



Ghana Journal of Linguistics

Vol. 10 No. 1

2021

Kofi Agyekum <i>The role of pragmatics in social cohesion and nation building in Africa</i>	1
Akin Odeunmi <i>Discursive repetitions and voices in Nigerian clinical meetings</i>	27
Eric A. Anchimbe <i>Socio-ethnic stereotypes and the refusal of offers</i>	73
Victoria Ofori, Grace Diabah, Nana Anima Wiafe Akenten, Nicholas Obeng Agyekum <i>A pragmatic analysis of humour in Kookurokoo Morning Show</i>	93
Victoria Ofori, Grace Diabah, Kofi Agyekum <i>An ethno-pragmatic analysis of humour in Akan draughts games</i>	123
Obadele Kambon, Lwanga Songsore <i>A crosslinguistic study of body part expressions in classical and contemporary Afrikan languages: Akan, Yoruba, Klswahili and mdw nTr</i>	150
Akin Tella <i>Ideological points of view and transitivity selections in a Nigerian primary election memoir</i>	177
Maxwell Mpotsiah, Charles Ofosu Marfo, Isaac Adjei Forson, Emmanuel Antwi Fordjour <i>Ideological points of view and transitivity selections in a Nigerian primary election memoir</i>	202
Ayo Osisanwo <i>Self-praise, other-assault: representations in selected political campaign songs in southwestern Nigeria</i>	228
Adetutu Aragbuwa <i>Discursive strategies and resistance ideologies in victims' narratives in Stella Dimoko Korkus' Domestic Violence Diary</i>	251
Sopuruchi Aboh, Bestman Odeh <i>Discourse structures of hate discourses in Nigeria</i>	276
Sarah Marjie, Felix Kwame Sosoo <i>The communicative functions of yaani on Tanzania WhatsApp platforms</i>	305
Helga Schroeder <i>A pragmatic view on clause linkages in Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan</i>	329
David Olorunsogo <i>Politeness strategies and pragmatic functions in doctor-patient interactions in Private Hospitals in Akure</i>	353

A PUBLICATION OF THE LINGUISTICS ASSOCIATION OF GHANA

P. O. Box LG 61, Accra, Ghana

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The Ghana Journal of Linguistics is a double-blind peer-reviewed scholarly journal appearing twice a year (not including special issues), published by the Linguistics Association of Ghana. Beginning with Volume 2 (2013) it is published as an open access journal in electronic format only, at <https://gjl.laghana.org> and <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/gjl/>. However, print-on-demand copies can be made available on application to Mr. Fred Labi of Digibooks Ghana Ltd.: fred.labi@digibooksublishing.com or +233246493842.

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The Ghana Journal of Linguistics is published by the Linguistics Association of Ghana, P.O. Box LG 61, Legon, Accra, Ghana.

GJL Email: gjl@laghana.org | GJL Website: <https://gjl.laghana.org>

LAG Email: info@laghana.org | LAG Website: <https://www.laghana.org>

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ISSN 2026-6596



GHANA JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Volume Number 1

2021

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The *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* is published by the Linguistics Association of Ghana.

Mailing address: Editor-in-Chief, P.O. Box LG 1149, Legon, Accra, Ghana.

Email: gjl@laghana.org

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ISSN 2026-6596

Table of contents

Preface	iv
<i>Helga Schroeder, Reginald Akuoko Duah</i>	
Plenary	
The role of pragmatics in social cohesion and nation building in Africa	1
<i>Kofi Agyekum</i>	
Discursive repetitions and voices in Nigerian clinical meetings	27
<i>Akin Odebunmi</i>	
Stereo-types, humour and body parts pragmatics	
Socio-ethnic stereotypes and the refusal of offers	73
<i>Eric A. Anchimbe</i>	
Humour in ‘Kookurokoo Morning Show’	93
<i>Victoria Ofori, Grace Diabah, Nana Anima Wiafe-Akten, Nicholas Obeng Agyekum</i>	
Humour in Akan dame ‘draught’ games	123
<i>Victoria Ofori, Grace Diabah, Kofi Agyekum</i>	
A Crosslinguistic Study of Body Part Expressions in classical and Contemporary Afrikan Languages: Akan, Yorùbá, Kiswahili and 𐏃 mdw nTr	150
<i>Obádélé Kambon, Lwanga Songsore</i>	

Political discourse

Ideological points of view and transitivity selections in a Nigerian primary election memoir 177

Akin Tella

A discourse pragma-stylistic analysis of invective expressions in Ghanaian politics 202

Maxwell Mpotsiah, Isaac Adjei Forson, Emmanuel Antwi Fordjour, Charles Ofose Marfo

Self-praise, other-assault: representations in selected political campaign songs in southwestern Nigeria 228

Ayo Osisanwo

A critical discourse analysis of victims' narratives in Stella Dimoko Korkus' domestic violence diary 251

Adetutu Aragbuwa

Discourse structures of hate discourses in Nigeria 276

Sopuruchi Aboh, Bestman Odeh

Discourse markers

The communicative functions of 'yaani' on Tanzania WhatsApp platforms 305

Sarah Marjie and Felix Kwame Sosoo

A pragmatic view on clause linkages in Toposa, an eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan 329

Helga Schröder

Health-discourse

Politeness strategies and pragmatic functions in selected doctor-patient interaction
in private hospital in Akure 353

David Olorunsogo

Contributors to this issue 372

Guidelines for submission

Preface to this issue

This Special Issue of Ghana Journal of Linguistics is a collection of papers presented at the 1st African Pragmatics Conference hosted by the School of Languages, University of Ghana, Legon on February 6-7, 2020. The conference brought together a wide range of scholars, researchers, and students from around the globe who discussed scientific research touching on political and health discourse, pragmatics and literature, pragmatics in gender and religion, computer-mediated communication from the perspective of African languages.

This Special Issue presents fourteen (14) papers which address specific pragmatic themes. In one of the two plenaries, **Kofi Agyekum** discusses crucial elements of pragmatic theory and how the study of pragmatics of African languages may be harnessed to foster appreciation for indigenous systems of communication and help accelerate national development across Africa. In the second plenary, **Akin Odebunmi** analyses discursive practices in Doctor-Patient interactions and how repetition is used to negotiate healthcare delivery.

The following four papers address the themes of stereo-types, humour and body part expressions in West African languages. **Eric Anchimbe** presents an analysis of interlocutors' use of verbal and non-verbal communication to mark in-group membership on one hand, while excluding out-group members on the other across Cameroun. **Victoria Ofori, Grace Diabah, Kofi Agyekum, Nana Anima Wiafe Akenten, and Nicholas Agyekum** provide ethno-pragmatic approach to the use of humour in Akan language radio show Kokurokoo and draught (*dame*) games by arguing that humour is artfully used to diffuse tension and to preempt potential conflict. In the next paper, **Obádélé Kambon** and **Lwanga Songsore** advance the idea that the use of body-part expressions to encode emotional and psychological states in Akan, Yoruba, Kiswahili and Kemet represents a shared fundamental African worldview.

The following five (5) papers all address aspects of political discourse. **Akin Tella** examines how language is used in Nigerian primary elections to put across different points of view among politicians. **Maxwell Mpotsoah, Charles Marfo, Isaac Forson, and Emmanuel Fordjour** provide a critical discourse analysis of the use of invectives in Ghanaian political discourse to lower an opponent's chances in an election. Next, Ayo Osisanwo analyses the language of election campaign songs and how they may contribute to election related violence in Nigeria. **Adetutu Aragbuwa's** contribution brings to the fore the discourse of resistance in domestic violence narratives in Stella Dimoko Korkus' domestic violence blog. **Sopuruchi Aboh and Bestman Odeh** analyse the syntactic structure and construction of hate speech among political actors across Nigeria.

Two (2) papers discuss the pragmatics of discourse markers in Kiswahili (Tanzania) and Toposa (South Sudan). **Sarah Marjie and Felix Sosoo** discuss the use of the conjunction *yaani* in non-canonical positions in social media conversations on WhatsApp. **Helga Schroeder** considers how different information status is marked in clause chaining in Toposa and their interpretation.

In the final contribution, **David Olorunsogo** shows politeness strategies as reflections of hierarchy in doctor-patient discourse in Akure (Nigeria).

We are confident that this Special Issue will highlight the rich pragmatic stake in African languages and provide excellent resource to future explorations. We would like to thank the organisers of the conference, participants, and reviewers for making this publication a reality.

Helga Schroeder, Guest Editor
Reginald Akuoko Duah, Co-Editor, GJL

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.1>

THE ROLE OF PRAGMATICS IN SOCIAL COHESION AND NATION BUILDING IN AFRICA

Kofi Agyekum

Abstract

This paper navigates into some areas covered under pragmatics as one of the newest areas in linguistic studies in African universities. We will first have a survey of the theories and practices paying attention to speech acts, pragmatic acts, impoliteness/politeness and face, and socio-pragmatics. The other areas to be covered include lexical pragmatics, discourse markers. The next section will cover the application of the theories and discuss pragmatics and politics, looking at political discourse, pragmatics and the media, pragmatics and pedagogy, and pragmatics and culture with emphasis on ethnopragmatics. The final section will pay attention to pragmatics and literature, intercultural communication, health, agriculture, trade, religion, performing arts, pragmatics, and all forms of speeches and interactional contexts. The method for investigation is purely based on secondary data from works by African pragmaticists. We have suggested some recommendations for the expansion of teaching, research, and publication of pragmatics in Africa.

Keywords: pragmatics, societal-pragmatics, ethnopragmatics, intercultural pragmatics, pragmatic acts, and politeness

1. Introduction and definition of pragmatics

“Pragmatics is what we exhale and inhale” since every aspect of our social life needs some contextual knowledge and usage, pragmatics would always be employed. Undoubtedly, pragmatics is an indispensable tool for peaceful co-existence, social cohesion, productivity and nation building. This paper combines theory and application of many aspects of African sociocultural, economic, commercial, religious, political,

pedagogical, media and law perspectives.¹ We will discuss how Africa could be developed in all aspects of social cohesion, mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence and nation building, if we apply the theories and practices of pragmatics. The paper will first look at some of the pertinent theories of pragmatics and their brief definitions. The next section will single out theories, concepts and approaches that are very crucial for social cohesion and nation building. The third section of the paper will dovetail into the application and practices of pragmatics in societal pragmatics. The section will delve into the theoretical perspectives and the role of pragmatics in social aspects of African countries in the areas of pragmatics and the media, pragmatics and persuasion, pragmatics and politics, economics, trade agriculture and health. Finally, the paper gives recommendations and conclusion. We will start with some basic definitions of pragmatics by eminent scholars.

1.1 What is pragmatics?

Pragmatics is the study of the conditions of human language uses determined by the context of usage (Mey 2001: 6). It is a systematic way of explaining language use in context. It explains aspects of meaning, which cannot be found in the plain sense of words or structures. In the view of Crystal (1991):

Pragmatics is the study of language from the point of view of the users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication (Crystal 1991: 271).

Pragmatics is a way of investigating how sense can be made out of certain texts even when the text seems to be either incomplete or has a different meaning to what is really intended. Humans use multiple options of language in communication for various purposes and their communication is governed by the norms, conditions and values of the particular society and culture.

¹ This paper is an expansion of a Keynote address presented at the 1st African Pragmatics Conference from 6th to 7th February 2020 at the University of Ghana, Legon Campus, under the theme “*Pragmatics in Africa: Theory and Practice.*” It was attended by pragmaticists from Ghana, West Africa and a wider Africa and beyond.

The proper domain of pragmatics is more of **performance** than **competence** because in pragmatics the user of language is performing and goes about using his/her language in everyday life and communicative encounters. This will support the new term pragmatic acts by Mey (2001). Even though competence is important, pragmatics is not much of competence and knowledge of the language and its rules and forms, but of appropriate usage. Pragmatics thus deals with the **description of its use**, and the centre of attention of pragmatics is the **language user (Speaker or Addressee)** coupled with the knowledge of the language (see Leech 1983).

Bublitz and Norrick (2011: 3) in their introduction to an edited book *Foundations of pragmatics* looked at pragmatics in general terms outside linguistics and how it could be extended to other fields in life and stated as follows:

People who act pragmatically or take a pragmatic perspective generally have a preference for a practical, matter of fact and realistic rather than a theoretical, speculative and idealistic way of approaching imminent problems and handling everyday affairs. To put it differently, they share a concrete, situation-dependent approach geared to action and usage rather than an abstract, situation-independent and system-related point of view. To assume a pragmatic stance in everyday social encounters as well as in political, historical and related kinds of discourse means to handle the related affairs in a goal-directed and object-directed, common-sense and down to earth kind of way.

The above sums up what pragmatics in language can offer and conforms to works by Mey (2001) on social pragmatics and pragmatic acts that is why I think pragmatics is what we “inhale and exhale”. From all the above definitions, I see pragmatics as the practical usage of language in context for achievable goals and therefore support Bublitz and Norrick (2011: 3) and Mey’s (2001) views on pragmatics.

