

FROM BULA MATARI TO BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA: AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF EUPHEMISMS IN A. B. CRENTSIL'S 'MOSES'

Patrick Nana Wonkyi, Catherine Eku Mensah and Charity Tsiwah

Abstract

The present paper is an ethnolinguistic analysis of euphemisms employed in the lyrics of A. B. Crentsil's song titled *Moses*. Studies on taboo avoidance strategies in Akan songs are significant. As long as listeners are exposed to sexual messages in songs sung in Akan, regardless of the extent of civilization and education that individuals have been exposed to, issues about sexuality and sexual taboos still have strong cultural inclinations. After transcribing the song *Moses* from an audiotape and translating it into English, the artiste was interviewed. The lyrics of the song were then categorised and coded. Constructs of ethnography of communication and conceptual metaphor and metonymy theories are employed to analyse the data retrieved. The paper shows that in an attempt to avoid breaking sex-related taboos while accentuating communicative competence and linguistic politeness, A. B. Crentsil euphemises unmentionables in Akan and uses strategies including insinuating and appellative naming, borrowing and circumlocution as avoidance strategies. Embedded in the said strategies are elements like metaphors, metonyms, and allusion. We affirm that the language of a given people and their culture go hand in hand in communicative events. Among the Akan, sex and its related activities continue to be conceptualised as sacred and/or taboo. Therefore, various strategies are employed to effectively communicate about them.

Keywords: *taboo, avoidance strategies, ethnolinguistics, highlife, Moses, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonym.*

1.0 Introduction

The socio-cultural factors that influence an oral artiste in composition are numerous (Agyekum, 2005:1). Among these numerous factors is reverence for cultural unmentionables - a sensitive concept that needs careful handling. This paper analyses the avoidance strategies highlife musicians in Ghana use in their songs. Specifically, it offers an ethnolinguistic analysis of the avoidance strategies A. B. Crentsil employs in his opinion splitting highlife song *Moses*.

In the words of Geertz (1973:5), "Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he has spun". This means that the cultural identity a group of people couch for themselves can cater for their needs both physical and metaphysical; simplex and complex. Since such creation is collective, the people mostly abide by it. Whether the effects of these creations are direct or indirect, it is difficult to explain. However, speakers of a language themselves understand the inexplicable relationship between their language and culture.

Societies the world over have certain social control strategies and it is no different within the Akan society of Ghana. One of the social control strategies used by the Akan is taboo. These taboos are mostly based on the principles of 'context' and 'intent' of their creation and usage. Cross-culturally, taboos are conceptualised as "behaviour and speech regulators" (see Nii-Dortey & Nanbigne, 2020).

Research involving taboos related to human sexuality is one area that continuously interests researchers in language and culture studies. Scholars have discussed this from linguistic, sociolinguistic, anthropology and ethnographic points of view (cf. Amenorvi & Grumah 2020; Gao 2013; Qanbar 2011; Al-Khatib 1995; Agyekum 2002; Hongxu & Guisen 1990). In the mentioned studies, things that are considered taboos, taboo subjects, taboo expressions, the significance of taboos, the sanctions that go with breaking a taboo, and categories of taboos among others are dealt with. These works provide a cross-cultural perspective on the concept of taboos and by extension, have shaped people's thinking about other cultures. According to Agyekum (2002:370), a taboo is a

“system that places prohibitions and restrictions on certain acts and utterances in a society. These acts or utterances are prohibited because they are considered to be contrary to the norms of the society and therefore, they must not be practised or talked about by its members.”

Taboos are not only avoidance rules that are observed but they are also used as a pedagogical tool to inculcate desirable behaviours in members of the culture (Chemhuru & Masaka, 2010). Scholars mostly attribute the value societies attach to the subject of taboo to the perception that it “stands at the intersection of human affairs and the forces of the larger universe, the inability of humans to control the outcomes of taboo infringements, and the anxiety that taboos bring on the individual” (see Amenorvi & Grumah, 2020).

The word ‘taboo’ has five realizations among Akan speakers; namely, *Akyiwade* ‘tabooed things, prohibited things’, such as particular foods, meat, and forbidden activities like incest and farming on certain sacred days; *Abusude* ‘woeful things, acts, events, and things that are prohibited’; *Abususem* ‘woeful expressions’, *ntam* ‘reminiscent oaths’ about predicaments and disasters, like the death of a chief, famine, defeat in war, or epidemics that have befallen a person, family, community, or state in the past; *Ammodin* ‘unmentionables’ such as sexual organs, names of wild trees, plants and animals, scatological fluids like menstruation, defaecation (cf. Agyekum 2002:371). The taboos communicated in the song *Moses* are sex and its related activities. Thus, they fall under *ammodin* ‘unmentionables.’

Songs sung in Akan have been studied from a number of perspectives with insights into the relationship between the text and context (Yankah 1984; Agyekum 2005; Agyekum *et al.* 2020), and educating the public on threatening, emerging and trending issues (see Quan-Baffour 2007). The literature on Akan songs is, however, to the best of our knowledge, yet to tackle subjects such as the avoidance strategies used in Akan Highlife songs. This study is a conscious step to fill that gap. Akans are exposed to sexual messages in songs and regardless of the extent of civilization and education that individuals have been exposed to, issues about sexuality and sexual taboos still have strong cultural inclinations. Individuals have a responsibility to employ appropriate language to salvage some of these issues. In this regard, we analyse and discuss strategies A. B. Crentsil uses in his song *Moses* to communicate unmentionables in Akan. This study contributes to the literature on how the culture of oral artistes is portrayed through their literary works.

The study is a qualitative study. Constructs of ethnography of communication and conceptual metaphor and metonym theories are applied to analyse transcribed lyrics of the song *Moses*. The transcribed lyrics are translated into English and coded (see Appendix A). Through a semi-structured interview, the artiste, A. B. Crentsil, gives first-hand information about how he is able to use these euphemisms in the song and the ideas behind their usage. He also offers some

background information, explains certain terms used and gives commentary on parts of the song. Native speaker knowledge also plays part in the interpretation and analysis of data.

Beyond this section, we discuss the theories used for the study in sections 1.1 and 1.2 respectively. The background of A. B. Crentsil and his song *Moses* is captured in section 2.0 while the import of the song is captured in 2.1. Discussions of the avoidance strategies in the song *Moses* are done in section 3. The concluding remarks are presented in section 4.

1.1 Ethnography of Communication

Ethnography is a field of study that is concerned, among other things, primarily with the description and analysis of culture and linguistics and language codes (Saville-Troike 2003). According to Noy (2017), ethnography of communication (EC) is a multidisciplinary research approach that employs ethnographic accounts of actual communication events and occasions, to understand distinct cultural and contextual dimensions of communication. EC originated from the work of North American anthropologist, folklorist, and linguist Dell Hymes in the 1960s, and has since been productively employed in many scholarly fields and disciplines.

EC helps researchers to explore naturally occurring communicative events. It focuses on events and rituals that are part of the culture that is studied (Noy 2017). Among the Akan, performing a song is one of the communicative events that form part of their cultural practices. Language serves as the building block for songs and within a song, the cultural beliefs and practices of speakers of a given language are embedded. In this study, we discuss the cultural beliefs that inform A. B. Crentsil to employ substitute language forms to communicate certain unmentionables in his highlife song *Moses*. Also, we delve deeper to analyse the various tools employed in these avoidance strategies.

1.3 Image Metaphor, Conceptual Metaphor Theories

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) pioneered the conceptual metaphor theory. In their words:

Many aspects of our experience cannot be clearly delineated in terms of the naturally emergent dimensions of our experience. This is typically the case for human emotions, abstract concepts, mental activity . . . Though most of these can be experienced directly; none of them can be fully comprehended on their own terms. Instead, we must understand them in terms of other entities and experiences, typically other kinds of entities and experiences (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:177).

