. Nouns became strangers to verbs and vice versa. Tonal accentuations took the place of several words at a time. Rhythms held sway, many of these techniques are rooted in African languages"

NorbeSe Philips, Linguist and Writer

There are about 2000 languages in Africa and about 99% of them are tonal, the few exceptions being Swahili and Hausa. The tones are used for lexical purposes.

African American accent is distinct among the accents found in America. The differences in accents and the characteristics of African American English across America can be traced back to the distribution of enslaved African when they arrived in America. With varying degrees of the concentration of African slaves, geographically speaking, came variations in accents.



There is a greater retention of the characteristics of African languages in the Southern parts of the United States because a large number enslaved African remained in the South. So that, for instance, the deep Gullah-like accents found in the South could be traced back to the early influence of African languages.

"Africans who were kidnapped, stolen, taken away from this place, and when they were taken, they still retained their core language that they think in. The words maybe quote-unquote, but then

the way that I am gonna use it is going to be consistent with how the language is supposed to be used in what's really my mother tongue"

Dr. Obadele Kambon

The American housing system created a spatial arrangement that led to a separation in the Black community. This apartness or separation based on the institutions of segregation led to the emergence of a distinct black vernacular that retained numerous African features.

Fun Stuff: watch this video of English teachers from around the world say some English words in

various accents: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kl6SZ9aF7Xc</u>

Key quotes

Pre-viewing questions

- 1. Most people cannot perceive their own accents. Have you ever been told you have an accent? How did this make you feel?
- 2. As a group exercise, write out a few words and takes turns to pronounce them individually and map out the accent diversity in the room.
- 3. How have you reacted to other people's accents in the past? Was your reaction positive, neutral, or negative?
- 4. Has your accent changed over the years? If yes, what factors do you think produced this change?
- 5. Have you ever tried to alter your accent in order to fit into a particular environment? Why did you feel the need to do this?

Active-viewing questions

- 1. Have you ever mistaken the Gullah accent for the Jamaican patois?
- 2. Can you now tell the Gullah accent apart from Jamaican patois? What strategies are going to employ?

Post-viewing questions

- 1. What do you think are some of the ways we can keep educating people of different accents?
- 2. In the film, one interviewee said that if the people around him had not made fun of his Gullah accent, he would know more Gullah now. Do you now feeling confident about retaining your current accent if you have one?
- 3. In what ways do you think accents enrich the English language?

References and Additional Resources

CHAPTER 3: Roots: African American Symbolism and Gestures (15:78 – 30:56)

"There is a whole life of symbolism outside that spoken word that is just amazing" Professor Esi Sutherland

African gestures and symbolism still survive among Black people in the diaspora. Body language and gestures that are uniquely African are used in the Black community. For example, "cut-eye" and "kissing-the-teeth", which is discussed in the film. These gestures have been shown to have no roots in European languages.

key quotes Anyidoho: orality has to be understood in an expanded form

Fun stuff: in this YouTube video, the lady demonstrates some commonly uses Ghanaian gestures: <u>https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=Zo-ch9x5ros</u>

key quotes

Pre-viewing questions

- 1. Do you sometimes use gestures to communicate? Why do you think do this?
- 2. Have ever been able to identify a stranger's cultural roots based on some familiar gestures?

Active-viewing questions

1. Have you ever felt an instant connection with someone because you both employ a particular gesture in communication?

Post-viewing questions

2. In what ways do you think gestures enhance your communication?

References and Additional Resources

CHAPTER 4: Roots: The African American Blues (30:56 – 52:76)

"Music can get into places which language follows later"

Professor John Collins, British-Ghanaian musicologist

Not often discussed is the impact the slave trade had on those who were left behind on the continent. Theirs was a life filled with fear and anxiety, and existential frenzy. The Ghanaian poet Kwadwo Opoku-Agyemang put is this way: "we shall have to consider what such a precarious living does to motherhood, fatherhood, attitudes to childbearing, community organization, education, the arts, music, religion, medicine, the very ontological basis of society. This is merely a way to enter Africa's culture under siege."