1.2 Historical perspectives of pragmatics

The modern usage of the term pragmatics is attributable to the philosopher Charles Morris (1938). Its origins lie in philosophy of language and the American philosophical school of pragmatism. As a discipline within linguistics, its roots lie in the work of Paul Grice on **Conversational implicature** and the **Cooperative principles** and Stephen Levinson,

Penelope Brown and Geoffrey Leech's on **Politeness**. Scholars who have influenced modern pragmatics have been philosophers such as Austin (1962) *How to do things with words* and Searle (1969) who worked on the Speech Act. In the 21st century one of the scholars who have championed and lifted up the image of pragmatics is Jacob Mey.

1.3 Lexical pragmatics and discourse markers

One of the theoretical areas in pragmatics that have attracted many scholars is lexical pragmatics, indexing and discourse markers, with much attention to referencing and information structure. We will briefly discuss reference in pragmatics and language use.

1.3.1 Reference

The term **reference** is the relation between a part of an utterance and an individual or a set of individuals that it identifies. Cruse (2000: 305) avers that “**Reference** is one of the most fundamental and vital aspects of language and language use, namely the relations between language as a medium of communication between human beings and the world about which we communicate.” **Reference** is an act by which a speaker (or writer) uses language to enable a listener (reader) to identify something or a person.

In using human language, we can talk about things that are external to ourselves. These could be things that we can find, see and touch in our immediate environment and abstract concepts and things that are displaced in time and space (see Carlson 2006: 74). To be able to do this very effectively, we have to pick out entities in the physical world and ascribe names, properties and descriptions to them.

Reference indicates relations between the items, concepts, persons and their linguistic labels. We will refer to the process of doing this as **referencing**. Reference is, therefore, concerned with designating entities in the world by linguistic means. Carlson (2006: 76) states that reference is a kind of verbal “pointing to” or “picking out” of a certain object or individual that one wishes to say something about. When we make references to things with linguistic units, we want to arrive at the **truth value** of what we intend to put across. Types of references include *definite reference*, *indefinite reference*, and *generic reference*. For the purpose of this paper, we are not discussing these types.

Some other areas in pragmatics theory that have generated arguments and discussions are contexts and referencing with emphasis on *conversational implicatures*, *explicitures and implicatures*, *propositions and entailments*, *deixis: personal, spatial*,

temporal, social and discourse. In this paper, our focus will only be on implicatures and explicatures. Let us begin with implicatures.

Implicatures are non-stated information that can only be inferred from texts/utterances. They help us to make meanings out of texts. If individuals are able to make right inferences, texts or utterances will be more meaningful. There is always a gap between **what is said** and **what is meant** and to some extent, we **say less** and **mean more**. The bridge from what is said or written and what is communicated is built through **implicatures**. Horn (2006: 3) states that “Implicature is a component of speaker meaning that constitutes an aspect of what is **meant** in a speaker’s utterance without being part of what is **said**. What a speaker **intends to communicate** is characteristically far richer than what s/he directly expresses; linguistic meaning radically underdetermines the message conveyed and understood.”²

In communicative interaction, it is the duty of the speaker to use pragmatic principles to bridge the gap between what s/he intends and what s/he says. S/he also expects his /her addressee(s) to explore the same **bridging inferences** to get to the meaning and interpretation of the utterance. Anytime the tools for bridging the gap are absent, there is wrong interpretation resulting in miscommunication. Conversational Implicatures was proposed by **Paul Grice** in the William James Lectures delivered at Harvard in 1967.

An **explicature** is a proposition that is explicitly said or expressed as opposed to an implicature.³ Explicatures are considered as pragmatically determined content which means that all the things that we need for the interpretation are supplied directly in the sentence. Other pragmatic principles under referencing are **Presupposition, Entailment and Deixis** but we will talk briefly about only deixis.

1.3.2 Deixis

The term **deixis** refers to the features of a language that refer directly to the **personal, temporal, spatial, and situational** or **discourse** characteristics of a situation within which

² If people are sitting in a room with an AC that has not been put on, and one of the people says “it is terribly warm here I am perspiring” he/she is stating less than what the intentions are. The person wants to request either the host, the curator of the vicinity or the person sitting closer to the AC to switch it on.

³ An assumption is an *explicature* if and only if “it is a development of a logical form encoded by the utterance. An explicature is something that is built and decoded from what the speaker says.” (See Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182).

an utterance is made. A **deictic word** helps in the interpretation of the meaning of the utterance. A **deictic word** is one which takes some element of its meaning from the situation (i.e., the speaker, the addressee, the time and place) of the utterance in which it is used. Fillmore (1966: 220) aptly captured the nature and functions of deixis and states that: Deixis is the name given to those aspects of language whose interpretation is relative to the occasion of utterance; to the time of utterance, and to times before and after the time of utterance; to the location of the speaker at the time of the utterance; and to the identity of the speaker and the intended audience (Fillmore 1966: 220).

The use of deixis (shifters) helps to give a precise, concise and accurate reference of an utterance (see Crystal 1995: 451, Crystal 1991: 96, Yule 2000: 9-16). The term deixis is also termed “**shifters**” since it refers to linguistic items that shift their meanings from context to context. The pointers to the deixis are referred to by philosophers as indexical expressions or “indexicals” (Veschueren 1999: 18). To Levinson (1983: 54), “Essentially, deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the **context of utterance** or **speech event**, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance.” Deixes are therefore important tools in referencing for appropriate and better understanding of texts and utterances.

1.4 Grice’s co-operative principles/maxims of conversation

Let us now turn to one of the popular topics in pragmatics that has been tested in pragmatic discussions and arguments. Grice identified the maxims, **quality, quantity, manner** and **relation** and asserts that when they are appropriately combined in speech there will be co-operation between the interlocutors. Ideally, social interactions call for respect for each other, and the prevalence of cooperation between interlocutors and the things needed for such a successful interaction is embodied in the Gricean cooperative principles or maxims. There are aspects of our communicative interactions that flout these principles, but competent speakers do very well to adhere to most of them. Levinson (1983) recognised the difficulties in fulfilling all the principles and avers that claiming to observe all the maxims/meeting the Gricean standard is like living in a philosopher’s paradise.

1.5 Speech acts and pragmatic acts

In the Speech Act theory by Austin and Searle, language is a binding **force and it has power and ignition** as we see in machines. In this theory, an utterance is conceived as an act by which a speaker does something with his words. Speech act was introduced by Austin (1962) as a theory that analyses the role of utterances in relation to the behaviour of the **Speaker (S)** and the **Hearer (H)** in interpersonal communication.⁴

There are three basic types of speech acts, namely *locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary forces* in speech acts. Under performatives in the illocutionary acts, we have commissives, directives, representatives, expressives, etc. we do not intend to delve deep into each of them in this paper. Searle systematized the classification of speech acts and added the felicity conditions that must prevail for the speech acts to be effectively fulfilled. These included the agents, the place, time and sincerity conditions.

Quite recently scholars have criticised the tenets of the speech act theory. One of such scholars is Mey (2001). In discussing how language is used under situated contexts, Mey (2001) came out with pragmatic acts as a notion to replace Searle and Austin's speech act theory. Mey (2001) defines his pragmatic acts as follows:

Pragmatic acts are pragmatic because they base themselves on language as constrained by the situation, not as defined by syntactic rules or by semantic selections and conceptual restrictions. Pragmatic acts are situation-derived and situation-constrained. In the final analysis, they are determined by the broader social context in which they happen, and they realize their goals in the conditions placed upon human action by that context (Mey, 2001: 228).

Pragmatic acts are situation oriented since the core mandate of pragmatics is the study of language within context. In Mey (2009: 751) he asserted that "pragmatic acts focus on the

⁴ Austin wrote a book "*How to do things with words*", to support his claims and this publication is often referred to posthumously.

interactional situations in which both speakers and hearers realize their aims”.⁵ Mey (2009a: 752) went further to argue that:

With regard to pragmatic acts, one is not primarily concerned with matters of grammatical correctness or strict observance of rules. What counts as a *pract* (i.e. what can be subsumed under a particular *pragmeme* as an *allopract*) depends on the understanding that the participants have of the situation and on the outcome of the act in a given context.

In communication, some of the aspects are verbal that involves speech or texts but there are also greater parts of communication that are non-verbal or ‘extralinguistic’. These include kinesics, tactile, proxemics, symbols; specific examples of these are gestures, intonation, facial mimics, body posture, head movements, laughter, colours, artifacts, costume, etc. The combination of the speech acts, paralinguistic features, semiotics and other non-verbal in situated contexts is what Mey call ‘pragmatic acts (see Mey 2009a: 748). Speeches are best understood and interpreted when they are properly situated within particular contexts that include the participants, the setting, cultural norms, with accompanying non-verbal communication (see Mey 2009a).

All the above indicate that the traditional speech acts by Austin and Searle cannot account for most aspects of communication outside speech and therefore we need to resort to Mey’s pragmatic acts.

2. Theories of face, politeness, ethnopragmatics and intercultural pragmatics

In this section we will discuss and incorporate theories that have direct and practical bearing on social cohesion, peaceful coexistence and nation building. Politeness and impoliteness and face theories have been well researched and discussed and have been central pillars in pragmatics studies. The scholars mostly associated with politeness and face theories include Brown and Levinson (1987), Culpepper (2011) and Goffman (1995)

⁵ Mey (2009a: 751) felt that unlike the traditional speech act theory, in pragmatic acts “the explanatory movement is from the outside in, rather than from the inside out: Instead of starting with what is said, and looking for what the words could mean, the situation in which the words fit is invoked to explain what can be (and is actually being) said.” Pragmatic acts are realized in given situations.

Grundy (2000), Gu (1990) and Ide (1989). Apart from these there are several scholars like Spencer-Oatey (2000), Scollon and Scollon (2001), Watts and Locher (2005). As far as this paper is concerned the theories/models by Brown and Levinson (1987), Culpepper (2011) Goffman (1995), Grundy (2000), Gu (1990), Ide (1989) are the preferred ones for my purpose because of lack of space.

2.1 Politeness

Politeness can be defined as proper social conduct, awareness of etiquette and tactful consideration for others. Grundy (2000) looks at politeness as follows:

Linguistic politeness is the redressing of the affronts to face posed by face-threatening acts to addressees. Polite expressions are properly and appropriately carried out in social interaction so as to avoid being offensive. In linguistic politeness, the speaker tries to be as tactful and respectful as possible and to avoid face threat (Grundy 2000: 146).

Politeness strategies and expressions avoid conflict and provide harmony among communicative participants and strengthen the antipersonalistic and communal (collectivist) aspect of African culture. Ide (1989) defined linguistic politeness as follows:

Linguistic politeness is the language usage associated with smooth communication realized (1) through the speaker's use of intentional strategies to allow his or her message to be received favourably by the addressee, and (2) through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities (Ide 1989: 225).

This reflection emphasises social acceptability and conformity to sociocultural norms. Goffman's view of face is more compatible with the African face concept. Goffman's sociological notion of face sees face as a **public rather than personal property on loan from the society**. The African face concept and the expressions associated with them are based on communal and societal needs (see Agyekum 2004a). They do not consider only the speaker and the addressee as highlighted in Brown and Levinson's model (see Grundy 2000: 146).

The Ghanaian and African socio-cultural face concept points to a different dimension of politeness. It includes a folk audience that shares responsibility for the fulfilment of the act to which the speaker of face expressions commits. The face reproduces social and pragmatic issues that affect the entire society and not an individual behaviour and responsibility (see Agyekum 2004a, Gu 1990, Ide 1989 and Matsumoto 1988, 1989). Matsumoto (1988 and 1989) complain that BL's "face constructs" do not capture the principles of Japanese interaction because they do not include the acknowledgement of societal relations. Gu (1990) shares the same sentiments and argues that among the Chinese, politeness is more appropriately seen as adherence to social norms than attending to individual's face wants. Agyekum (2004a) also points out the same shared face among the Akans of Ghana.

2.1.1 Cultural etiquette, ethics and politeness

Politeness is closely associated with cultural etiquette and ethics which are socio-cultural norms and values expected from new members of a society including foreigners. Ethics is a system of moral principles rules and conduct, and it relates to the philosophy and values of a society, a culture, an organisation or a nation.

Etiquette is defined as formal rules of correct and polite behaviour in society or among members of a profession. Etiquette and ethics are thus culturally universal and also cultural specific. Every culture, society, organisation, company or institution has its own ethics and etiquette meant to improve harmony and productivity (see Kasper 1997).

2.2 Impoliteness

There is rise in research on impoliteness or rudeness, which involves the use of language to cause offence (Culpeper 2011). The pragmatic research on impoliteness has increased since globalisation has opened the gates for people to know and read communication from other societies. In fact, three of my former students have worked on impoliteness on Ghanaian politics, and on Ghanaian language media discourse for their Ph.D (see Ofori 2015 and Thompson 2019).

Again, modern technological communication, e.g., online, and other social media portals have increased incivility in societies and there is thus the need to research into impolite language including invectives, intemperate language, hate speech, incendiary speeches especially among politicians from opposing parties. Allan and Burridge (2006)

therefore think that instead of talking about politeness and impoliteness we can talk of **X-phemisms** to cover **euphemisms, dysphemisms and orthophemisms**.⁶ The rest of the paper will look at societal pragmatics, things we do in our daily life that call for politeness, diplomacy, social cohesion and perfect social relations.