Concepts expressed in metaphors, metonyms, idioms, and proverbs through Conceptual Metaphor and Conceptual Metonym correspond to cultural traits, socio-cultural interactions, natural experiences, and basic domains of human life. These concepts include bodily perceptions and movements, basic objects, and the environment (see Agyekum 2018; Lakoff & Johnson 1980). It is prudent to analyse the tools employed in the avoidance strategies in *Moses* using ethnography of communication and Conceptual Metaphor/metonym. The Conceptual Metaphor/Metonym serve as a potential source domain to communicate unmentionables (target domains) in an attempt to avoid mentioning these unmentionables in *Moses*.

1.3.1 Metaphor

Embedded in the euphemisms used in the song are image and conceptual metaphors. In simple terms metaphor can be described as “one conceptual domain understood in terms of another conceptual domain” (Kövecses 2002:4). In Akan, metaphor is termed *ngyinahɔma*, literally, ‘that

which stands in for another'. *Ngyinahɔma* is made up of the nominal prefix *n-*, the verb *gyina* 'stand', 'the adverb (of place)' *-hɔ-* and the verb *-ma* 'give'. Metaphors are conceptually grounded on physical and mental experiences (Agyekum 2018; Agyekum 2002; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Metaphors have been discussed in two dimensions: conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993) and image metaphors (Urena & Faber 2010; Grady 1997, 1999). Image metaphor is a one-to-one conventional mental image mapping where the image of one entity is mentally mapped onto the image of another entity, as, for example, in the case of Akan *boredze dɔn* (lit. 'plantain bell') 'plantain bud'. The image of the bud looks like a bell, hence the mapping. Image metaphors are different from Lakoff's "conceptual metaphors", which is understanding or portraying one idea or conceptual domain in terms of another such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY that triggers metaphorical expressions such as 'Our relationship has hit a dead-end street' and 'We can't turn back now, we're at a crossroads' (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Wonkyi 2021). Image metaphor is a metaphor grounded in imagery thus, the image of a percept grounded in the five senses of the human body maps onto the image of another percept which is as well grounded in the five senses of the human body. For example, we encounter the metaphor *posemina* 'milk/blue shark' triggered by the salient feature LATHER. In an actual sense, the milk/blue shark has no likeness to soap. However, when the fresh shark is being prepared for food, it lathers like soap. The Akan map soap lather to the fish lathering while being prepared for food to name the fish. This metaphor is triggered by the perception of the eyes (Wonkyi, 2021). In conceptual metaphors, an abstract idea maps onto a concrete idea. We consider how image and conceptual metaphors are employed to communicate the unmentionables in the song in context. For example, in Akan, the emotion of getting angry *ebufuw* 'anger' (an abstract concept) can be conceptualised as WEED growth on land (a concrete concept). Just as the weed has the ability to grow and increase in size and height, the same happens to the substance in the chest (heart) when the heart is heated (Agyekum 2018).

1.3.2 Metonym

The euphemisms in the song are also embedded with metonyms. In Akan, a metonym is termed *nhyɛananmu*, literally, 'that which replaces another'. The term is made up of the nominal prefix *n-*, the verb *hyɛ* 'insert', *anan* 'stand' and postposition *-mu* 'in'. Kövecses (2002:145) asserts that "metonymy is a 'stand-for' relation (i.e., a part stands for the whole or a part stands for another part) within a single domain." Metonymic mapping is known to occur within a single conceptual domain, not across domains (Kövecses 2002). For example, one part or element of the domain of *ayamutsim* (lit. 'Stomach chock') is stomach choking, hence the conceptual metonymy STOMACH CHOCKING FOR CONSTIPATION. A metonym is the use of one name for something closely associated with it (Agyekum 2007; Cruse 2000). Cruse (2000) states that metonyms may look like a metaphor but they are different. A metaphor compares two concepts or ideas that contrast but a metonym replaces a concept with a part of the concept. Normally, the whole concept of something comes to mind when part of it is mentioned. The names of parts of the body and concepts that are closely associated with the human body are used to represent men and women in the lyrics of A. B. Crentsil. We consider and analyse the reason for these representations in the coming sections.

2.0 Brief background of Albert Benjamin Crentsil and his *Moses*

Albert Benjamin Crentsil Jnr is an Akan born in the year 1943 at Prestea to Albert Benjamin Crentsil Snr of Gomoa Dego and Esi Yaaba of Saltpond in Ghana. He had his primary education in Takoradi Methodist Primary and his middle school education in Rev. Cleveland Middle School. After his middle school education, he worked as an apprentice under his father Albert Benjamin Crentsil in the Electronics Division of the Ghana Railways at Takoradi. He combined being a musician in the Strollers Band with being an electrician apprentice under his father. He played in other bands like El Dorados, Sweet talks and Ahenfo, all in Ghana. His communicative competence with reference to reverence for the Akan culture, knowledge about the history of the world, his knowledge of the Bible as well as his life experiences come to bear in his many hit songs including *Moses*. Crentsil is distinguished from other composers through his constant use of imagery in his works.

Moses is a song in which A. B. Crentsil uses sexually explicit language in a euphemised way to compare the biblical exodus of Moses and the Jews from Egypt to Canaan through the red sea to the whole act of sexual intercourse and all the actors involved in sex-making. He creates sexual innuendos using glorified biblical figures and situations. He combines passion with pleasure and literary dynamism to describe how the female and male sexual organs - by extension, the whole human body behave during sexual intercourse. The lyrics of the song entreat the audience to take their circumstances in their stride and to make themselves happy. The song calls for an end to crying and complaining and suggests that listeners should concentrate on the bright side of life to make themselves happy. A. B. Crentsil uses a mix of English, Mfantse, other languages and comic relief to heavily dilute the sexual imagery he creates in the song.

It has been observed that the sociocultural background of literary artistes comes to play in their literary works. When the song was first released circa 1980, it generated mixed feelings and contradictory ideas about its content. According to the artiste, on the one hand, the Christian community in Ghana liked the song per the title but upon listening to the lyrics they were not happy with him because they felt the lyrics ridiculed their faith. It was so bad that his mother had to stop the church she attended. On the other hand, those who were not Christians seemingly enjoyed the song from an objective standpoint. A. B. Crentsil was able to influence his audience cognitively and emotionally. One of the marks of a good oral-literary artiste is their ability to know their audience – which is exactly what A. B. Crentsil possessed. Crentsil, considering the fact that there are cultural restrictions on sex-related utterances in Akan society and by extension the Ghanaian society, inter-wove his work with various taboo avoidance strategies. *Moses* is chosen as the focus of discussion for this study because it is a work of art that concisely represents various strategies the Akan use to communicate various unspeakables in their culture. Sex is an unspeakable act among the Akan. Yet, people practise it and talk about it anyway. It is therefore prudent that strategies that make it ‘speakable’ are researched into. These strategies are demonstrated in A. B. Crentsil’s *Moses*. The song is packed with a ready stock of phrases and literary devices. His use of these devices in the song is applicable to a variety of situations suggested by Finnegan (1992:60). We specifically address the use of borrowing, insinuation and appellative devices as well as circumlocution as taboo avoidance strategies in *Moses*. The song was selected based on the use of literary devices as a creative venture to communicate the unspeakable. The interesting aspect is that, even though the artiste uses these taboo avoidance strategies, he still faces ambivalent reactions among Ghanaians.

2.1 Import of the lyrics of A. B. Crentsil's *Moses*

The artiste begins the song by encouraging people to shun brooding over their predicaments. He advises that they are not the only people who have problems. Some people have worst problems and so one needs to strive to be happy always.