The African oral tradition extends into music. African talking-drums are capable of varieties of tonality and cadence. For instance, the talking-drums in African societies are used to recite poetry, sing praises, send information, and tell stories.

Music Sowal Cultic Keligious el·love, prouse

When African slaves arrived in North America in the 1600s and 1700s, they still used drums for the purposes of communication to send coded rhythmic messages which slave owners could not understand. When slave owners recognized the potential in these drums and modes of communication to engineer revolts and protests, they passed a law which banned slaves from having and playing drums.

"It is absolutely necessary to the safety of this Province, that all due care be taken to restrain Negroes from using or keeping of drums, which may call together or give sign or notice to one another of their wicked designs and purposes."

- Slave Code of South Carolina, Article 36 (1740)

Fun Stuff: Watch this Dave Chappelle skit where he introduces drums at a barbershop to get the effect on African Americans

https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=AH-Dm-sDgtE

"What they bring within them you can't get out of them... All right, like the drums... that's why the Bahamian can beat drum so good"

Taylor

We see again in the film that the roots of African American Blues lie in African, as the similarities between African American Blues and African dirges are explained by Professor Kofi Anyidoho.

Watch this video of an example of a Ghanaian funeral dirge <u>https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=4YkjzXPcRK8</u>

Blues Singers

Scholar and critic George E. Lewis remarked that the development of the Blues was contemporaneous with the Great Migration: the largest and longest internal migration in U.S. history when the descendants of African slaves moved to the Northern cities. On this arduous journey, spiritual fortitude was built through community and the creativity of a people who processed their joys, griefs, hopes, fears, pains, successes, in various forms, the outcome of their endurance and social history therefore filtered into the creation of the Blues. The elements of the Blues stretch back to the African ancestors of African Americans.

Langston Hughes description of a blues performance at the 230 Club in Chicago captures all the agonies that the blues can carry at once: "Her right hand with the dice ring on it picks out the tune, throbs out the rhythm, beats out the blues. Then, through the smoke and racket of the noisy Chicago bar float Louisiana bayous, muddy old swamps, Mississippi dust and sun, cotton fields, lonesome roads, train whistles in the night, mosquitoes at dawn, and the Rural Free Delivery that never brings the right letter. All these things cry through the strings on Memphis Minnie's electric guitar, amplified to machine proportions—a musical version of electric welders plus a rolling mill." - *Music at Year's End*, by Langston Hughes (9 January 1942)

"A style of music can evoke the spirit of an entire era; styles of music also represent different subcultures at the national table"

Wynton Marsalis, jazz musician

Fun stuff: Listen to Wynton Marsalis's thoroughly enjoyable series of lectures mixed with beautiful jazz and blues performances delivered at Harvard University: https://wyntonmarsalis.org/harvard-lectures/view/music-and-meaning

In lecture 10 (duration: 3 mins) he explains the West African roots of the American Shuffle using the African 6/8 rhythm: <u>https://wyntonmarsalis.org/harvard-lectures/view/from-the-african-6-8-rhythm-to-the-american-shuffle</u>

In lecture 20 (duration: 9 mins) he gave the root meaning of the Blues and its connections to migration and displacement: <u>https://wyntonmarsalis.org/harvard-lectures/view/blues-fundamentals</u>

The Blues Return to Ghana

23 May 1956 Louis Armstrong and the *All Star* band arrive in the Gold Coast (Ghana) at the invitation of the country's visionary leader, Kwame Nkrumah. Louis Armstrong played to a large audience at the Old Polo Grounds, which Kwame Nkrumah later chose as the site to declare Ghana's independence from British rule on 6 March 1957.





Fun Stuff: Watch this video of Louis Armstrong in Ghana <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2XrVX-pUJQ</u>

Pre-viewing questions

- 3. What genre of music do you enjoy listening to?
- 4. Are you a fan of the Blues? What do you know about the Blues?
- 5. Can you name any popular Blues musicians? Can you name any popular Blues songs? Can you name any popular Blues albums?