2.3 Ethnopragmatics and intercultural pragmatics

Goddard and Ye (2015: 66) posits that “The term ethnopragmatics designates an approach to language in use that sees culture as playing a central explanatory role, and at the same time opens the way for links to be drawn between language and other cultural phenomena” Linguistic usage functions as an index of routine ways of thinking and allows us to stay close to “*insider perspectives*’ of the participants (see Goddard 2006: 15). In looking at the interface between ethnopragmatics and speech practices Goddard (2006) stated as follows:

Ethnopragmatics is necessarily intertwined with cross-linguistic semantics because the whole idea is to understand speech practices in terms which make sense to the people concerned, i.e., in terms of indigenous values, beliefs and attitudes, social categories, emotions, and so on (Goddard 2006: 2).

Ethnopragmatics refers to explanations of speech practices which begin with culture-internal ideas, i.e., with the shared values, norms, priorities, and assumptions of the speakers, rather than any presumed universals of pragmatics (Sharifian 2015). Most of our discussions of pragmatic practices and societal pragmatics in Africa will be effectively discussed, understood and applied very well if based on ethnopragmatics.

Intercultural Pragmatics is a relatively new field of pragmatics. It deals with how the language system is put to use in social encounters between interlocutors who have different first languages and cultures but communicate in a common language (*lingua*

⁶ Allan and Burridge (2006) states that the term euphemism (Greek *eu-* ‘good, well’ and *pheme* ‘speaking’) is well known; but its counterpart dysphemism (Greek *dys-* ‘bad, unfavourable’) rarely appears in ordinary language. Orthophemism (Greek *ortho-* ‘proper, straight, normal’, cf. orthodox) is a term we have coined in order to account for direct or neutral expressions that are not sweet-sounding, evasive or overly polite (euphemistic), nor harsh, blunt or offensive (dysphemistic). For convenience, we have also created the collective term *X-phemism* to refer to the union set of euphemisms, orthophemisms and dysphemisms.

franca). In such an encounter, the pragmatics norms of communication are brought into the communicative interaction and therefore there should be compromises so as to merge the two for fruitful interaction (see Kecskes 2012: 609). Intercultural communication is a complex one that needs politeness, tactfulness and mutual respect for each other's face concepts. It is a type of communication that one cannot ignore egocentrism, aggression, chaos, and linguistic violence.

3. Societal pragmatics: Its application and practices

Having considered the tit-bits of some of the theories in pragmatics, let us now turn our attention to application and practice of pragmatics by looking at societal pragmatics. Societal Pragmatics looks at linguistics from the point of making it user friendly and situate it within the purview of users rather than making linguistics an abstract subject distanced from the users of language (see Mey 2001: 222). Pragmatics, moves into areas that were traditionally reserved for other disciplines like anthropology, culture, psychology, cognition, education, politics, international relations, law, media, communication, ICT, journalism, religion, health, environment, business, performing arts, literature, etc.

The rest of the paper concentrates on pragmatics and its principles and application to these societal issues and their roles in social cohesion, peaceful coexistence and nation building.

3.1 Pragmatics and the media language

Let us now turn our attention to pragmatics and **media language**. Some researchers focus on Mediatised Discourse Analysis that studies the language and usage in the electronic and print media. The researchers are mostly interested in the contents of what is put into the print and electronic media, and how educative, informative and entertaining the contents are. We are thus looking at the interface between pragmatics and media.

A research into the pragmatics of the media can pay attention to the control and monopoly of the media, the stakeholders, news worthiness, ownership, socio-political, linguistic, agricultural and cultural impact on the media. Pragmatics can look at the problems of the media in terms of polarisation, use of abusive, hate, incendiary and intemperate language, fake news that incite people, etc. (see Agyekum 2004b). Some pragmatics scholars now research into social media and its advantages and challenges.

With the advent of modern technology, some pragmatic researchers emphasise language and text on social media.

Agyekum (2010) researched on radio and its role in Ghana and here are some of the issues that cropped up in the work. He stated that mass media creates a feeling of belonging to a shared but anonymous community of fellow listeners or readers. In the view of Hanson (2005: 167) “talk show provides a sense of community that people don’t find anywhere else.... People feel increasingly disconnected, and talk radio gives them a sense of connection.” Media discourse has “agents” that include (a) the journalists, who bring the information, (b) the politicians and civil servants, (c) the experts who include political analysts, social commentators on radio and TV, academics, political scientists and linguists, (d) social movements and organizational representatives and (e) ordinary people—the masses who engage themselves in social conversations and debates. African programmes on radio and TV have brought many people together and most hosts have become stars and celebrities.

Agyekum (2010: 6) further noted that Mass media is one of the major channels for political and social participation. He stated as follows:

The media has become an integral part of people’s life, and many Ghanaians now feel hollow when they travel to the very remote areas and do not have access to FM, TV and newspapers. Ghanaian language plays an important role in keeping the people abreast with current events, such as politics, elections, education, health, sports, agriculture, tourism, oral literature and cultural studies. The media has become so powerful that the public have become mere puppets of media control (Thornborrow 1999: 51). The media can sway Ghanaian’s attention to what they (the media) consider as newsworthy for a particular day or week (Agyekum 2010: 6).

The media discourse employs persuasion as a politeness technique to make interaction more polite and conform to face work. During the phone-in calls, hosts use a lot of *address forms, titles, appellations, by-names, and honorifics*. These are persuasive and intimate forms meant to make the callers feel as being integral part of the programme. Apart from these, people frequently use *apologies, requests, greetings, promises, and thanking* when they call on the Akan programmes (see Agyekum 2010).

Apart from language domination and language suppression in education, some pragmatic research has also focussed on **linguistic repression** in the area of language and

the media and medical interviews. In doing research into these, pragmaticists have always been focussing on the language user who is at the centre of affairs. They investigate the appropriate and practical language to be used in the media such as the newspapers, radio, TV and social media. What should good journalism, objective coverage, circumspection, fairness in mass broadcasting be? How should journalists conduct themselves in relation to their viewers, listeners or readers?

If our journalists, media practitioners and the owners and managers of media houses are knowledgeable in pragmatics theory and practices, especially **X-phenmisms**, we would have avoided the Rwandan genocide. Again, the various conflicts in our countries that emanate from intemperate and hate language in the African media landscape would have been avoided. We need pragmatic oriented media in Ghana and in all African countries now for peaceful elections and to avoid the partisan rancour. It is thus not surprising that before elections in West Africa, ECOWAS organises workshop for politicians, the media, and trade unions on effective language usage.

I have participated in three of such workshops in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria as a pragmatics resource person. In these workshops, we tried to draw the media practitioners, civil societies, NGOs, and politicians' attention to appropriate language use. Some of the topics treated were regulating and managing professional ethics in radio and television broadcast; media relations and effective campaign strategies, political parties and the media, and the media and elections in member states: challenges, experience from Ghana, lessons learnt and opportunities. The other areas were countering abusive language on the airwaves, social media, and citizens' engagement in the elections in member states, upholding of positive media values and ethics in programming during electioneering period, the role of presenters and the print media, social media and the responsibility to promote positive citizens' engagement in electioneering process'.

Effective media whether traditional or social can employ pragmatic principles to drum home information on the novel pandemic COVID-19 through proper messages, videos, cartoons, jingles, etc. In this way, the media would be fulfilling its core mandate of information, education and entertainment (see Agyekum 2010).

3.2 Legal pragmatics, translation and interpreting

Legal discourse cannot be effective without resorting to certain pragmatics notions. These include lexical pragmatics, terminology, turn taking, presupposition, implicatures, explicatures and entailments. Other areas are speech acts, power versus solidarity,

honorifics and titles, participants roles and deixis including personal, temporal, spatial, discourse and situational. Legal pragmatics also tap on relevance theory, cooperative principles, politeness, face, silence, humour, and discourse markers, information structure, as well as non-verbal communication. Legal pragmatics can study the structure of interviews like police and lawyers' interviews, cross-examination, judgment texts, linguistic strategies adopted by lawyers, participants in courts, types of language used in courts, problems of translation and interpretations.

Lawyers use linguistic strategies to exercise control over witnesses: these include, interruptions, reformulation of a witnesses' description so as to confuse them, incorporation of damaging presuppositions in questions, such as, leading questions and directives that compel the witness to say certain things. Other legal areas that draw the attention of pragmaticists include alternative legal process (alternative dispute resolution). Most socio-legal scholars advocate mediation as one of the many alternative dispute solutions to the formal courts. The others include healing circles, indigenous courts, family group conferences, youth justice conferences and circle sentencing. These alternatives to formal courts have introduced a restorative approach in the legal systems (see Eades 2011).

Pragmatics can study issues like problems with translation and interpretation and the indispensable role of interpreters to the proper functioning of the legal system. From the standpoint of translation and interpretation in the legal system, NGOs, official documents, etc., pragmatics is crucial since we are dealing with constant meaning in both languages. New interdisciplinary developments in pragmatics have enabled us to include translation, under a single pragmatic theory. Nida (1984: 9) asserts that:

Translation consists in the reproduction in the receptor language the message of the source language in such a way that the receptor in the receptor language may be able to understand adequately how the original receptors in the source language understood the original text. (Nida 1984: 9)

In pragmatics sense, translation and interpretation are the major keys to intercultural, multicultural and multilingual communication and these are areas that have attracted the attention of scholars in pragmatics. Translation has also been pragmatically employed in many multidisciplinary disciplines such as linguistics, literature, cultural studies, anthropology, court proceedings, etc. Translation theory adopts pragmatic notions of referencing, information structure, relevance theory, cooperative and politeness principles.

4. Pragmatics and social interaction: pragmatics and persuasion

In this section we will concentrate on persuasion, which is an indispensable tool in social interaction. Pragmatics and social interaction involve persuasion which calls for mutual understanding between interlocutors. Persuasive language should be based on politeness and respect for each other's face and devoid of face threatening acts (see Agyekum 2004c). Persuasion forms an integral part of human communication and behaviour in day-to-day activities and social encounters. It is a mental transformation device by which the persuader has the intention of inducing the recipient to view the world from the persuader's perspectives (see Agyekum 2004c). The complete persuasion frame involves:

Persuader----- Persuasive language-----Persuadee

To persuade somebody, one needs a strong and convincing language called persuasive language. The powerful language in pragmatics terms is referred to as MAND. The major persuasive and politeness strategies for perfect communication include honorifics and address forms, indirection including the use of circumlocution, idioms, metaphor, proverbs, propaganda and co-opting in advertising and humour. Experienced politicians employ these strategies even if they need to lie to the people and win their votes. If leaders either in governance or corporate bodies are able to use persuasion pragmatically, they will be able to move their people around them, and productivity will increase.

4.1 Pragmatics and address forms, titles and honorifics and religious persuasion

In the area of ethnopragmatics and politeness, there are research on the use of address forms, honorifics and deference popularly used among Africans, especially at the king's court. Among traditional African societies, there is a special type of court or palace language (called **ahemfie kasa**), which is characterised by politeness, formality, honorifics, appropriate address forms and titles. The palace is the traditional seat of justice, administration, power, arbitrations and societal norms and values. In all these cases, the use of appropriate persuasive and politeness language including address forms and honorifics can keep boiling hearts at bay (see Agyekum 2011 and 2003 on palace language).

The use of titles, address forms and honorifics have infiltrated into our modern governance system where the titles, chief, Boss, honourable, **Oga, Nii, Nene, Naa, and Oba, Togbe, Oloye and Alaafin** among Ghanaians and Nigerians, etc are overly used.

At the shrines of traditional African religion, attendants and worshippers who seek protection, healing or justice, try to use persuasive language to have their MANDS fulfilled. Similarly, at the Christian worship and supplication towards God, persuasive language and praises are used. The most popular religious persuasive strategies are honorifics and appellations. In Ghana, some of the most common appellations Christians use for God are **Nana**, ‘grandfather’, **Obɔadeɛ**, ‘The Creator’, ‘The Gracious One’, ‘The Powerful’, **Nutsɔ**, **Mawu**, ‘The Mighty One’, etc.

In most “One Man Churches” in Ghana, the pastors have given themselves all kinds of titles and honorifics including, *Prophet, Apostle, Messiah, Redeemer, Computer-man, Jesus One-Touch, Obonsam Last Stop*, ‘Devil’s Last Stop’, **Osɔfo Kyiriabosom**, ‘The Reverend that abhors Deities’, **Abonsamsuro, Abayifoɔsuro**, ‘ Demons, Witches are Scared’, **Kumchacha, Aburuku-Abraka Osofo, Obinim**, ‘Nobody is Aware’, **Obofour**, ‘The Creator’, etc.

These persuasive titles, honorifics and appellations convince their followers to trust that they can solve all their problems including, sicknesses, marriage, visa acquisition, trading, childbirth, deliverance from witches and devils, and unemployment for them. Most of these pastors are very charismatic, and those who engage in occultism employ all kinds of persuasive language to influence their congregation.

4.2 Pragmatics and politics: persuasion, political propaganda and slogans

Let us consider persuasion in politics and political propaganda. Propaganda is a deliberate attempt by some individuals or groups to form, control or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of communication (see Qualter 1962: 271). It is a publicity meant to spread information so as to persuade people.