He adds that no one needs to be informed of how modern times have brought about modern things. Men need vibrant and young women who can arouse them sexually. Women with firm breasts but not those with sagged breasts. The firm breasts motivate and welcome men into sexual activity. Thus, the women who have loose breasts should not stand in the way of the young vibrant women who have firm breasts. A. B. Crentsil goes ahead to use euphemisms to describe a young woman's breasts and the genitals of both males and females who are ready for sex. He moves to talk about foreplay using how stereo machines work. While the two speakers stand for breasts, the turn table is the vagina and the clitoris is described as the centre pole that is slanted. He creatively calls the penis the diamond pin. All the mentioned agents he states are players in the foreplay.

The artiste then uses the story of Moses crossing the red sea in the Bible to talk about an aroused male encountering an aroused female's vagina. He describes the pubic hair as burnt apple trees and talks about the interior of the vagina via colour metaphor. The thrust of the vagina with the penis is talked about via the act of pointing the rod at the sea to divide it for all Israelites to pass through. Thus, the Israelites are the sperms, Moses is the man that is aroused, the rod is the penis and the red sea is the vagina. The penis is also called the breaker of rocks and *Bula Matari*. The movement of the waist is also mapped onto the pumping of a tyre, while the woman in question moans in ecstasy.

3.0 Avoidance strategies in A. B. Crentsil's *Moses*

The opening tune of *Moses*, which sounds like a slow marching hymn, with the lyrics *Mo nua ee, gyaa su na nkombɔ yi dzi, nnye ɔwɔ nko na adze ehia wo fa to obi nedze ho, na obi nedze kyen ntsi, enam a, ma w'enyi ngye daa* 'My brethren, shun lamenting, you are not the only one in need, others are in worse situations compared to yours so be happy always' in line (1-6) may suggest that the song is a gospel song. He uses these lines to give a prelude to his audience about what they should expect. The text in lines 21-23, *Wɔnka nkyere wo? anaa wɔntɛɛl wo? Anaa womblow wo?* 'Should you be told?' equally suggest that the subject matter of his song (sex and its related activities) are open secrets which need no elaboration or explanation. The artiste dives straight into his message of how sex and its related activities are performed in the rest of the lines in the song. He uses various taboo avoidance strategies to talk about these activities.

In the subsequent sections, we analyse these avoidance strategies and discuss the tools embedded in them.

3.1 Euphemisms as an avoidance strategy

In Akan, euphemisms are termed *kasambirenyi*, literally, 'language used as cover-ups'. The term is made up of *kasa* 'language', the nominal prefix *m-*, the verb *bir* 'cover', and the noun *enyi* 'face'. Euphemisms are 'polished' ways of expressing verbal taboos to make them more presentable. They serve as a shield against the offensive nature of taboo expressions and afford the speaker an escape from the strict rules and sanctions on verbal taboos. Euphemisms are verbal art forms used to embellish one's speech in an attempt to show communicative competence and linguistic politeness within the socio-cultural norms of Akan communication (cf. Agyekum 2002; see also

Agyekum 1996; Obeng 1994; Redfern 1994; Schottman 1993). We discuss the things the artiste euphemises and how he does it to communicate the unmentionables that appear in the song.

3.1.1 Euphemizing the breasts

The breasts are secondary sex organs because primarily, they are meant for breastfeeding and fostering young ones and are not directly involved in the act of sex. They are euphemised creatively in the song. For instance, we observe *Hom mma mbofra no kwan, ma wɔmfɔ hɔn akoko mbeke hen akoko, na wɔnyɛ hen awaa waa etuu ...* ‘Allow the young ones to put their chest on ours and hug us...’ (line 44-46, appendix A). Here, the breast of the young women *enumfo* is euphemised with the location of the breast *akoko* ‘chest’, where the breast is located on the human body.

There are instances in *Moses* where a part of the body that is closely associated with women's breast *enumfo* is used to represent two generations of women and rightly euphemised. Young and vibrant women (with firm breasts) are compared to older women (with sagged breasts) in lines (28-42 in appendix A). Firm breasts are euphemised as *bɔɔbestands*¹ (line 28 in appendix A), *shock absorbers* (line 33 in appendix A) to metonymically represent young vibrant women while sagged breasts which are described as *bɔɔbe pakya* lit. ‘breast spread’ (lines 46 and 51 in appendix A) is euphemised as *water hose* (line 39 in appendix A), *borɔnyi oewu socks*² ‘second-hand socks’ (line 40 in appendix A) and *tatale*³ ‘plantain pancakes’ (line 41 in appendix A) to metonymically represent older women. In the mentioned examples, the euphemised name of breast closely associated with the young and old generations of women is used to represent them respectively. Thus, in the quest to euphemise breast to make it mentionable, metonymy is used.

We deduce from the text that image metaphor is also employed to euphemise breasts. Mentally, the image of the breasts is mapped onto the image of other concrete entities. The various metaphors are triggered by their salient features which are firmness and softness. The image of the breast of a young and vibrant woman is mapped onto the image of *shock absorbers* (line 33 in appendix A). This metaphor is triggered by the firm and springy features of both the breast and shock absorbers. Also, the saggy and spread features trigger the image metaphor where the image of the breast of an old woman maps *water hoses* (line 39 in appendix A), *borɔnyi oewu socks* ‘second-hand sock’ (line 40 in appendix A), and *tatale* ‘plantain pancakes’ (line 41 in appendix A) respectively.

The projection feature of the breast triggers image mappings between the breasts of a young, vibrant woman and the two traditional speakers of a stereo machine. We observe this in the lines ‘*Two speakers no ɔno nye ebenadze? Bɔɔbestands, ɔno nye bɔɔbestands, left and right 75 watts per Channel*’ ‘The two speakers represent what? breasts! It represents breasts left and right 75 watts per channel’ (lines 66-69 in appendix A).

3.1.2 Euphemizing the male and female genitals

Since the song is about sex, there are many instances where the male and female reproductive organs are referred to. And since they are unmentionable among the Akan, the artiste devises creative ways to communicate them. The singer maps the image of the genital or parts of it onto

¹ *Bɔɔbe* ‘breast’ is a rendition of the English word boobs. It is attached to the verbal noun *stand* to communicate firm breasts.

² In Ghana, second hand clothing is quite popular. It is believed that second-hand clothing are the clothing of a dead white man, *borɔnyi* thus the name *borɔnyi oewu socks* ‘a dead white man’s socks’ is realised.

³ *Tatale* is a Ghanaian (Ga) delicacy prepared with over-ripped plantain, whole cloves, black pepper, calabash nutmeg, ginger, pepper, onions, salt, palm oil and corn flour. Fantes also call it *teter* (literally ‘flat’) due to its flat nature. It can be eaten with cooked beans. It can as well be part of the *ɔɔ-kɛ-gari* or *gɔbe* (gari and beans) meal.

the image of other concrete entities to euphemise them. A one onto one image mapping involving the male or female genitalia, is based on salient features like colour and shape. A functional trait where the image of the genitalia is mentally envisioned to perform a given task is also seen. For example, in lines 96-99 (appendix A), we see the use of the colours red *kɔɔ* and black *tumm* which are used to describe the colour of the exterior and the interior parts of the female sexual organ.

3.1.2.1 The use of colour

In communicating menstruation among the Akan, a colour simile is employed. A woman's menstruating genital is likened to a *gyamma* fruit in the expression *ɔbaa no agyamma abere* 'The woman's agyamma fruit is ripened'. A ripened *gyamma* fruit has the colour red, just like that of the blood of a menstruating woman" (Agyekum 2010:177). A similar approach is used by the artiste to communicate pubic hair and the interior part of the female genitalia.

In the case of the pubic hair on the female genitalia, the artiste states, *Jewfo so eduadua apples wɔ epo ne nkyenkyen ma gya atɔ mu ma ahyew aye tumm, epo noara aye kɔɔ, ne nkyenkyen so aye tumm* (lines 97-99). 'The Jews have also planted apples around the sea and it has caught fire and burnt, the sea itself is red but its boundaries are black'. Here, the image of pubic hair on the vagina is mapped onto the image of burnt apple trees to euphemise it. The feature of colour (black) triggers this metaphor.