Active-viewing questions

Professor Akosua Perbi talks about the old woman in US Virgin Islands Saint Croix who shared her story with her through a song passed on through generations and still retains the Akan word *(donkor)* for slave. Have you encountered similar songs in your family?

Post-viewing questions

- 1. What role do you think music plays in the social development of society?
- 2. What impact is music currently having on society?

References and Additional Resources

Bios

KOFI ANYIDOHO

Professor Kofi Anyidoho is a prominent Ghanaian poet and the former Chair of the Department of English at the University of Ghana, Legon, with specialization in Comparative Literature. He is considered a major figure among African poets writing in English. He has published poetry in his native language Ewe and has published extensively on Ewe oral poetry. His works include Earth Child (1985), A Harvest of Our Dreams (1984) and Ancestral Logic & Caribbean Blues (1993) and Praise Song for The Land (2002) and Seed Time (2022). He was educated at the University of Ghana (Legon), Indiana University (Bloomington) and the University of Texas at Austin.

AKOSUA PERBI

Professor Akosua Perbi is the former chair of the History Department at the University of Ghana and she is best known for her detailed study of <u>indigenous slavery in Ghana</u>, laying out the differences between indigenous slavery and European slavery in her book: *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana: From The 15th To the 19th Century*.

JOHN COLLINS

Professor John Collins is a musicologist and has been active in the Ghanaian and West African music scene since 1969 as a band leader, music union activist, music producer, journalist and a writer. He has lectured at the University of Ghana and New York University (Accra Campus). He is the manager of Bokoor Recording Studio and Acting Chairman of BAPMAF African Music Archives in Accra.

ESI SUTHERLAND

Professor Esi Sutherland is a literary scholar, researcher, educator and former Deputy Minister of Education, Culture and Tourism. She is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, where she chairs the Language, Literature and Drama Department. She is co-editor of the West African and Sahelian volume of Women Writing Africa, a project of the Feminist Press. Professor Sutherland also chairs the Forum for African Women Educationalist and the Mmofra Foundation.

OBÁDÉLÉ BAKARI KAMBON

Dr Obadele Kambon is an Associate Professor and Head of the Language, Literature and Drama Section of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana and is Editor-in-Chief of the Ghana Journal of Linguistics. He completed his PhD in Linguistics at the University of Ghana in 2012, winning the prestigious Vice-Chancellor's award for the Best PhD Thesis in the Humanities. He served as Secretary of the African Studies Association of Africa from 2015-2020.

CHIKE FRANKIE EDOZIEN

Chike Frankie Edozien is a Journalist and Director at the Accra Campus of New York University. He directed the Institute's Ghana based '*Reporting Africa*' program from 2008 to 2019. His recent memoir titled *Lives of Great Men: Living and Loving as an African Gay Man* won the LAMBDA Literary Award and explores the lives of contemporary LGBTQ men and women on the African continent and in the diaspora. Some of his essays have been published in the Gerald Kraak Annual Anthology.

EVERSHED KWASI AMUZU

Professor Evershed Kwasi Amuzu is the Head of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Ghana. He studied Linguistics at the University of Ghana, University of Oslo and received his PhD from the Australian National University. His areas of specialization include contact linguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics of sociolinguistics, and code-switching. He is currently working on languages used in various domains with his recent work on languages used in court and how the translation of those languages affects justice delivery in Ghana.

REGGIE ROCKSTONE

Reggie Rockstone is a Ghanaian rapper. He is credited for pioneering a style of music called hiplife, which at the core is a creative amalgamation of American rap music and Ghanaian high-life music. He released his first hit album *Maka Maka* in in 1997.

ATO ASHUN

Ato Ashun is the Cape Coast Regional Director for the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board. He is the author of *Elmina, the Castles and the Slave Trade* (2017)