In politics, governments use persuasion to secure their positions. Most authoritarian regimes use propaganda and political ideology to influence the people to accept, certain guidelines, policies and ideologies of their regimes. The propaganda strategies make the populace form positive and credible or negative concepts and images about politicians. The major inducements in African politics include set of economic inducements, bribery,

pay increase, job, etc. Voters also demand set of physical infrastructure including good roads, hospitals, schools, electricity, water, etc.⁷

Pragmatics also study campaign promises, ideologies, manifestoes and political slogans. They constitute effective tools for mobilising people for political action and are short catchy phrases employed by politicians for electoral effect (Nianxi 2009). Some of the persuasive slogans that have cropped up in the 4th Republic of Ghana include **Edwo Bɔdɔɔ**, ‘Everything is Cool’, **Hwɛ w’asetanam na to aba pa**. ‘Consider your living slogan, *Positive Change and Zero Tolerance for Corruption*, **Yɛretoa So**, ‘We are continuing’, **Ide Bii Kɛkɛ**, ‘It is very fine’, and **Yɛresesa mu**, ‘We are changing the status quo’.

These persuasive slogans were meant to persuade the masses to believe that the new government could revitalise the dying economy of Ghana by curbing corruption, which is the major canker of the economy. If the new government were waging war on corruption to the zero level, it would help develop the economy, since a lot of the national income and resources are siphoned through corruption.

A successful politician is an orator with political language full of varied and elaborate polite, persuasive, and rhetorical skills that are meant to paint a clear picture of the nation for the citizenry to see him as a competent ruler and lure potential voters. These strategies are the core of political campaigns (see Duranti 2006: 469).

When persuasion and politeness are properly executed, there would be mutual respect, peaceful co-existence, social cohesion and comfortable atmosphere for productivity and nation building. If our governments, heads of institutions, CEOs and leaders adhere to the principles of politeness and face theory, conflicts and wars especially in African countries will cease. Religious, interethnic and interparty conflicts and conflicts between electoral commissions and parties in democratic countries will be avoided especially in an election year like 2020 in Ghana.

Knowledge about the configuration of ethnopragmatics, intercultural pragmatics, politeness, persuasion, humour and silence by politicians, CEOs, MMDAs, all leaders and administrators will foster good and peaceful relations and increase productivity. All office holders should know when and when not to comment on some important issues on governance and administration. They should know when to use humour and when to be

⁷ In contemporary politics, political parties use the language of persuasion full of promises to canvas for support and votes from the non-affiliated party members (floating voters) and for the continued allegiance of their own past supporters.

serious with issues. Knowledge in pragmatics should provide them with a fair balance of all to boost productivity.

In modern governance, true democracy can work well and achieve better results if politicians and the populace can pragmatically dialogue in languages shared adequately by all. “Any community governed through a medium of language other than its own feels itself to a certain extent disenfranchised, and this feeling, even though latent, is always potential focus for political agitation.” In practical pragmatic terms, it is important to inculcate grass-root participation in governance through the mother tongue (Le Page 1964: 15).

If political heads, diplomats, investors are aware of the nitty-gritty of pragmatics, norms and etiquette in negotiation, and reconciliation in intercultural communication, there would be healthy and effective communication, social cohesion, mutual understanding and peaceful co-existence.

4.3 Pragmatics, trade and business: persuasion in co-opting in advertising

Our final discussion on persuasion looks at co-opting and advertising. Co-opting is a technique frequently used in advertising. It consists basically in seducing the hearer and the viewer through promised identification with some prestigious environment or a set of right people, young, smart, rich, etc. (see Mey 2001: 256). In advertising, the messages are both informative and persuasive to influence the would-be customers. The motive of the advertiser is to persuade the buyer to make a particular purchase. Persuasion makes the consumer accept the projected image of the good presented by the advertiser.

Pragmatists are interested in researching into persuasive language used by market women and herbal drug sellers at the various markets and transport terminals in Ghana. The sellers employ pragmatic concepts and persuasion, and use intimate and hypercoristic expressions and terms of endearment like **me nua**, ‘my sibling’, **me kunu**, ‘my husband’, **me dɔfo**, ‘my lover’, **ahooɔɛ**, ‘the handsome/beautiful one’, etc. These terms place the seller in the same camera angle as the buyer (see Agyekum 2017). Persuasive language can transform itself into charms that have the potency to change minds.⁸ The adverts on televisions, radio and in newspapers and social media employ pragmatics to persuade customers to buy and thereby increase their sales that further call for more productivity to

⁸ There are many instances where people have bought goods and herbs and have later regretted buying them. They think the sellers use charms to change people’s mind to buy wares (see Agyekum 2017).

boost the economy for nation building. In doing all these, they are mindful that the “would-be-buyers” come from various ethnic social and groups.

4.4. Pragmatics and economy, agriculture and creative arts

Pragmatics is crucial in trade, economics and agriculture Le Page (1964: 18) posited that:

“Whenever the language of the government and the law differs from that of the masses of the people, plans for economic, agricultural and industrial development are more difficult to make, because the basic research is hindered by the language barrier and more difficult to put into effect.”

All Agricultural research findings are in the colonial languages that the local farmers on the fields cannot comprehend and apply the new skills and practices. Expansion in agriculture can occur if the farmers, agricultural scientists and extension officers operate on a common language code that makes it possible for easier and perfect interaction.

If we are able to pragmatically design a common language between stakeholders in agriculture and trade, there would be good social interaction, social cohesion and mutual understanding among the people. With perfect application of pragmatic notions, we would be able to produce more, expand our trade, boost our economy and build strong nations.

In all aspects of creativity and performance in Performing Arts, there are social interactions between the performers, their managers and the audience whether in Music, Dance or Theatre. This calls for appropriate language and communication bearing in mind the pragmatic notions and principles of politeness, face concepts, persuasion, deference and mutual respect in communication. An ideal performer and practitioner in the creative arts is one who knows the context of usage (pragmatics). Script writing for theatre or movies and language for song texts call for pragmatic and comprehensible language full of cohesion and easier process.

The artistes should bear in mind the principles and practices embodied in ethnopragmatics and intercultural pragmatics. These principles will serve as significant tools for the creation of works that would be acceptable, impactful and useful to the people, and the society based on the language and sociocultural norms. The creative artistes who have knowledge in intercultural pragmatics and communication would also search for the backgrounds into the different cultures and societies in which they operate. In doing that

they will have a fairer idea about their verbal and behavioural taboos and acceptable norms and thereby create suitable creative works for them.

Since the creative industry is a business enterprise that involves managerial skills, entrepreneurship, marketing and advertisement, there is the need to apply pragmatic principles to engage people. This will move them either to be practitioners or the consumers of the products of performing arts. It is only by this way that the creative industry can boom, provide employment, boost tourism and the economy.

4.5 Pragmatics and health

In the area of health, there is a constant interaction between patients and health practitioners. To what extent can the two parties achieve proper health care if they are not both competent in proper contextual language usage? The orthodox doctors, nurses, and paramedics as well as herbal medicine practitioners should know how to employ, polite and persuasive language so as to assuage the fears and pains of their patients. As part of their training orthodox health practitioners and traditional healers study the ethics of their works and their societies in aspects of social psychology to improve their social relations with their patients.

Another group of health practitioners who need training in pragmatics and effective communication are the mental and public health experts. They need to communicate effectively by using polite and persuasive language to achieve their goals. Many information and sensitisation of the prevention of communicable diseases, immunisation, and proper sanitation, need pragmatic tools to mobilise the people to understand the health implications, especially with regard to the Neglected Tropical Diseases.

One critical example in health is the communication in COVID-19. The health services practitioners, the governments, ministry of information and all front liners in the medical field, scientists and researchers, pharmacists as well as politicians and the media need pragmatics. They all need the pragmatic acts, cooperative principles, politeness, relevance, cohesion, indirection, knowledge and principles of ethnopr pragmatics and intercultural pragmatics and communication. Above all, they have to apply the principles of persuasion to effectively communicate to the patients and the general public.

Patients who visit health facilities should know how to employ politeness and linguistic routines including greetings, showing of gratitude, apology, request, so as to be well understood by their doctors, nurses, pharmacists, paramedics, such as lab technicians, etc. Advertisers and marketers of medical products, health information, messages, flyers,

etc. should be conversant with some of the basic principles of pragmatics to make the publicity, supply chain and sales of medical products more effective. All these would boost their social cohesion with their stakeholders and improve their productivity and the economy towards effective nation building.

5. Recommendation

I strongly recommend the following:

1. Pragmatics should be well grounded in our institutions and universities. This is so because pragmatics has become a strong pillar in linguistic and language studies and it is strongly related to other fields like semantics, syntax, prosody, information structure, communication studies, media studies, journalism, law, political science, religion, health, stylistics and literary studies, sociolinguistics, psychology, psycholinguistics, pedagogy, language acquisition and learning.
2. We should intensify the teaching, research and publication of works in pragmatics to cater for the intradisciplinary and interdisciplinary areas. As a result of these, we have to establish a *Journal of African Pragmatics* as an outlet for our research in pragmatics.
3. I suggest that all the departments of Linguistics, African Language studies, English, Modern Languages, Information Studies and Law should develop courses in pragmatics at least to the undergraduate level and make it a core subject.
4. The pragmatics courses in the language related areas should be made available as free electives for other disciplines in the applied and social sciences especially, political science, information studies, social work, sociology, psychology, religion, public health, domestic and consumer sciences, law and international relations, marketing, human resource, agriculture, etc.
5. We should run short courses in pragmatics for public speakers and public relation officers, journalists, tourism practitioners, cultural experts and consultants, guidance and counselling practitioners and practitioners in the industry, the security services, public and mental health practitioners, administrators and politicians.

6. The future of our graduates as diplomats, health practitioners, teachers, politicians and lawyers will depend on how best they can use language in appropriate context and in practical terms in every social interaction. Pragmatics will be a stronger tool to enhance the understanding of meanings in utterances and texts in all disciplines that involve the use of discourse.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have looked at pragmatics from two fronts, namely the theoretical and practical aspects. There is a strong symbiotic relation and synergy between them; we need the theory to be able to apply the practices in effective ways and the theories need the practices as the resources to explain and support their formulations.

Under the theoretical principles we looked briefly at the cooperative principles, referencing, including, implicatures, explicatures, deixes, speech acts, pragmatic acts, politeness, impoliteness, and X-phemisms, ethnopragmatics and intercultural pragmatics. In discussing the societal pragmatics, we touched on areas in our social life that involve social interaction, communication and language use in context. These included pedagogy, mediatised discourse and journalism, honorifics, persuasion, advertising, business and trade, religion, law, political discourse including promises, speeches, slogans, performing arts and health. In all these, we see that pragmatics brings about perfect social cohesion and peaceful co-existence, which would culminate into productivity, national development and excellent nation building in Africa.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.2>

DISCURSIVE REPETITIONS AND VOICES IN NIGERIAN CLINICAL MEETINGS

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Abstract

Previous studies on discursive repetitions have acknowledged other-repetitions/reformulations in consultative meetings but have neither focused on the occurrences of a combination of self and other repetitions nor connected them to the polyphonic dimensions of the interactions. Arguing that discursive repetitions sometimes work to demonstrate multiple voices on diagnoses and health state assessments in Nigerian hospital meetings, and that they consequently exert an influence on the negotiation of clinical outcomes, the paper analyses 100 repetitions in 30 doctor-patient interactions in Out-Patient Department clinics in South-western Nigerian hospitals. The analysis shows that doctors repeat (non)-contiguous constituents of their turns in a way that superposes the conjectural voice of the doctor, the medical institutional voice, the voice of medical science and the voice of culture (parenting). Repetitive turns and voices are negotiated with consultative parties' common ground of medical procedures, previous joint/separate clinical encounters and patients' preferences, eventuating in three clinical outcomes: verdicts on patients' health state, commitment to adherence and admittance of non-compliance with regimens.

Keywords: Nigerian consultative meetings; discursive repetitions; polyphony; negotiation of clinical outcomes

1. Introduction

Discursive repetitions, the interactively grounded re-statements/reformulations of a speaker's (self) and a hearer's (other) earlier utterances, are crucial to pragmatic interpretations of discourses. The repetitions by both parties are often triggered by emergent factors such as the perceived absent-mindedness of a co-interactant, reference to

a prior turn, adjacency-constrained emphasis and participants' emotional state-reflective processes. The repetitions' co-textual nature necessarily insists on sequentially determined or contextually shaped meanings, which demand finding a link between different lexical and syntactic elements in an interaction and connecting this to the overall goal of the interaction.

In clinical meetings, discursive repetitions possess the co-textual and contextual qualities observable in all discourses in which they are used. Beyond these, they sometimes demonstrate multiple voices which are reflections of the roles they play at a time, and consequently the interpenetrations of the contexts in which such roles are played (Sigurd and Odebunmi 2019). In several instances, clinical voices show that doctors are at once physicians, counselors, law enforcers and empathisers. These voices in diagnostic utterances, sometimes conveyed by discursive repetitions, are linked to doctors' assessments of patients' health states and the parties' negotiation of clinical outcomes. Yet, this value notwithstanding, the medical pragmatics scholarship in Nigeria has not attended to the connection between discursive repetitions, voices and clinical events. This sync is also yet to be addressed at the global level of the scholarship where, to the best of my knowledge, only other-repetitions/reformulations in Swedish medical interactions (Lindström 2011) have been studied.