In the case of the inner part of the vagina, we observe '*Nna aber a Moses ɔkɛfaa Israelmba ɔdze hɔn kotwaa po kɔkɔɔ no, wodur po kɔkɔɔ n'ekyir no, nna po no aye kɔɔ*' 'When Moses took the Israelites to cross the red sea, when they got to the banks of the red sea, the sea was red' (lines 91-94). The phrase *po kɔkɔɔ* refers to the inner part of a vagina. The image of the *po kɔkɔɔ* 'red sea' maps onto the image of the inner part of the vagina based on the colour feature. The redness on the interior of the vaginal canal is emphasised with the expression *Po no aye kɔɔ* 'The sea is so red' (line 99). In the translated Mfantse Bible, the red sea the Israelites crossed with Moses in Exodus 14, is translated *po kɔkɔɔ* 'red sea'. The singer maps the image of both concepts based on his knowledge of the sea being red as seen in the Mfantse bible. This metaphor is the singer's attempt to avoid that unmentionable part of the vagina.

3.1.2.2 The use of shape

We as well meet *Centre pole osi mu na orubu abɔ hɔ* 'With a falling centre pole' in (line 75). An aroused woman's clitoris is known to be erect. To talk about this is taboo among the Akan. The phrase *centre pole* is an English phrase borrowed by the artiste to communicate the verbal taboo *tweba* 'clitoris'. Aside this, he maps the image of the erected clitoris onto the image of a centre pole to euphemise it. An image metaphor is observed in this mapping.

The weapon metaphor for the male genital suggested by Agyekum (2010:171) is seen in the song. The erected male genital is referred to as *Moses n'abaa* 'Moses's rod' in parts of the song as in line (104) where we observe *Moses Moses! Ma w'abaa yi do na fa bɔ po kɔkɔɔ no mu* 'Moses Moses, stretch your rod into the red sea'. See also lines (109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 126, 129, 135, 139, 144, 155, and 157 in appendix A) for the same reference. The image of the rod is mapped onto the image of an erected penis to euphemise it. This metaphor is triggered by the shape features of both the rod and the erected penis.

We also meet in the text *Diamond pin no so ɔno nye ebenadze?* 'The diamond pin stands for what?' line (77) a deliberate attempt to mention the male genital *kɔtse* 'penis'. The image of the *diamond pin* is mapped onto the image of the penis to euphemise it. This metaphor is triggered

by ‘shape’, the salient feature of both the diamond pin and the erected penis (see Agyekum 2010 for a similar view).

3.1.2.3 The use of function

Unlike what we have discussed in the preceding sub-sections, this metaphor is triggered by the function of the percept’s the vagina is mapped onto. To avoid mentioning the female and male genitalia, the artiste refers to the female genitalia as ‘... *the black hole of Calcutta*’ (line 74), and the male genitalia as *Bula Matari* (line 140). These are allusive expressions that have historical groundings. The use of these expression is born out of the singer’s knowledge about how British prisoners of war lost their lives in the dungeon called the Black Hole of Calcutta on the night of 20th June 1756. The dungeon was located in Fort William, Calcutta (see Chatterjee 2012). A. B. Crentsil uses the troops’ loss of life and self-esteem after being held in the 4.30 x 5.50 meters (14 x 18 feet) dungeon overnight as an old context to link the new context (the new context is the release of sperms at coition) to explicate the fact that countless number of sperms die when they are ejaculated into the vagina. The fact that abled men lost their lives in the dungeon is mapped onto the fact that countless sperms die when they are released into the female genital.

The artiste’s knowledge of history⁴ is also shown when he links the male genital to the renowned Welsh American explorer Sir Henry Morton Stanley, also known as *Bula Matari* ‘The breaker of rocks.’ Sir Stanley was nicknamed *Bula Matari* based on his major construction undertakings. He is known as the one who explored the central part of Africa specifically, the Congo. In his venture, he explored lakes and rivers like Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nile (see Andrew 2018). Just as this explorer ventured into the unknown forests of Africa to search for Dr. David Livingstone, so does the male genital venture into the unknown vaginal canal to explore. The image of the male genital is pictured mentally to take part in an event of exploring the vaginal canal in this metaphoric mapping.

The *turntable* metaphor (line 70 in appendix A) is based on the idea that in music, the diamond pin explores the turntable to give stereo sound. This is linked to the penis which explores the vagina to give sexual pleasure to both men and women. Just as the diamond pin explores the turntable to bring music, so does the male genital explore the female genital to bring enjoyable sensations. As men and women enjoy sex, they make pleasurable moans to show how happy they are about the action. This is another deliberate attempt A. B. Crentsil makes in the song to communicate the unmentionable sexual act.

The deadly weapon metaphor for the male genital is observed again in line (78 of appendix A) where the erected male genital is referred to as *the magic power*. In the era when the song was released, the insecticide chalk called ‘The magic power’ was very much known in Ghana for its potency in killing insects. Mapping the male genital to the insecticide chalk is a historical allusion because the mapping tells us of a time in the past when Magic Power was reigning in the Ghanaian market. We observe further that, aside from the historical allusion, the mapping between the erected penis and the chalk is based on a deadly weapon metaphor of the male genitalia among the Akan. It is from this grounding that euphemistic expressions like *Jatow abowa* ‘He has impregnated a woman’ (lit. ‘He has shot an animal’) or *Aban agye no tur* ‘He is sexually weak’

⁴ When the artiste was asked how he came by this historical knowledge, he said *Ebei, se mennyε abofra* ‘I am not a kid’ to suggest that he has his facts. He also added that he learnt it from his history class. At the time the song was released, the educated populace had knowledge about this history because it formed part of the texts in basic education history books.

(lit. 'His gun has been seized') arise (see Agyekum 2010: 171; Allan & Burridge 1991:98 for more).

3.2 Borrowing and code-switching/mixing as an avoidance strategy

We observe that, in the use of borrowed forms, the artiste euphemises the unmentionables i.e., using the English, Ga, and Kikongo names for the breast to avoid the bare mention of the male/female genitals. Agyekum (2010:146) observes that in present day Akan communities, there is the use of borrowed terms from English and other languages to avoid the direct use of *ammodin* 'verbal taboo expressions'. We see from the lyrics of *Moses* evidence of this claim. The artiste uses borrowed terms from English and code-switches between other languages like Ga and Kikongo to avoid literal references to unmentionables. For example, *twɛba* 'clitoris' is referred to as 'centre pole' (English) while the *kɔtse* 'penis' is referred to with the Ga appellative *ogidigidi* 'something heavy' and *olidade* 'oli iron'.

We also observe borrowing as a strategy to euphemise the breast. For example, *bɔɔbestands* (line 28), *shock absorbers* (line 33) and *two speakers* (line 66) for firm breasts of young women and *bɔɔbe pakyaa* literally mean sagged breasts (line 46 and 51), *water hose* (line 39), *borɔnyi oewu socks* 'second-hand socks' (line 40) and *ebe ebe tatale* 'plantain pancakes' (line 41) for sagged breasts of older women. There is a case of code-mixing in the *bɔɔbestands* (line 28) and *borɔnyi oewu socks* 'second-hand socks' (line 40). In the case of *bɔɔbestands*, we observe the English word boobs (an English slang for 'breasts') being referred to as *bɔɔbe* attached to the verbal noun *stand*. This is a clear case of code-mixing. In *borɔnyi oewu socks* 'second-hand socks', we again see an English-Akan code-mixing.

Furthermore, in the text, the male genital is referred to as *the magic power* 'an insecticide chalk' (line 78), *diamond pin* (a part of the stereo machine) (line 77), while the female genital is referred to as *turntable* (line 70) and the *black hole of Calcutta* (line 74) respectively. The male genital is also referred to as *Bula Matari* a Kikongo phrase which means 'Breaker of rocks' (lines 140, 141).

The expressions *shock absorbers*, *two speakers*, *water hose*, *the magic power*, *diamond pin*, *turntable*, and *black hole of Calcutta* are of English origin while the *ebe ebe tatale* 'plantain pancakes' and *Bula Matari* 'breaker of rocks' are of Ga (a Ghanaian language) and Kikongo origins respectively. They are used in an attempt to avoid mentioning the genitals. This double layer strategy of using another language and euphemised forms in that language is proof of reverence for unmentionable precepts in the artiste's culture. It also buttresses Agyekum's (2010) suggestion that unmentionables are named directly in another language as an avoidance strategy.

3.3 Insinuatory sayings and appellatives as an avoidance strategy

Another avoidance strategy observed is the use of insinuatory sayings and appellatives to communicate the unspeakable among the Akan in the song. For insinuatory sayings, the artiste deliberately avoids naming unmentionables by alleging that the listener knows what he, the artiste, is talking about so there is no need to repeat it. A clear instance of this is seen in lines (71-73) where the female genital is referred to as *Woara nyim, you mo know, mma wɔnnka ana* 'You already know, you shouldn't be told before.' This is a deliberate attempt to avoid mentioning the female genitalia.

For the use of appellatives, the artiste calls the genitalia by descriptive phrases. In the words of Sekyi-Baidoo (2019:303) an "appellative is used to refer to 'descriptive phrases' which are

semantically transparent, and which seeks to present features of the people or things it refers to ...". There are instances in the text where the male genital is called descriptive phrases which are grounded in how it appears and revered. The appellative names for the male genitalia in the song are based on its bodily features and the fear/reverence accorded it. Under such bodily features, we observe that *Oluman sakora*, *olidade*, *ogidigidi* (line 80, appendix A) have a wide usage as well.

In the appellative name *Oluman sakora* 'Old man sakora', *Oluman* is used in place of the phrase 'old man' among old/uneducated Ghanaian language speakers. *Sakora* is a known haircut where all the hair on one's head is shaved off. This appellative name is grounded in the hairless feature of the male genitalia. *Olidade* 'Olympics⁵ iron' and *Ogidigidi* 'that which is heavy' are of Ga origin. The mentioned names are based on the physical features of an erected male genital; hardness and heaviness. Appellative names such as *ehunabɔbirim*, *Kweku donsuro*, 'that which is revered/feared when sighted; Kweku that which is revered' (line 79). The name *ehunabɔbirim* is made up of the nominal *e-*, *-hu-* 'see', *-a-* PST.PRF, *-bɔ-* 'be', *birim* 'startle' meaning 'that which is fearful/revered (when sighted)'. *Kweku Dɔnsuro* has two parts, the name given to a male child born on Wednesday *Kweku* among the Akan which can also be used to call the male genital (see Agyekum, 2010) and the compound *donsuro*⁶ is made up of the noun *dɔm* 'crowd' and the verb *suro* 'fear/revere'. Thus, *Kweku Dɔnsuro* means 'Kweku who is feared/revered by many'.

3.4 Circumlocution as an avoidance strategy

Circumlocution is one of the avoidance strategies employed in the communication of tabooed concepts among Akans. It is a long-drawn-out euphemism that aims to hide facts in appropriate discourse (Agyekum 2010:144). The artiste employs this strategy as well in his *Moses*. He does this by making "reference to a person, place, event or something outside the text from another context, be it another text, the real world or a historical context that the audience may or may not understand" (cf. Agyekum 2005:15; Syal 1994:12; Biddle and Fwiler 1992:423). One device for circumlocution is allusion. In Akan, allusions are termed *dzinbɔ*, literally 'name mentioning'. The term is made up of *dzin* 'name', and the verb *bɔ* 'mention'. Allusion may be historical, biblical, literary, or cultural. Such allusions may be evidence of an artiste's in-depth knowledge of the socio-cultural background of a given people. The greater part of the song is made of a biblical allusion. The artiste makes mention of biblical characters, concepts and events such as Moses and his rod, the Red Sea, the Jews, and the Lord asked Moses to strike the Red Sea with his rod⁷, etc.

All these are circumlocutions because the singer could have simply mentioned the penis in the case of the rod, the Red Sea in the case of the vagina, and the act of sex in the case of the striking of the Red Sea with the rod to make his point.

We read from Epstein (1985) and Agyekum (2010) that sex and its related activities are sacred and important. It is an encounter that forms a human being and thus needs to be revered and not referred to bluntly. Thus, when a woman has sex with a man, it is expressed in Akan as *ɔafa no* 'he has taken her', *ɔakɔ ne nkyen* 'he has been with her', *ɔnye no ada* 'he has slept with her' and many more (see Agyekum, 2010). Inasmuch as the artiste uses circumlocution, we also believe that he does so based on his communicative competence as well as his awareness and recognition

⁵ Olympics is a professional Football Club that is based in Accra, Ghana. Thus, the majority of its supporters are the ethnic Ga of Accra.

⁶ The orthography *donsuro* is realised as a result of vowel harmony and regressive assimilation. The word *donsuro* is a noun *dɔm* 'crowd' - verb *suro* 'revere' compound. The -ATR [-ɔ-] in the word *dɔm* is assimilated to +ATR [-o-] as a result of +ATR vowels [-u-] and [-o-] in *suro* respectively. Regressive assimilation is as well noted in the situation where the alveola sound [s] assimilates the bilabial sound [m] at word boundary.

⁷ Exodus 14:16- 'but lift your rod and stretch out thine hand and divide it.'

of tradition. We witness that various kinds of circumlocution are grounded on allusion via conceptual mappings. Some are discussed below.

3.4.1 *Hugging is flirting*

Hom mma mbofra no kwan, ma wɔmfɔ hɔn akoko mbeka hɔn akoko, na wɔnyɛ hɔn awaa waa etuu ... mma nntoto mbofra no anan mu. 'Allow the children to put their chest on ours and hug us... do not hinder them' (lines 44, 45, 46, 52) are lines which allude to a Bible verse. These are found in Matthew 19: 14 which says '*Na Jesus see de, hom mma mbofra no kwan, mma hom nnsiw hɔn me nkyɛn kwan, na woyinom dem na ɔsor ahenman no yɛ hɔndze*' and Jesus said, "Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them, for the kingdom of heaven belongs to such as these".

From these lines of the song, we deduce that men would prefer to woo young women (with firm breasts) to have an enjoyable sexual experience with. The singer states that older women should not serve as a hindrance. They should allow young ladies to have sexual experiences with old men. To communicate this, the singer alludes to Jesus' saying on how heaven is meant for children to explain that sexual ecstasy is meant for young ladies⁸. The old context: children coming into contact with Jesus - the way to heaven; is linked to the new context in question: young ladies coming into contact with men - the way to sexual happiness/ecstasy; to explain and understand it. In other words, the old context of children going to Jesus who is the pathway to heaven (which stands for happiness, love, bliss, and all the good things the bible promises Christians) and should not be hindered by the disciples - so should young women not be hindered by older women from linking up with men for lasting sexual pleasure. A case of a 'stand-for' relation, i.e., a part (hugging) standing for the whole (flirting) within a single domain is observed in lines (44-46, 52). This metonymic mapping is known to occur within a single conceptual domain (flirting). This is a clear case of taboo avoidance through circumlocution via conceptual metonymy.

3.4.2 *Stereo machine testing is foreplay*

A conceptual mapping across two domains avoids discussing foreplay from line (62) to line (90). Similarly, the traditional *two speakers* of the stereo machine map onto the breasts (line 66); the *turntable* maps onto the vagina (line 74); the *centre pole on the turntable* maps onto the clitoris (line 75); the *diamond pin* maps onto the penis (lines 77-79); the act of listening for sound during the testing of the stereo machine for sound maps onto the concept of caressing the breast (by sucking or putting your head between the breasts) (line 85); the act of initial thrusting during sex is mapped onto the act of the diamond pin reaching the record on the turntable (line 87); while the concept of testing a stereo machine is mapped onto the concept of having foreplay during sex. These are all smart strategies at taboo avoidance through circumlocution via conceptual metaphor.