A majority of the studies (and a very small number in Nigeria) in the West, which, to a large extent, are sandwiches in larger concerns, have focused on increments in hospital meetings (Bolden, 2000; Maynard 2003; Mikesell 2009; Fox et.al 2013; Amusa 2020). Nigerian and African scholars with an interest in clinical discourse, like some of their Western counterparts, have focused on several aspects of discursive encounters in clinical care in general within which discursive repetitions are situated, but not strictly on the repetitions (Salami 2007; Odebunmi 2008, 2016, 2020; Adegbite and Odebunmi 2010;);Wei and AliMayouf, 2009; Odebunmi and Amusa 2016; Boluwaduro 2018; and Amfo et al. 2018). The silence on discursive repetitions is perhaps due to their uncommon occurrences in several clinical encounters and the greater preponderance of increments than 'mere' repetitions in several encounters in certain climes and clinics. It may as well be due to scholars' different foci from the repetitive turns. While non-incremental repetitions and reformulations occur in several consultative encounters in Nigeria, scholars still do not pay attention to the repetitions in spite of their pragmatically significant role in the clinics.

Ultimately, whether in Nigeria or the West, where some documentation of the repetitions has been done, no effort that I am aware of has connected these repetitions (self, other or a combination of both) to the voices enacted in the clinical events, important as

this is in the clearer understanding of clinical encounters and how meanings are constructed relative to roles and contexts of participants. The current research identifies types and constructional constituents of discursive repetitions, establishes connections between the repetition types and the voices enacted in the interactions and examines how clinical outcomes are negotiated through the interplay of discursive repetitions and voices. In dealing with these research objects, the study addresses two important questions: What forms of discursive repetitions interact with participants' voices in hospital meetings? and what pragmatic implications does this relationship have for clinical negotiations and outcomes?

In Section 2 below, I provide the theoretical premise on which the study is placed; in Section 3, the methodology; in Section 4, the analysis and findings; and in Section 5, the conclusion.

2. Theoretical insights

The study is anchored to two main theoretical poles: Martin and Rose's concept of tracking and the theory of polyphony. They are complemented by some insights from Istvan Kecskes' (2014) socio-cognitive approach, Caffi's (2002, 2007) (and Mey's (2017) concept of (de)responsibilisation and conversation analysis. Martin and Rose's nuanced textuality model of tracking, "(keep[ing] track of who or what is being talked about at any point" (p.145), provides the resources to explain the connectivity of the discursive repetitions at different proximal or distal points in the sampled interactions. Of central relevance here is their identification of homophora, the reference which points outside the text on the premise of shared knowledge, as a communal tracker. There are also situational trackers, namely, endophora (co-text), which tracks preceding and following items, and exophora (context), which tracks things and people outside the text. Preceding trackers (anaphora) are two: direct anaphora which tracks reference directly backwards; and inferred anaphora (bridging), which tracks reference indirectly backwards. Following resources track items forwards in another group (cataphora) or the same group (esphora).

The concept of polyphony (Baktin 1981; Ducrot 1972; Roulet 2011) indicates that the discourse or utterance of only one speaker is capable of enacting different voices or points of view (superposition). The voices' nature which may or may not be explicit ties in well with the concern of the current research as it helps to explain the underlying varying voice expressions that are communicated in single utterances. The study equally benefits from polyphony's theorisation of voice tracking which identifies the current speaker from

the echoed one, and which consequently allows the recognition of the (past) voice reflected in a current speaker's speech that may not belong to the speaker. Culture or group-based (e.g., Yoruba or medical) voices are examples of such perspectives which may enact the view of an individual, that of an entire ethnic/cultural/professional group or that of a body of knowledge as will be shown presently. Intertextuality is another useful resource of polyphony. It addresses how the speaker's use of reproduction, expression or pointing echoes other discourses or points of view.

To explain how consultative parties in the clinics interactively orient to discursive repetitions and voices, additional insights were taken from Kecskes' (2014) socio-cognitive approach (SCA) and Caffi's (and Mey's) concept of (de)responsibilisation. SCA, a theory of intercultural pragmatics that accounts for interactants' common orientations to conversational meaning, deploys some of the following resources found helpful in my analysis: "intention" (apriori/emergent goals of interactants), "attention" ("...cognitive resources available to interlocutors that make communication a conscious action" (Kecskes 2014: 52)) and "salience" (drawing attention to the most vital information). The term, "deresponsibilisation", "*deresponsabilizzazione*" (Caffi 2002:118) or "deresponsibilities" (2007:159), lexicalizes avoidance of responsibility through the use of "bushes" (vagueness which reduces speakers' commitment to the certainty of their propositions). Its opposite is "responsibilisation" (Mey 2021). To responsabilise is thus to express direct commitment to the certainty of one's propositions. Some resources have been taken from the transcription models and descriptive tools of Conversation Analysis to complement the top-down instruments of the above theories. As mentioned in the methodology below, Jefferson's (2004) model of transcription has been adopted. In addition, CA resources such as turn, sequence, contribution and footing shift have equally been used.

4. Methodology

15 private and 10 government-owned hospitals in Oyo and Ondo States were conveniently visited for data as part of a larger project focused strictly on doctor-patient interactions in Out-Patient clinics. Thirty (30) out of about one-hundred and fifty (150) consultative conversations tape/video-recorded in these hospitals between 2015 and 2019 were selected because they have ample instances (100) of discursive repetitions. While all the instances of repetitions were considered in raising analytic categories, only seven in three interactions, which perfectly exemplify all the categories raised, are practically cited in conformity to the principles of the top-down analytical approach deployed. These

conversations, whose full transcripts are provided in the appendix to this paper, were conducted in a mix of English and Yoruba (the indigenous language of Southwestern Nigeria where Oyo and Ondo states are located). The linguistic choices by participants are consistent with Odebunmi's (2003, 2010 and 2013, 2016) observation that the context of consultative meetings, patients' level of literacy in English, patients' relationship with doctors, and doctors' or patients' preference determine the choice of communicative codes in Southwestern Nigerian hospital clinics. The sampled conversations, transcribed using the model developed by Gail Jefferson (2004), last approximately 2 mins (interactions 1 and 2), and 3 mins (Interaction 3). Instances of discursive repetition are in the bold font. The interlineal translation approach is used to translate Yoruba expressions to English; and the Yoruba words in the conversations are tone marked. Data interpretation sessions and brief discussions were held with two medical doctors, one each from the private and government-owned hospitals on the medical implications of the voices enacted in the interactions. Also, short discussions were held with 10 patients on the voices enacted by doctors' discursive repetitions¹. The analytical method adopted is a function-driven top-down approach (Odebunmi 2018) which categorises the key indices of the research (discursive repetitions, voices and pragmatic implications) on the basis of their contextual occurrences in the conversations vis-à-vis the clinical orientations of both doctors and patients in apriori and emergent terms. Some bottom-up elements, using mainly CA theoretical properties, are combined with the top-down resources in some parts of the analysis. Finally, co-textual elements that thematically align with the discursive repetitions are tracked to fully account for their sequential and pragmatic properties.

5. Analysis

The analysis is developed in three sections in strict compliance with the objectives of the research. The first (5.1) deals with types of discursive repetitions, the second (5.2) with the voices enacted through the repetitions and the last (5.3), with the pragmatic implications of the connection between the repetitions and the voices as manifested in the negotiations of the clinical outcomes of the encounters.

The summaries of the three interactions (labelled "Texts 1-3 in the appendix) are provided below. The excerpts drawn from them are numbered as examples. To facilitate

¹ I am grateful to Drs Abraham Amao and Samson Ojo for their useful comments, particularly on enacted voices; and all the patients who participated in the discussions for their helpful contributions.

connection between the two categories of items, each example goes with its text source: for example, Ex 1: Txt 1 (Example 1: Text 1).

In Text 1, the patient (henceforth “Patient”), an undergraduate student of Yoruba ethnic extraction, presents with stomach pain and the doctor (henceforth “Doctor”), equally a Yoruba by ethnic affiliation, having once treated him for ulcer suspected ulcer. Patient’s disagreement with Doctor’s suspicion leads to the medical examination by which a diagnosis of ulcer is established. Following this, Doctor tracks the cause of the condition and offers recommendations. Linguistic choices in the interaction were made predominantly from English, the official code of communication in Nigerian schools and the preference of most undergraduate students in all communicative situations.² Yoruba choices, initiated by Doctor, are strategic.

In Text 2, the patient, who is of Yoruba ethnic extraction and who is an academic in the university in which the hospital is situated, is in the clinic on a routine visit for a clean bill of health. In spite of his high level of competence in English, he and the doctor communicate predominantly in Yoruba. Doctor checks his blood pressure following which he announces the reading. This reading, preceded by a seemingly negative evaluation of Patient’s condition, is completed quickly with an intensified repeat of the original (negative) evaluation.

In Text 3, used to exemplify the patient-centred approach³ to medical care in Odebunmi (2020), Doctor had checked Patient’s BP at the outset of the consultation but did not disclose the reading until the tail end of the meeting. In between these ends, he severally encourages 60-year-old Patient to compromise the dosage of her prescribed medicines to suit the observance of the religious fast in her church. Doctor, rather than use the BP announcement for diagnosis at the close of the consultation, uses it as a discursive tool of constructing negative clinical assessment. Patient is Yoruba by ethnic affiliation and is literate in English, but she speaks Yoruba predominantly with Doctor as a mutual code choice and perhaps as an index of a level of extra-consultative relationship with the doctor (see Odebunmi 2020).

² Unlike in primary and secondary schools in Nigeria where administrators and teachers enforce the use of English in the school premises, no one does on Nigerian university campuses, but it is recognised by all parties as the official code and deployed in all official (teaching and administrative) encounters. Outside official scenes, the choice of codes is determined by interactants’ contexts, preference and convenience.

³ The patient-centred approach ensures a smooth relationship between the doctor and the patient and naturally increases patient satisfaction as therapies are mutually decided by the parties (cf Odebunmi 2020).

5.1 Discursive repetitions

Two operational types of discursive repetitions occur in the interactions: non-contiguous and contiguous. Each is structurally anaphoric in nature and is discursively constructed or co-constructed as an index of a diagnostic or post-diagnostic statement. I take them in turns below.

5.1.1 Non-contiguous discursive repetitions

Non-contiguous repetitions, which are always self-repetitive, do not occur in the same sentences or the sentences next to the repeated contributions. Either an intervening sentence or structure appears between them and the original contribution or several turns appear between the repeated and the repeating sentences/turns. In either position, they are functionally connected to diagnostic and post-diagnostic utterances of the doctor. Both diagnostic and post-diagnostic speeches reflect full constituent direct anaphoric repetitions. I look more closely at these repetitions together with their structural and functional features below.

Full Constituent Direct Anaphoric Self Repetitions (FCDASR)

The FCDASR re-presents the whole stretch of the original contribution. This repetition occasionally comes with an increment which often signifies the motivation for it. In most instances of diagnostic repetitions, the increment is an adverbial element. Example 1 below (from Text 1) demonstrates these features.

Ex 1: Txt 1

.
. .
.

9. DR: So, >what's the complaint?< (0.03)

10. PAT: I do have stomach pain (.)

11. DR: Stomach pain↓ I hope it's not the ulcer pain↓ or () you having at one point in time like that (0.03)

12. PAT: No:: =

13. DR: Where is the pain? (.)

14. PAT: At the middle here↓

15. DR: It's the ulcer pain (.)°Lie down let me check it° () **IT'S THE ULCER PAIN NOW**↑, ʃe ìgbà yẹn náà
16. Is time that it
17. Was that time
- too
18. ʃe period exam? **bó yá o ò KÍN JẸUN DÁADÁÁ**: Ìgbà August Ìgbà yẹn, <hope it's not exam period?> (0.02)
19. Is period exam? Maybe you don't eat very well. Time August time then, hope it's not exam period
20. Was it the exam period? Maybe you don't eat well. That time was August; I hope this is not an exam period
21. Did you use any drug like Ibuprofen or Felvin? =
- 22.PAT: No (0.02)
23. DR: And you didn't take Alabukun↓=
- 24.PAT: >No< (0.02)
- 25.DR: You are having ulcer pain now, so **máán jẹun DA:DA: báyìí? (0.04)**
26. You eating very well now?
27. A re you actually eating well?
- 28.PAT: **Mò<'un try báyìí>**
- 29** I trying now
30. I am trying to eat well now
- 31.DR: °You can't afford not° to eat on time **o**, if you have ulcer (.)
- 32.PAT: °Super pain°
- .
- .
- ..

At Lines 11 – 12, Patient disaligns with Doctor over his pre-diagnostic proposal of ulcer (“I hope it's not the ulcer pain”) which differs from Patient's perspective of his (Patient's) health condition. With the article “the”, Doctor evokes apriori common ground with Patient, a referential indexication of an earlier diagnosis by Doctor. At Line 15, following Patient's affirmation of the point of the body where he experiences pain in response to the question at Line 13, Doctor makes the same proposal (i.e. that the condition is ulcer). Knowing that a guess does not suffice to establish a diagnosis, he invites Patient to the examination couch for medical examination (Line 15b).