4.0 Conclusion

The paper has discussed the various taboo avoidance strategies A. B. Crentsil uses in his song *Moses*. It has been shown that the artiste uses many strategies in his song to communicate some unmentionables in his culture. These strategies are grounded in euphemism, which involves the use of borrowing, code-switching/mixing, insinuations, appellations and circumlocution. We establish that even in borrowing to avoid taboos, the artiste still euphemises the names of the

⁸ A. B. Crentsil claims in the interview that the old ladies had enjoyed their time already and it was now the turn of the young ladies to enjoy same

unmentionables in the borrowed languages. Devices like metaphor, metonym, and allusion play a major role to help the artiste communicate the unmentionables. By implication, we reinforce the view that taboos form a unique part of the Akan culture and other Ghanaian cultures. Linguistic competence is an essential aspect of communication which any oral artiste should possess. Thus, there is a link between a literary artiste's culture and his literary pieces. The findings of this study also show that the Akan have several verbal taboos but use various ways and means to mention them respectfully in discourse to avoid the consequences of breaking them.

It would also appear that that, in an attempt to show reverence to his cultural norms by not breaking taboos, A. B. Crentsil abuses sacred Christian religious personalities and teachings. The use of the name *Moses*, biblical verses and messages for profane sexual acts more than indicates that A. B. Crentsil sacrifices revered Christian views for socio-cultural purposes. It is on record that when some Christian clergy came to realise how profane the song was, they condemned it. This raises the question of whether A. B. Crentsil genuinely tried to avoid violating the sensibilities of his listeners, among whom may be believers of Christian teachings who could be offended by the profane use of Christian teachings. Perhaps too, the use of Christian teachings and personalities was a ploy to not only increase fun and excitement in the song but as well to shield the obvious from people who had no inkling about their connectedness. A. B. Crentsil does however mention that his intention was only to capitalise on his listeners' knowledge of Christian teachings to talk about sexual encounters in public but not necessarily to ridicule Christianity.

References

- Agyekum, Kofi. 1996. *"Akan verbal Taboos in the Context of the Ethnography of Communication."* M.Phil. thesis., University of Trondheim, Norway.
- Agyekum, Kofi. 2002. "Menstruation as a Verbal Taboo among the Akan of Ghana." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 58(3): 367-387.
- Agyekum, Kofi. 2005. "An Akan Oral artist - The use of Proverbs in the Lyrics of Kwabena Konadu." *Research Review NS* 21 (1): 1-17.
- Agyekum, Kofi. 2007. *Introduction to Literature*. Accra: Media DESIGN.
- Agyekum, Kofi. 2010. *Akan verbal Taboos in the Context of Ethnography of Communication*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Agyekum, Kofi. 2018. *Akan Body Parts Expressions Cognitive Semantics and Pragmatic Approach*. Accra: Adwinsa Publications.
- Agyekum, Kofi, Amuah, Joshua Alfred & Arhine, Adwoa. 2020. "Proverbs and stylistic devices of Akwasi Ampofo Agyei's Akan highlife lyrics." *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 31 (1): 117-144.
- Allan, K. & Burridge, K. 1991. *Euphemism and Dysphemism: Language used as Shield and Weapon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Amenorvi, Cosmas. Rai & Grumah, Gertrude. Yidanpoa. 2020. "Gender and Sexuality Linguistic Taboos: A Case of *mɔ* and *nnyabi* in Ewe and Mampruli." *Hybrid Journal of Literary and Cultural Studies* 2 (3): 6-26.
<https://royalliteglobal.com/hybridliterary/article/view/127>.
- Andrew, Evans. 2018. "When Stanley met Livingstone." History.com, Accessed November 29, 2020. <https://www.history.com/news/when-stanley-met-livingstone>.
- Biddle, Arthur & Fwiler, Toby. 1992. *Angels of Vision. Reading, Writing, and the Study of Literature*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

- Chatterjee, Partha. 2012. *The black Hole of Empire: History of a global practice of power*. Princeton N. J: Princeton University Press.
- Chemhuru, Munamoto & Masaka, Dennis. 2010. "Taboos as a source of Shona peoples' Environmental Ethics." *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12(7): 121-133.
- Cruse, David A. 2000. *Meaning in Language. An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Epstein, Joseph. 1985. "Sex and Euphemisms." In *Fair Speech: The uses of Euphemisms* Enright, edited by D. J Enright, 56-71. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Finnegan, Ruth. 1992. *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Gao, Chunming. 2013. "A sociolinguistic study of English taboo language." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 3(12): 2310-2314.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Grady, Joseph. 1997. "*Foundations of Meaning: Primary Metaphors and Primary Scenes*." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Grady, Joseph. 1999. "A Typology of Motivation for Conceptual Metaphor: correlation vs. resemblance." In *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics*, edited by R. W. Steen, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 79–100.
- Hongxu, Huang & Guisen, Tian. 1990. "A sociolinguistic view of linguistic taboo in Chinese." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 1990 (81): 63-86.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. 2002. *Metaphor: A practical approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, George. 1993. The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor. In *Metaphor and Thought*, edited by Andrew Ortony, 1-48. Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nii-Dortey, Moses, & Edward Nanbigne. 2020. "Tabooing insults: Why the ambivalence?" *Journal of Philosophy and Culture* 8(1): 1-11.
- Noy, Chaim. 2017. "Ethnography of Communication." In *The International Encyclopaedia of Communication Research Methods*, edited by . Jörg Matthes, Christine S. Davis and Robert F. Potter, 1-11. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Nwoma Krɔ̀nkɔ̀n*, 1974/2017, Matthew 19:14, Exodus 14:15-30.
- Obeng, Samuel. Gyasi. 1994. "Verbal indirection in Akan informal discourse." *Journal of Pragmatics* 21 (1): 37-65.
- Qanbar, Nada. 2011. "A sociolinguistic study of the linguistic taboos in the Yemeni society." *Modern Journal of Applied Linguistics* 3 (2): 86-104.
- Quan-Baffour, Poku Kofi. 2007. "The power of Akan folk music in teaching adults about HIV/AIDS in Ghana." *Muziki* 4 (2): 209-223.
- Redfern, Walter David. 1994. "Euphemism." In *The encyclopaedia of language and linguistics* edited by R. E. Asher, 1180-8, Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Schottman, Wendy. 1993. "Proverbial dog names of the Baatombu: A strategic alternative to silence." *Language in society* 22: 539-54.
- Sekyi-Baidoo, Yaw. 2019. *Akan Personal Names*. Accra: University of Ghana Printing Press.

- Syal, Pushpinder. 1994. *Structure and Style in Commonwealth Literature*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing.
- Urena, Jose Manuel & Faber, Pamela. 2010. "Reviewing imagery in resemblance." *Cognitive Linguistics* 21 (1): 123-149.
- Yankah, Kwesi. 1984. "The Akan highlife song: A medium of cultural reflection or deflection?" *Research in African Literature* 15 (4): 568-582.
- Wonkyi, Patrick. 2021. "Metaphor as an object naming tool in the Mfantse dialect of Akan." *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 1-21.

**APPENDIX A -
Lyrics of Moses by A. B. Crentsil**

LYRICS		
	Mfantse (Fante)	English translation
	<i>Mo nua eee.....!</i>	My brethren
	<i>Gyaa su na nkɔmbɔ yi dzi</i>	Shun lamenting
	<i>Nnye ɔwɔ nko na adze ehia wo</i>	You are not the only one in need
	<i>Fa to obi nedze ho</i>	Compare with others
5	<i>Na obi nedze kyɛn ntsi</i>	Others are in worse situations so
	<i>enam a, ma w'enyi ngye daa</i>	Be happy always
	<i>Ɔnnye ɔwo nko na aye osigyanyi m'ewuraba</i>	You are not the only spinster my lady
	<i>Fa to obi nedze ho</i>	Compare it others'
	<i>Na obi nedze kyɛn ntsi</i>	Others are in worse situations so
10	<i>enam a, ma w'enyi ngye daa</i>	Always be happy.
	<i>Ɔnnye ɔwo nko na aye 'I-walk-alone'</i>	You are not the only 'I-walk-alone'
	<i>Fa to obi nedze ho</i>	Compare it with others'
	<i>Na obi ne dze kyɛn ntsi enam a</i>	Others are in worse situations so
	<i>Enam a, ma w'enyi ngye daa</i>	Be happy always
15	<i>Mo nua eee.....!</i>	My sister
	<i>Gyaa su na nkɔmbɔ yi dzi</i>	Shun lamenting
	<i>Nnye ɔwɔ nko na adze ehia wo</i>	You are not the only one in need
	<i>Fa to obi nedze ho</i>	Compare it with others
	<i>Na obi nedze kyɛn ntsi</i>	Others are in worse situations so
20	<i>Enam a, ma oenyi ngye daa</i>	Be happy always
	<i>Nyew!</i>	Yes!
	<i>Wɔnka nkyere wo? Anaa wɔntɛɛl wo?</i>	Are you supposed to be told?
	<i>Anaa womblow wo?</i>	Are you supposed to be told?
	<i>Dza ɔwɔ mu ara nye de</i>	The truth of the matter is
25	<i>Nde yewɔ Ghana</i>	We are now in Ghana
	<i>Biribiara aye modern</i>	Everything is modern
	<i>Biribiara aye modern</i>	Everything is modern
	<i>Yerohwehwe bɔɔbestands</i>	We are looking for bɔɔbestands
	<i>Ama yesuo mu a, yeenya ebenadze?</i>	So that when we touch them, we will get what?
30	<i>Feelings</i>	Feelings
	<i>Yeenya feelings</i>	We will get feelings
	<i>Na yedze aaye edwuma no de mbre mbra no se</i>	And work with it as the law says
	<i>Yerohwehwe shock absorbers</i>	We are looking for shock absorbers
	<i>Ama yekɔtɔ do a</i>	So that when we fall on it

35	<i>Yeehu beebi a yebohuruw akɔtɔ</i>	We will see where we will land
	<i>No ho asem ara nye no</i>	That is what it is all about.
	<i>Yemmpɛ bɔɔbe pakyaɔ biara wɔ hɛn akwan mu</i>	We don't want any flat bɔɔbe
	<i>Yemmpɛ low down popcorn</i>	We don't want low down popcorn
	<i>Yemmpɛ water hose</i>	We don't want water hose
40	<i>Yemmpɛ borɔnyi oewu socks</i>	We don't want second-hand socks
	<i>Yemmpɛ ebe ebe tatale biara wɔ hɛn akwan mu</i>	We don't want any ebe ebe tatale
	<i>Yerohwehwe bɔɔbestands ama yesuo mu a yeenya feelings</i>	We want bɔɔbestands so that when we touch it, we will get feelings
	<i>Na yedze ayɛ edwuma no ma ahomka aba fie</i>	And work with it for peace to rain
	<i>Hom mma mbofra no kwan</i>	Allow the children
45	<i>Ma wɔmfɔ hɛn akoko mbɛka hɛn akoko</i>	To put their <i>chest</i> on ours
	<i>Na wɔnye hɛn awaa waa etuu</i>	And hug us
	<i>Dada ooo dendei</i>	Dady you are welcome
	<i>Mbofra no na angoa wɔ mu</i>	The children have fat
	<i>Mbofra no na impurities wɔ mu</i>	The children have impurities in them
50	<i>Mbofra no na Vitamin ABCDEFG ɔwɔ mu</i>	The children have vitamins ABCDEFG in them
	<i>Ntsi sɛ ehwe na ayɛ bɔɔbe pakyaɔ a</i>	Therefore, if you think you have become soft bɔɔbe,
	<i>Mma nntoto mbofra no anan mu</i>	Do not disturb the children
	<i>Mma nntoto mbofra no anan mu m'ewuraba</i>	Do not disturb the children. My lady
	<i>Ɔwo gyina backyard hɔ</i>	Be at the backyard
55	<i>Na sɛbe o</i>	Pardon my language,
	<i>Motorwayfo no so wɔto hɛn nsa a</i>	So that when the motorwayers stretch their hands
	<i>Wɔayɛ den?</i>	What will happen?
	<i>Woereach wo</i>	They will reach you
	<i>Woereach wo wɔ corner hɔ</i>	They will reach you at the corner
60	<i>Na wɔnye wo aka no bɔkɔ abotar mu ara</i>	And settle it gently with you amecably
	<i>Obiara nntse wo nka</i>	Nobody will notice
	<i>Na iyi na aborɔfo no wɔhwɛ dzinn</i>	This is what the white considered
	<i>Na woinvente biribi a wɔfrɛ no Stereo</i>	And invented something known as stereo
	<i>Stereo Machines</i>	Stereo machines

65	<i>Two speakers, turntable nna diamond pin</i>	Two speakers, turn table and diamond pin
	<i>Two speakers no ɔno nye ebenadze?</i>	What is the two speakers?
	<i>Bɔɔbestands</i>	Bɔɔbestands
	<i>ɔno nye bɔɔbestands left and right</i>	That is the bɔɔbestands, left and right
	<i>75watts per Channel</i>	75 watts per channel
70	<i>Turntable no so ɔno nye ebenadze?</i>	What is the turntable?
	<i>Woara nyim, you mo know</i>	You know
	<i>Woara nyim you mo know</i>	You know
	<i>Mma wɔnnka ana</i>	You know, don't wait to be told
	<i>ɔno nye black hole of Calcutta</i>	That is the black hole of Calcutta
75	<i>With center pole osi mu na orubu abɔ hɔ</i>	With the center bolt falling
	<i>Wonderful Corporal Hagan</i>	Wonderful corporal Hagan
	<i>Diamond pin no so ɔno nye ebenadze?</i>	What is the diamond beam?
	<i>The magic power</i>	The magic power
	<i>The magic power ehunabɔbirim Kweku donsuro</i>	The magic power, almighty kweku donsuro
80	<i>Oluman sakora, olidade, ogidigidi</i>	Oluman sakora, olidade, ogidigidi
	<i>Ntsi se ema wo record no do na edze to wo turntable no do a</i>	So when you raise your record and place it on your turntable
	<i>Nna apres start</i>	Then you press start
	<i>Nna diamond pin no ama no mu do</i>	The diamond pin will rise
	<i>Dareach record no do</i>	And reach the record
85	<i>Nna edze wo tsir ato two speakers no ntamu</i>	Then you place your head between the two speakers
	<i>Nna iritsie. Bi a na okura awe</i>	And listen, maybe it is spoilt
	<i>Nna ama ɔdze n'ano ɔdze efiew diamond pin n'ano</i>	Then allow it to kiss the diamond pin
	<i>Bɔhwɛ na stereo sound, ofi mu</i>	You will perceive a stereo sound coming out
	<i>ɔno ye against bɔɔbestands</i>	That is against bɔɔbestands
90	<i>Adweaa</i>	Interesting
	<i>Na aber a Moses ɔkefaa Israelmba</i>	When Moses went to take the Israelites
	<i>ɔdze hɔn kotwaa po kɔkɔ no</i>	To cross the red sea
	<i>Wodur po kɔkɔ n'ekyir no</i>	When they got to the banks of the red sea