After the examination, Doctor repeats the exact wording of the pre-examination utterance albeit loudly and with the adverbial “now” (Line 15c). The intervening contribution, “Lie down let me check it”, separates the original expression from the full-constituent-repeating expression. While the repeating utterance counts as a diagnosis only after the examination when it becomes a scientific statement (details later), the adverbial “now” provides the motivation for its insertion. “Now” is used in Nigeria as a Standard English and a Nigerian English word to mean respectively “this time/ moment” (which is capable of cancelling the common ground on earlier diagnosis, and is, therefore, not relevant to the context) and “the expected assumed mutual orientation to earlier expressed knowledge” (which is consistent with the current context). By the use of “NOW” (with the marked rising pitch, pronounced with a fall-rise intonation typical of its Nigerian English rendition), Doctor implicates the following:

- i. That he had earlier suggested the diagnosis of ulcer to Patient and expected Patient to accept his suggestion;
- ii. That Patient’s refusal to agree with his proposal caused him to take the extra effort of examining him;
- iii. That his earlier conjecture is now confirmed;
- iv. That much unnecessary time has been expended on the interaction.

Without the incremental adverbial, the repetition can only serve the pragmatic purpose of confirming Doctor’s earlier guess. In the sub-section that follows, I analyse the (co)construction/co-constitution of FCDASR.

Co-constructing/co-constituting FCDASR

While only Doctor produces diagnostic discursive repetitions, the two parties co-construct and co-constitute them for consultative effectiveness. The pre-repetitive “I hope it’s not the ulcer pain↓ (Line 11), in spite of the common ground evoked with “the”, is not co-constructed as ulcer with Patient’s disaffiliative turn at Line 12. This disaffiliative situation inspires a number of Doctor-initiated turns which build up to the pre-diagnostic utterance at Line 15a and which reflect the parties’ co-constitution of the ailment and diagnosis. Earlier at Lines 9 - 10, both Doctor and Patient co-constitute the object of Patient’s visit. In response to Patient’s broad spectral condition suggestion at Line 10, “I do have stomach pain, following Doctor’s broad request at Line 9, Doctor at Line 11 produces a weak

diagnostic proposal by evoking Patient's ailment biography. When Patient denies the biographical reality (Line 12), Doctor pursues the weak proposal further by asking a more specific question which demands to know the location of the pain in Patient's stomach (Lines 13-14).

Patient's specification of the point of the pain motivates a strong diagnostic proposal (Line 15a), and this invites science – the examination - at Line 15b. Science authorises diagnostic repetition (Line 15c) which singly constitutes the diagnosis. After Doctor has determined the diagnosis following the examination conducted, he has to also determine and announce the predisposing factor for the ailment to effectively treat and control it. For this, he needs not only his knowledge of Medicine but also Patient's experiential input. Immediately after the repetitive turn that announces the diagnosis, Doctor evokes another biographical log to determine the temporal location of Patient's last episode. In a series of rhetorically-structured questions between Lines 15c and 18a, he traces the episode to a semester examination period which immediately tracks the predisposing factor for the ulcer to Patient's poor eating habits. Doctor deresponsibilises himself by his construction of starvation as the candidate for the ulcer with the use of the modal verb “bóyá (maybe). Since this, a weak proposal, unlike the diagnosis, cannot be scientifically determined, Doctor tactfully abandons it and ventures to make more scientific efforts. Between Lines 21 and 24, both parties co-construct ulcer-aggravating medicines (Ibuprofen, Felvin and Alabukun⁴) as irrelevant candidates in Patient's case because Patient did not use them. These candidates brushed off, Doctor returns to his earlier weak proposal. After a post-diagnostic repetition of the earlier announcement of the diagnosis, Doctor strategically introduces the discursive repetition of the starvation disposition factor: “só máa ń ɣɛn DÁADÁA báyí?”. Discursively unstructured as a rhetorical question, the interrogative receives an affiliative response from Patient. The repetition here, unlike the original/repeated contribution, takes a negotiative form and thus an interpretation that Patient's view is requested. Apart from the earlier one being an accusation, Doctor leaves no space in the turn for Patient's response. The 0.04 time lapse in the current sequence provides the salience to the Patient of the floor for his perspective. By his response at Line 27, he co-constitutes the starvation perspective of Doctor's and co-constructs his responsibility for his own health condition, his utterance implying that he only recently picked up a fair eating routine/habit. Stylistically, the discursive repetition of the starvation factor is a slightly extended FCDASR in the interrogative rather the statement form in

⁴Alabukun is a Nigerian indigenous acetylsalicylic commonly used by many Nigerians, particularly the illiterate/ semi-literate and alcohol drinkers respectively for headache and for intoxication suppression

which the repeated version is constructed to serve Doctor's goal of negotiating Patient's perspective and cooperation. Sequentially, it comes way after Doctor's check on Patient's treatment biography.

5.2. Contiguous discursive repetitions

The contiguous discursive repetition occurs either in the same grammatical structure as the repeated one or in the structure appearing immediately after it. It is of two key types: intensified full constituent self/other anaphoric repetition and reduced-constituent self/other anaphoric repetition. While the former is associated with positive clinical assessments, the latter is often used to indicate negative clinical assessments. Both respectively refer to doctors' comments indicating that the patient's response to treatment or level of adherence to regimens is cure-consistent/progressive and is cure-inconsistent/retrogressive.

Doctors carry out clinical assessments at different points of their encounters with in-patients (those on admission or observation) and out-patients (those who visit only for medical attention who may or may not be put on admission). The ones considered in this research are those that take place during consultative meetings in the outpatient context. I consider the repetition types and their corresponding assessment manifestations in turns below.

5.2.1 *Contiguous intensified full-constituent anaphoric self-repetition*

The contiguous intensified full-constituent anaphoric self-repetition (CIFCASR) is a current speaker's contribution that repeats the whole of his/her earlier utterance (in the same sentence or in the sentence immediately preceding it) with an added intensifier that transforms the speech act of the repeated utterance (Capone 2005; Odebunmi 2011). The transformation in my data is often a movement from a pre-diagnostic pract⁵ to a clinical assessment pract. Below, I analyse how CIFCASR reflects positive clinical assessments.

⁵ A pract is a situated speech act (Mey 2001).

71. not at level that we give people drug (0.03) So, when they want to put salt in food your, you telling say that they
72. it is not serious enough for you to be placed on drugs (0.03)when salt will be added to your food, tell them to
73. dín in kù, THEN LÓÒRÈ KÓÒRÈ BÓYÁ, léyìn bífòsè méjì, <ẹ kàn le lọ síbí tíwòntín check ẹ>, kíwón bá a
74. reduce, then from time to time maybe, after like week two. You can go to place that they checking it, let them help
75. reduce it and occasionally maybe after two weeks, you may go somewhere to get it checked
76. yín check ẹ kíèyàn rí i pé kò lọ sókè, because tó bá lọ sókèèyàn ò ní mò. Ẹ pèlẹ o
77. you check it that somebody see that it not go up because if it goes go up, somebody will not know. You sorry o
78. to be sure it does not rise because if it does, one may not know.

The utterance “Ó kàn fẹ lọ sókè díèni” (Line 67a) repeats Doctor’s “ó fẹ lọ sókè díè^o, torí 150, 90 ní” (Line 67a) in the first part of the sentence immediately preceding it. This structure, with the addition of “ó kàn” and “ní” to the original contribution, makes it a CIFCASR. The original utterance, when, combined with the actual announcement of the BP reading, produces a negative assessment which is capable of scaring anyone without a BP history as the interaction seems to suggest of Patient. This negativity is grounded in three factors:

- i. Predicating the announcement of Patient’s diagnosis on the reference to the checked BP (67a: first part).

In the Yoruba communicative experience, a structure such as “X tímoşé fún yín” is sometimes associated with bad news in the current context; good news is often presented directly without a prefatory rigmarole. Therefore, given Patient’s uncertainty of his condition, he is more likely to perceive the news as negative. A video footage would have shown an expression of discomfort on the face of Patient.

- ii. Sudden, slightly mitigated announcement of a high BP condition (Line 67a: second part).

This, following a scare-potential preface, carries with it a negative undertone, particularly when considered against the belief among many patients in Nigerian hospitals that a low degree of certainty expressed by a doctor is tantamount to a lie or a concealment of poor

health. So, for a typical patient, the current one not being an exemption, the slight mitigation does not amount to any level of good news.

- iii. Connecting the BP figures to the slightly mitigated high reading.

The figure announced, 150/90, would sound high to anyone with or without a biography of hypertension. A literate patient like the current one in the consultative session could possibly have availed himself of the 140/100 upper limit of an average adult person's BP. Doctor's CIFCASR is best situated in the above picture. Sensing fear and discomfort perhaps on Patient's face, Doctor changes the footing of the communication. He quickly transforms the earlier negative clinical assessment pract of disclosure to the positive clinical assessment pract of fear/worry-allaying. This positivity transformation is indexed by two discursive resources:

- i. The deployment of downtoners

Doctor reaches for the combination of the cleft “Ó” (It (is)) and the intensifiers, “kàn” (only) “fẹ́” (almost) as additional structural elements to construct a repeat of his earlier seemingly negative assessment. These additional elements are understood by all competent speakers of Yorùbá to be imbued with the effect to tone down the seriousness of a previous harsh proposition, but its happiness depends strictly on the local context of an interaction. Doctor's goal is obviously to engage the downtoners to repair the suspected discomposure of patient, exploiting the cultural common ground of the structures. However, with the earlier negative assessment, compounded by the high BP figures, the context cannot effectively afford the repair and positive clinical assessment transformation. Doctor understands, by cultural declarative knowledge (see Kecskes 2014), that he needs much more than the downtoners which themselves, in practical structural and discursive terms, still implicate a level of a high BP, to convince Patient that some good news was intended to be communicated. Thus, he opts for a co-textual boost (“kò tî dé level tí a máa n fún yàn lóògùn”, Line 70) to reinforce Patient's uptake of his transformed pract as shown in ‘ii’ below.

ii. Practal co-textual extension

Realising the need to increment the transformative discursive repetition for his intended effect, Doctor inserts “kò tî dé level tí a máa ń fún yàn lóògùn” (it is not serious enough for you to be placed on drugs). This utterance implicates four things: a. that the down toner notwithstanding, Patient actually has a BP; b. that Patient does not have a clean bill of health; c. however, that his present condition requires no BP medication; d. that he may or may not require medication-based treatment ultimately. More details will be provided on this later under voices and clinical outcomes. Meanwhile, it is essential to note here that although the utterance serves as a co-text to Doctor’s self- repetition to reduce Patient’s fear of a high BP, it does not dispel the reality of a BP condition.

5.2.2 Contiguous reduced-constituent anaphoric self or other repetition

The contiguous reduced-constituent anaphoric self or other repetition (CRCASOR) is a repetition composed of a part of an original clinical assessment. In most instances of its occurrences, it reflects negative clinical assessments.

Constructing negative clinical assessment using CRCASOR

In constructing a negative assessment using CRCASOR, Doctor repeats a word, a phrase or a clause in the original structure which may or may not be in the same sentence as it. This is shown presently.

Ex 3: Txt 3

85. DR: Enhenh, so, tábáa tiè báti wá parí [fasting e máa padà]
86. Yes, yes; so, if it once you now have ended fasting you will return
87. Yes, so once you finish the fasting, you will revert
88. PAT: > Hmm, màá padà [sí morning and night yèn<=]
89 I will return to morning and night that
90. I will revert to the morning and night plan)
91. DR: **È máa lò ó bèè, torión** reflect **lára BP yín báyyí, torí=**
92. You using it like that, because it reflecting on body BP you now because
93. Be using it that way because it is already affecting your BP because

94. PAT: **Óń reflect**, èmi ganá rí ùgbà tí mòn bọ=
95. It reflecting, I myself seeing it when I coming
96. It is affecting it, I too noticed it when I was coming
97. DR: **Torí** 156/94 **nimo** get **báyìí**, **àbí** 154/94, **so óńreflect**=
98. because 154/94 is I get now, or 154/94, so it reflecting
99. because 154/94 is my reading, or rather 154/94, so it is affecting it
100. **Óń reflect lára ẹ**. Uhn (0.01). So, **şe** bẹ̀ẹ̀ ní complaint kankan?
101. It reflecting on body it. So, is it no complaint at any?
102. It is affecting it. So, do you have any complaint?

The interaction presents an interesting display and interplay of self and other discursive repetitions.

Contiguous Reduced-constituent Anaphoric Self-repetition (CRCASR) in the construction of negative clinical assessment

Doctor repeats himself at lines 91, 97 and 100, each of which is contiguously situated relative to the original structure. “Torí” (Line 91), the last item in the sentence, is a reduced constituent self-repetition of the preceding larger structure, *Ẹ máa lò ó bẹ̀ẹ̀, torí ó ń reflect lára BP yín báyìí*”. It reductively captures the adverbial clause, “torí ó ń reflect...”. Its negativity stems from Patient’s compromised regimens which have caused a rise in her BP. When Doctor observes at 91a that the compromised dosage of Nifedipine (“it”) is reflecting on (affecting) Patient’s BP, he is conducting a clinical assessment of her health state. The adverbial structure “torí” which repeats this initial assessment is grammatically redundant but is strategically salient. While footing shift from the collaborative construction of Patient’s initiative as the right medical action to Patient’s action as a health-hazardous action (see Odebunmi 2020) commences at Line 91a, its reinforcement and transformation as a warning pract are effected with the repeating “torí” at Line 91b. In the Yorùbá culture, “torí”, used this repetitively as an adverbial head word is often a strategic insertion with an intended anaphoric referential effect. It carries the disowning implicature: “Just in case something bad happens, I should be seen to have done my bit”. Thus, the negative assessment is indicated by situational trackers: a. anaphoric reference: “torí ó ń reflect” (Line 91b) which constructs indirect lexicalisation of non-compliance to regimen on BP in the current turn; and b. cataphoric reference: high BP: “Torí 156/94 ni mo get báyìí, àbí 154/94” which provides evidence for the health hazard Doctor indirectly lexicalizes.

An interplay of CRCAOR (Contiguous Reduced-constituent Anaphoric Other-repetition) and CRCASR

Between Lines 94 and 100, both CRCAOR and CRCASR interplay. Patient's insertion at Line 94 of "Óń reflect" is a CRCAOR of Doctor's original structure at Line 91. By this insertion, she co-constructs Doctor's negative assessment of her health. At Line 100, Doctor's "So, Óń reflect" produces at once a CRCAOR and a CRCASR. First, it tracks Patient's repetition at Line 94 as a co-constructor of her uptake of his negative assessment announcement. At the same time, it tracks his own CRCASR at Line 91, with reference to Patient's CRCAOR at Line 94, as a co-constituent of his medical science (details later). Doctor's original contribution is structured as a combination of a logical connector and a code alternation whose discourse import produces the resultant medical authority that motivates Patient's CRCAOR at Line 94. Subsequent CRCASR and CRCAOR do not evoke the logical connection any more since the medical authority has been established. They rather only provide the speech acts that construct and co-construct the negative clinical assessment which rides on Doctor's routine code alternation. The assessment is indicated by prior indexes of non-compliance and poor health hinted at Lines 21, 22, 38 and 91 and the discursive accommodation of Patient's own negative assessment at Line 94. Ultimately, the co-construction of both CRCAOR and CRCASR implicates a collaborative conclusion on Patient's poor health.

5.3 Voices enacted in (post) diagnostic and clinical assessment discursive repetitions

Non-contiguous and contiguous repetitions superpose four voices, namely, Doctor's conjectural voice, the Medical institutional voice, the Medical scientific voice and the Life word, cultural voice. While non-contiguous repetitions permit all the voices, contiguous voices allow only the medical institutional, medical scientific and life word, cultural voices.

5.3.1 *Doctor's conjectural voice*

The doctor's conjectural voice is his/her own pre-scientific perspective which may or may not stand after medical scientific processes have been observed or conducted. It is a product of doctors' technical and experiential knowledge which is often expressed as a preliminary proposal to explain patients' conditions prior to examinations and tests. It may or may not terminate at the conjectural stage. The former happens when the outcome of examinations

and tests do not synchronise with the preliminary perspectives; the latter occurs when a sync occurs and the conjectural voice interlaces with the medical institutional and scientific voices as will be shown presently. The example below explains the conjectural voice.

Ex 4: Txt 1

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9. DR: So, >what's the complaint?< (0.03)

10. PAT: I do have stomach pain (.)

11. DR: Stomach pain↓ I hope it's not the ulcer pain↓ or () you having at one part in time like that (0.03)

12. PAT: No:: =

13. DR: Where is the pain? (.)

14. PAT: At the middle here↓

15. DR: It's the ulcer pain (.)°lie down let me check it° () **IT'S THE ULCER PAIN NOW**↑, ɕe ìgbà yèn náà

The second verbalisation (Line 15) with “ulcer” in Ex 4: Txt 1 instantiates Doctor's conjectural voice which repeats and sustains his earlier declaratively-informed assumption at Line 11. It differs from the actual diagnostic repetition in 15c (IT'S THE ULCER...) by the latter's sequential position and the adverbial “now”, both of which come after the examination.

One main feature of this voice is its openness to the patient's disagreement. In some instances, as evident in the full Text 1, patients sometimes pitch their personal experiences against doctors' guesses and find a disalignment between the experiences and doctors' preliminary proposals. In a way, this reflects some kind of claim to personal space which implies that only the owner of the body knows where it hurts. Except doctors' guesses tally one-to-one with patients' thoughts and exact experiences, sometimes, doctors' voices are refuted. This refutation often requires more clinical and discursive efforts on doctors' part. One of the doctors consulted for the discussion sessions (the one in private practice) confirmed that doctors' conjectural voices exist in the clinics but that doctors have to relate to them carefully to avoid wrong diagnoses given the possibility of the existence of multiple symptoms against single ailments. The doctor in the teaching hospital agreed that certain categories of doctors, particularly those in private practice exhibit conjectural voices, which to him is not consistent with standard medical practice. He personally de-

recommended physician guesses which he associated with incompetence, laziness and excessive urge for making money.

Doctor's seemingly common-ground motivated guess at Line 11 gets refuted at Line 12 by Patient. Driven by his competence, following a series of post-refutation questions, Doctor takes another guess, the non-contiguous discursive repetition which echoes the truth content of the pre-scientific, earlier guess, and which is followed by the scientific task of examination. Thus, the enacted doctor's voice does not self-terminate; rather, it interlaces with institutional and scientific voices. In the discussion sessions, the doctor from private practice confirmed the views of some patients that the scientific intervention of examinations made by Doctor was not being practised by a handful of Nigerian physicians who made recommendations on the basis of their preliminary guesses. He held the view that this is a dangerous practice, arguing that the guess of an ulcerous condition by Doctor in Text 1, without an examination, is refutable on the grounds that the same symptoms and body part sites mentioned by Patient could potentially produce a cancer or a pancreas disease. While the doctor from the teaching hospital agreed with this view in large measure, he insisted that doctors practise what he called "clinical acumen", rather than a guess, a conjecture of possible ailments based on the symptoms presented by patients, which itself must be confirmed by examinations and laboratory investigations for clinical accuracy, except in extremely clear and simple cases such as malaria. The submissions by the two doctors, irrespective of the angles of their arguments, validate the existence of doctors' conjectural voices in the clinics. This validation is as important as their emphasis that conjectural voices are weak bases for diagnoses and treatments.

5.3.2 Medical institutional voice

This is the enactment of a perspective that is reflective of hospital procedures and activities which do not necessarily come with a huge systematic scientific knowledge of disease. It contextualises agency, role, objects, and actions as medical-institutional and as a consequence demonstrates the institution's orientation to care, firmness, authority and responsibility. The medical institutional voice, however, overlaps with and/or subsumes the medical scientific voice at the level of authority. This is clarified in 5.3.3 below.

In this research, the discursive repetition by which the medical institutional voice is enacted is associated with doctors' diagnostic and post-diagnostic utterances as shown in Ex 5 and Ex 6 below.

Ex 5: Txt 1

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9. DR: So, >what's the complaint?< (0.03)

10. PAT: I do have stomach pain (.)

11. DR: Stomach pain↓ I hope it's not the ulcer pain↓ or () you having at one part in time like that (0.03)

12. PAT: No:: =

13. DR: Where is the pain? (.)

14. PAT: At the middle here↓

15. DR: It's the ulcer pain (.)°lie down let me check it° () **IT'S THE ULCER PAIN NOW**, se igba yen na

16.

Is time that it

17

Was that time

too

18. **se** period exam? **bo ya O KIN JEUN DA:DA:** Igba August **Igba yen**, <hope it's not exam period?> (0.02)

19. Is period exam? Maybe you don't eat very well. Time August time then, hope it's not exam period

20. Is it the exam period? Maybe you don't eat well. That time was August; I hope this is not an exam period

21. Did you use any drug like Ibuprofen or Felvin? =

22.PAT: No (0.02)

23.DR: And you didn't take Alabukun↓=

24.PAT: >No< (0.02)

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In this example, the medical institutional voice is enacted in the following ways:

- a. The announcement of a diagnosis of ulcer by a physician

That follows an examination is an indication of a clear understanding of medical institutional operations. It, however, subsumes an underlying scientific knowledge that produces the diagnosis (the medical scientific voice) as will be shown in 5.3.3.

- b. An expression of Doctor's Aesculapian power (physicians' use of medical knowledge to heal patients).

In addition to deploying discursive repetition in announcing the diagnosis which defines a doctor's reserve and vested authority to heal the patient, the use of "now", as explained earlier, also shows a level of doctoral authority.

- c. Responsibilisation achieved with the direct announcement of the diagnosis.

This is typically the role of a doctor. With this unmitigated or unveiled announcement (see Odebunmi 2011), Doctor responsabilises himself for Patient's condition, and that singular act makes the announcement count as a medical institutional voice. He predicates the condition as an attribute of Patient (of course relying on scientific knowledge) and as a consequence, places the responsibility for the correctness and consequences on the institution Doctor represents.

Ex 6: Txt 2

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64. PAT: BEE ni sir (0.03)

65. Yes sir.

66. Yes sir

67. DR: Ifunpa ti mo se fun yin yen, °o fe lo soke die°, tori 150, 90 ni. °**O kan fe lo soke die ni**°,

68. The arm pressure that I do for you so, it want to go up small, because 150, 90 is. It just want to go up small

69. Your blood pressure increased a little bit. It is 150/190. It only increased a little bit sir.

70. koti i de level ti a maa fun yan loogun (0.03) So, ti won ba fe fi iyo sounje yin, ekan maa ni ki won

71. It has not reach level that we give person drug, so, if they want to put salt in your food, you just say they should

72. It requires no medication yet. Just instruct that the quantity of salt put in your food should

73. dikun, then lore koore boya, leyin bii o se meji, e kan le lo sibi ti won ti n check e, ki won ba
74. reduce it then, every time, maybe, after like two weeks, you can now go to where they check it, they should help you
75. be reduced, then occasionally, maybe after two weeks, you may then go to places where they read it so they can help
76. yin check e ki eeyan ripe ko lo soke, because to ba lo soke eeyan o ni mo. E pele
o
77. you read it, so that one sees it does not go up, because if it goes up, person will not know. Sorry o
78. you read it to be sure it does not rise because one may not know it has risen. Sorry.
79. PAT: °Kini diabetes yen n ko sa?°
80. The thing diabetes that where it sir?
81. What of the diabetes issue, sir?
82. DR: Gbogbo e eni mot ii, test e nii, lab le ti maa se, won ye ito yin wo, won a ye eje
yin wo.
83. All of them that I have tested is, lab is you will do it, they check your urine, they will check your
blood
84. Everything has been included. You will carry out all the tests in the lab: your urine and your blood.
85. So e mu lo
86. So take it there
. . .

Ex 6: Txt 2 provides a medical institutional voice in the context of clinical assessment. As discussed earlier, Doctor tries to manage the fairly bad news in a way that does not cause discomfort for Patient. Before he opts for the discursive repetition, he has tried out other options which could not be afforded by the context created by the first clinical assessment and the subsequent BP reading. To provide effective institutional service, Doctor has to orient to patient-centred care which privileges patient assurance as a cardinal focus. This approach requires a careful formulation of the news for the best effect and avoidance of physician blame in the long run. Doctor selects medical indexes of care which are best evident in a comparison between *ókàn fẹ́* lọ sókè díẹ̀ *ni* (double-intensification) and *Ó fẹ́* lọ sókè díẹ̀ (single intensification). With *ó kàn fẹ́* and *ni*, Doctor mitigates the hypertensive condition. In other words, he avoids the use of the technically correct term, “moderate hypertension” and thus deresponsibilises himself for the condition of Patient. This deresponsibilisation makes the repetition count as a medical institutional voice and

consequently reduces the condition scare while still picking out the referent but taking weakened responsibility for Patient's condition.

5.3.3 *Medical scientific voice*

The medical scientific voice refers to the enactment of a perspective that strictly articulates Medicine's systematic knowledge of disease. It illustrates the scientific resourcefulness that interacts with the medical institutional operations to produce the authoritativeness and reliability of medical practice within the (post)diagnostic and clinical assessment contexts.

Ex 7: Txt 1

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9. DR: So, >what's the complaint?< (0.03)

10. PAT: I do have stomach pain (.)

11. DR: Stomach pain↓ I hope it's not the ulcer pain↓ or () you having at one part in time like that (0.03)

12. PAT: No:: =

13. DR: Where is the pain? (.)

14. PAT: At the middle here↓

15. DR: It's the ulcer pain (.)°lie down let me check it° () **IT'S THE ULCER PAIN NOW**, se igba yen na

16. Is time that it

17. Was that time

too

-
-
-

“Now” in Ex 7: Txt 1 enacts the voice of medical science. First, it follows the sentence that bears the diagnostic announcement which itself, with the particulariser, “the”, tracks earlier mentions (Lines 11b and 15a), makes exophoric reference to the physical co-presence (Clark 1996) of the consultative parties and implicates systematic medical knowledge.