	<i>Nna po no aye kɔɔ</i>	The sea was red
95	<i>Moses noho popo</i>	Moses was shivering
	<i>Po noara aye kɔɔ</i>	The sea itself was red
	<i>Jewfo so eduadua apples wɔ epo ne nkyenkyen</i>	The Jews have also planted apples around the sea
	<i>Ma gya atɔ mu ma ahyew aye tumm</i>	And it has caught fire and burnt
	<i>Epo noara aye kɔɔ, ne nkyenkyen so aye tumm</i>	The sea itself is red and around it is also black
100	<i>Moses onnhun bi da</i>	Moses has never seen some
	<i>Abofraba</i>	A child
	<i>Ne nankɔkɔ mu popo... O! Small Child</i>	His legs were shaking..... Oh! Small child.
	<i>Na Ewuradze kaa mu frɛɛ no dɛ</i>	Then the lord called him and said
	<i>Moses Moses! Ma w'abaa yi do na fa bɔ po kɔkɔ no mu</i>	Moses Moses, stretch your rod into the sea
105	<i>Na no mu bobue ebien</i>	And it will divide into two
	<i>Na ɔwo na wo dɔm wɔafa mu</i>	For you and your people to pass through
	<i>Pharaoh na no dɔm wɔreba</i>	Pharaoh and his army are coming
	<i>Tantanaa na kidika kidika kidika</i>	Tantanaana kidika kidika kidika
	<i>Na Moses n'abaa no mu yɛɛ dzen</i>	Moses' rod grew strong
110	<i>Sunsum Krɔnkrɔn no ahɛn mu</i>	The Holy Spirit has entered
	<i>Peter n'abaa no mu aye dzen</i>	Peter's rod became strong
	<i>Nkomo n'abaa no mu aye bawee</i>	Nkomo's rod became hard
	<i>Joshua n'abaa no mu ay potsii</i>	Joshua's rod became thick
	<i>Wɔdze robɔwɔ po kɔkɔ no mu</i>	They are about to stretch it into the red sea
115	<i>Ntsi Moses ɔdze n'abaa no wɔɔ po kɔkɔ no mu</i>	Moses stretched his rod into the red sea
	<i>Na no mu buee ebien</i>	And it divided into two
	<i>Na ɔno na no dɔm wɔfaa mu torkaa</i>	And he passed through slimily with his people
	<i>Asomdwee mu ara. Praise the lord!</i>	In peace. Praise the lord!
	<i>Hallelujah!</i>	Hallelujah!
120	<i>Na mbasiafo no nyaa enyigye</i>	And the women became happy
	<i>Wonyaa dɛw no mu dɛw</i>	They were filled with joy
	<i>Sisiw mu dɛw no mu dɛɛdɛdɛw Ah.....!</i>	Joy in their waist. Ah!
	<i>Mbasiafo no nyaa sisiw mu dɛw a onnyi ewiei</i>	They got everlasting joy in their waist.
	<i>Na wotuu ndwom bi dɛ</i>	And they lifted a song singing
125	Moses ee!	Moses ee!
	Ma w'abaa yi do fa wɔ mu a	Raise your rod and thrust into it

	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it.
	<i>Ntsi nde yeriyi hen text efi Nkomo 5:17</i>	So today we are taking our verse from Nkomo 5:17
	<i>Ɔse nhyira nka nyia n'abaa no mu ye dzen</i>	It blessed be the one who has a firm rod
130	<i>Na ɔdze bɔwɔ po kɔkɔ no mu anafua yi ara</i>	That will piece into the red sea this evening
	<i>Praise the lord!</i>	Praise the lord
	<i>Hallelujah!</i>	Hallelujah!
	<i>Na wɔsanee tuu ndwom bio ɔse</i>	And the women were happy
	<i>Moses ee!</i>	Moses ee!
135	<i>Ma w'abaa yi do fa wɔ mu a</i>	Raise your rod and thrust into it
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it.
	<i>Na mbasiafo no dzii ehursi</i>	And the women were jubilating
	<i>Enuanom na adɔfo</i>	My brothers and loved ones
	<i>Moses n'abaa no ne French dzin</i>	The French name for Moses rod is
140	<i>Wɔfre no Bula Matari</i>	Known as Bula Matari
	Breaker of rocks	Break of rocks
	<i>Na mbasiafo no tuu ndwom bio ɔse</i>	And the women lifted a song again saying
	<i>Moses ee!</i>	Moses ee!
	<i>Ma w'abaa yi do fa wɔ mu a</i>	Raise your rod and stretch it
145	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it.
	<i>Egya Moses eee fa wɔ mu a</i>	Father Moses stretch it
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it.
	<i>Ma ɔkwan nda mu ooo</i>	To create a path in it o
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
150	<i>Ma ɔkwan nda mu oo Moses ee</i>	To create a path in it oo Moses ee
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
	<i>Ma ɔkwan nda mu oo use mu ε</i>	To create a path in it oo use it
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
	<i>Use abaa yin a fa wɔ mu a</i>	Use your rod to hit it a
155	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
	<i>Abaa no mu ye dzen o</i>	The rod is strong o
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
	<i>Pump ma ɔnkɔ ekyir o</i>	Pump it deep oo
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
160	<i>Pump ma ɔnkɔ ekyir oo</i>	Pump it deep o
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
	<i>Buei mu oo woara fa wɔ mu a</i>	Open it and hi it yourself a
	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
	<i>Buei mu oo woara fa hye mu a</i>	Open it and insert it yourself a
165	Ma ɔkwan nda mu	To create a path in it
	<i>Moses ee use no a</i>	Moses ee use it a

	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	Pump me tae a Moses	Pump my tire Moses a
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
170	Pump me tae a Moses	Pump my tire a Moses
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	Pump me tae a Moses	Pump my tire a Moses
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Egyei! Moses oo ereye ekum</i>	Egyei! Moses you are killing me
175	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	Ahh! Abaa no mu ye dzen	Ahh! The rod is strong
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	Abaa no mu ye dzen oo	The rod is strong oo
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
180	Abaa no mu ye dzen aa	The rod is strong aa
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	Pump ma ankɔ ekyir o	Pump it deep o
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Use no aa Moses ee</i>	Use it aa Moses ee
185	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Egyei egyei Ahhh!</i>	Egyei egyei ahh!
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Use w'abaa yin a fa wɔ mu aa</i>	Use your rod to hit it a
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
190	Pump no a pump no a	Pump it a pump it aa
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Mmmm! Moses</i>	Mmm! Moses
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Mmmm! Moses</i>	Mmm! Moses
195	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Use w'abaa yin a fa wɔ mu a</i>	Use your rod to hit it aa
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Egyei! Moses ee</i>	Egyei! Moses ee
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
200	<i>Egyei! Moses ee</i>	Egyei! Moses ee
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Egyei! Moses ee</i>	Egyei! Moses ee
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	Use w'abaa yi na fa wɔ mu a	Use your rod to hit it a
205	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	W'abaa no mu ye dzen o Moses	Your rod is strong o Moses
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu o Moses</i>	Create a path in it o Moses
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
210	Pump me tae a Moses	Pump my tire a Moses
	<i>Ma akwan nda mu</i>	To create a path in it

	<i>Pump me tae a Moses</i>	Pump my tire a Moses
	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Pump me tae a Moses</i>	Pump my tire a Moses
215	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Bue mu oooo... Moses eee</i>	Open it ooo Moses eee
	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Buei mu ooo... woara fa wə mu a</i>	Open it ooo.... hit it yourself a
	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
220	<i>Mmmm!</i>	Mmm..!
	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Ma kwan nda mu a</i>	Create a path aaa
	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Use no a prəs no a</i>	Use it to press it a
225	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it
	<i>Use no a prəs no a</i>	Use it to press it a
	<i>Ma əkwən nda mu</i>	To create a path in it