The meaning of “now” indicates a firmer establishment of Doctor's diagnostic perspective as against earlier guesses. It comes with a comparative tone which places the earlier Patient-doubted conjectural voice against the new Doctor systematically-advanced

voice. It thus implicates Doctor’s evocation, utilisation and confirmation of his knowledge of human anatomy and ulcer pathology. These scientific considerations, packed into the adverbial “now” and implicatively enriched in the main pre/post/diagnostic structures include, for example:

- a. Peptic ulcer is located in the lining of the stomach or the upper intestine. This knowledge informs Doctor’s question at Line 13: Where is the pain?
- b. Patient’s answer, “At the middle” (where the lining of the stomach is situated) confirms a Peptic ulcer condition to Doctor. Doctor’s scientific knowledge motivates the stronger diagnostic claim he makes before he carries out an examination on Patient.

The post-diagnostic non-contiguous repetitions in Ex 8 and Ex 9 further demonstrate the voice of medical science:

Ex 8 Txt 1:

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15. DR: It’s the ulcer pain (.)°lie down let me check it° () **IT’S THE ULCER PAIN NOW**, se igba yen na

16. Is time that it

17. Was that time

too

18. **se** period exam? **bo ya O KIN JEUN DA:DA:** Igba August **Igba yen**, <hope it’s not exam period?> (0.02)

19. Is period exam? Maybe you don’t eat very well. Time August time then, hope it’s not exam period

20. Is it the exam period? Maybe you don’t eat well. That time was August; I hope this is not an exam period

21. Did you use any drug like Ibuprofen or Felvin? =

22.PAT: No (0.02)

23.DR: And you didn’t take Alabukun↓=

24.PAT: >No< (0.02)

25.DR: You are having ulcer pain now, so **ma n jeun DA:DA: bayi? (0.04)**

26. You eating very well now?

27. A re you actually eating well?

27.PAT: **Mo** <'un try **bayi** >

28. I trying now

29. I am trying to eat well now

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. .
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This utterance as an index of the medical scientific voice implicates, at least, two forms of knowledge on which Doctor's suspicion and diagnosis of peptic ulcer stands:

a. Acute starvation

This is enacted by Doctor's interrogative (Line 25, Text 1), but is equally pre-indicated by his weak effort to determine the cause of the ulcer with the deployment of probability modality (Line 18, Text 1). Doctor's co-textual reference to Patient's examination period-invoked hunger (Line 18, Text 1) and his general self-starvation practices implied at Line 28, Text 1 strengthen the medical scientific voice.

b. The use of ASA (acetylsalicylic) and other NSAIDS (Non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs)

Doctor's deployment of co-textual reference contiguous to the interrogative discursive repetition (Line 25) further establishes the voice of medical science. He attempts to rule out Patient's use of ASA (Alabukun) and NSAIDS (Ibuprofen and Felvin) which, by Doctor's knowledge of medicine, causes or aggravates ulcer.

The firmness that attends Doctor's post-diagnostic non-contiguous discursive repetitions and several co-texts, supported by an underlying demonstration of scientific knowledge, which present a tone of certainty, verifiability and affirmation produced following examination, add up to the medical scientific voice enacted in the interaction.

Ex 9: Txt 3

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85. DR: Enh enh, so, to baa ti e bati wa pari [fasting e maa pada]

86. Yes, yes; so, if it once you now have ended fasting you will return

87. Yes, so once you finish the fasting, you will revert
88. PAT: > Hmm, maa pada [si morning and night yen<=]
89. I will return to morning and night that
90. I will revert to the morning and night plan)
91. DR: **E maa loo bee, tori o n reflect lara BP yin bayi tori=**
92. You using it like that, because it reflecting on body BP you now because
93. Be using it that way because it is already affecting your BP because
94. PAT: **O n reflect**, emi gan n ri igba ti mo nbo=
95. It reflecting, I myself seeing it when I coming
96. It is affecting it, I too noticed it when I was coming
97. DR: **Tori 156/94 ni mo get bayi, abi 154/94, so o n reflect=**
98. because 154/94 is I get now, or 154/94, so it reflecting
99. because 154/94 is my reading, or rather 154/94, so it is affecting it

.
. .
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This utterance is a combination of the English logical connector, “so”, the Yoruba pronominal “ó” and continuous tense marker “ń”, together with the English lexical verb “reflect. “So” produces a conclusion from the co-textual, “Torí 156/94 ni mo get báyíí, àbí 154/94” (Line 97) which presents a diagnosis based on the scientific information embedded in the BP reading figures. When combined with “ó ń reflect”, a judgement or an assessment is produced, enacting a medical scientific voice built on the following knowledge:

- a. Adults 60 years of age or older with systolic blood pressure of 150 mm Hg or more should be treated with a goal of reducing systolic blood pressure to less than 150 mm Hg.
- b. Adults 60 years of age or older who have had a stroke or transient ischemic attack (mini stroke) should be treated with a goal of reducing their systolic blood pressure to less than 140 mm Hg.
- c. Adults 60 years of age or older who are at high risk for cardiovascular events (e.g., heart attack) should be treated with a goal of reducing their systolic blood pressure to less than 140 mm Hg, but this decision should be made on an individual basis.
- d. In adults 60 years of age or older, blood pressure treatment targets should be determined based on a patient’s history and risk factors

(<https://www.mcmasteroptimalaging.org/full-article/es/people-60-years-age-older-blood-pressure-targets-determined-based-history-risk-1627>)

- e. Nifedipine belongs to a class of [medications](#) known as [calcium](#) channel blockers.
- f. It works by relaxing [blood](#) vessels so blood can flow more easily.
- g. This medication must be taken regularly to be effective.

(<https://www.webmd.com/drugs/2/drug-8681-10/nifedipine-oral/nifedipine-oral/details>)

Based on the above scientific facts, with co-textual reference to the drug Nifedine prescribed and the current BP reading, Doctor's medical science voice with "so, óń reflect" foregrounds the following:

- i. Patient is 60 years old, and Doctor's knowledge of her history and risk factor which lies in the parties' common ground, determined the treatment regimen with Nifedipine.
- ii. The discursive repetition's pract of warning implicates a re-affirmation of existing hypertension.
- iii. Patient's age requires her BP to be kept at less than a systolic reading of 150, which was the reason Nifedipine was recommended.
- iv. For Nifedipine to be effective, Patient has to use it regularly, but in the current case, Patient has unilaterally stopped the use or altered the recommended instructions because she was observing days of fasting in her church.
- v. Nifedipine is no longer effective in controlling the BP because of the alteration.

Consequent upon these check-listed features, Doctor attributes Patient's poor health to her non-adherence to the regimen given and thus shifts the blame of her medically dangerous action to her through the co-enactment of a medical institutional voice – the deployment of a deresponsibilising discursive repetition. More details are provided on the negotiation of clinical outcomes in Section 5.4 below.

In the discussion sessions, all the participating patients said they believe doctors more when they premise their information on medical scientific knowledge than when they counsel them in general or attempt to persuade them about their lifestyles or empathise with them. Some of them expressed the view that they sometimes suspect a possible disclosure of bad news or concealed information when doctors "try to be very nice to them". For most of them, direct or indirect evocation of medical scientific voice engenders

immediate satisfaction, fear, hopelessness or caution, the expression of which was confirmed by the two doctors. These perspectives could explain why Patient in Text 3 quickly drops her religious convenience position embraced up to the point Doctor shifts footing to the voice of medicine. While a good number of the interviewed patients appreciate patient-centredness and its attendant emotional succour, together with its prevention of complications, they nonetheless acknowledge the tentativeness of the clinical effects of the approach in negative news disclosure.

5.3.4 *Life world, cultural voice*

The life world, cultural voice indicates doctors' perspectives reflecting their socio-cultural rather than their medical professional attitudes to events in clinical consultations. It depicts a superposed perspective that shows an influence of doctors' cultural orientations on the interchanges in hospital meetings. The enacted voice, unlike other voices, is often strategically evoked and relayed in indigenous languages. When the code of interaction is English between speakers of the same language (Yoruba in the current case), doctors often switch to the indigenous language or use English in a way to give it the special enablement to carry the intended cultural message. Ex 10 and Ex 11 below are clear instantiations of the life world, cultural voice.

Ex 10: Txt 1

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15. DR: It's the ulcer pain (.)°lie down let me check it° () **IT'S THE ULCER PAIN NOW**, se igba yen na

16. Is time that it

17. Was that time

too

18. se period exam? **bo ya O KIN JEUN DA:DA:** Igba August **Igba yen**, <hope it's not exam period?>
(0.02)

19. Is period exam? Maybe you don't eat very well. Time August time then, hope it's not exam period

20. Is it the exam period? Maybe you don't eat well. That time was August; I hope this is not an exam period

21. Did you use any drug like Ibuprofen or Felvin? =

22.PAT: No (0.02)

- 23.DR: And you didn't take Alabukun↓=
24.PAT: >No< (0.02)
25.DR: You are having ulcer pain now, so **ma n jeun DA:DA: bayi? (0.04)**
26. You eating very well now?
27. A re you actually eating well?
27.PAT: **Mo <'un try bayi >**
28 I trying now
29. I am trying to eat well now
30.DR: °You can't afford not° to eat on time **o**, if you have ulcer (.)
31.PAT: °Super pain°
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.
.

This interrogative, which has been cited earlier as an example of the medical scientific voice, and which tracks “It’s the ulcer pain now... báyá oð kì ñ jeun dáadáá” (Line 18), produces a lifeworld, cultural voice. While it implicates medical scientific knowledge, its distributional position immediately after the non-contiguous discursive diagnostic repetition is a footing shift to Yoruba from English with significant cultural implications. First, given the high contextual setting in which the clinical consultation takes place, the collectivist culture plays a significant role. The footing shift indexicates a movement from institutional formality to social familiarity (Line 18b), a cue that is consistent with “you-are-your-neighbour’s-keeper ideology of the Yorùbá which culturally empowers a typical adult or elderly person to take freedom with and an interest in the affairs of a younger person and make repairs as deemed appropriate. The interrogative sounds conventional, and thus ordinary, to a cultural outsider, but to an insider, it comes with a tone of concern typically associated with a child-parent talk. This tone is inferably represented in the following interrogative enrichments: “Are you really sure you are eating well?”; “Do you not think you are not being unfair to yourself by not eating well?”; “Do you not think your not eating well should be of serious concern?” Each of these enrichments comes within the affective parental stance in the Yorùbá culture, particularly when taken together with “bayi” which situates the talk essentially in the Yorùbá collectivist culture. It suggests a context where a sincerely concerned parent is interested in the wellbeing or wellness of a child, a relation or any member of the community.

The contribution, taken as a whole, meshes with aspects of institutional care (in which the doctor expresses empathy towards the patient), but further implicates cultural inclusivity and thus a more socially-welcome invitation of biographical accounts contra clinical medical approaches. The uptake of this culturally-ingrained perspective to which Patient is familiar informs his quick cooperative response at Line 28 by which he co-constructs Doctor's thesis of starvation and consequently the cause of Patient's ulcer condition with him. This means that patients seem to cooperate better with doctors when a cultural voice to which both parties orient is enacted in the consultative meetings. This, in fact, is the view of most of the patients and the two doctors interacted with.

Ex 11: Txt 3

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79. Dr: It's okay↓ So, **E SILE MAA LO ONI TWENTY YEN EYO KOOKAN LALALE=**
80. You still can using that one twenty that one one one in night night
81. You can still be using the twenty milligram one, one every night
82. Pat: >**Mo N LOO**<↑=
83. I using it
84. I am using it
85. DR: **Enh enh**, so, **to baa ti e bati wa pari** [fasting e maa pada]
86. Yes, yes; so, if it once you now have ended fasting you will return
87. Yes, so once you finish the fasting, you will revert
88. Pat: > Hmm, **maa pada** [**si** morning and night yen<=
89 I will return to morning and night that
90. I will revert to the morning and night plan)
91. Dr: **E maa loo bee, tori o n** reflect **lara BP yin bayi tori=**
92. You using it like that, because it reflecting on body BP you now because
93. Be using it that way because it is already affecting your BP because
94. Pat: **O n** reflect, **emi gan n ri igba ti mo nbo=**
95. It reflecting, I myself seeing it when I coming
96. It is affecting it, I too noticed it when I was coming
97. Dr: **Tori 156/94 ni mo** get **bayi, abi 154/94, so o n** reflect=
98. because 154/94 is I get now, or 154/94, so it reflecting
99. because 154/94 is my reading, or rather 154/94, so it is affecting it

100. **O n** reflect **lara e**. Uhn (0.01). So, **se bee ni** complaint **kankan**?
901. It reflecting on body it. So, is it no complaint at any?
102. It is affecting it. So, do you have any complaint?
103. Pat: **Rara** sir=
104. No sir
105. Dr: **E le maa lo**=
106. You can be going go
107. You can now leave
108. Pat: Okay sir=
108. Dr: **E pele o**.
109. You sorry please
110. Take care please

This word, in addition to serving as an adverb of reason, provides a cultural intervention in the Yorùbá context of consanguinity. In its suggestion of “Just in case something bad happens; I should be seen to have done my bit”, it presents the claim that Doctor has provided the required information for Patient to live healthy: to return to her dosage of Nifedipine for the treatment of high BP as was being used before the fast began. The consanguineous voice is the perspective that is found in the elder/younger and superior/subordinate persons’ cultural interactions where the former lays claim to greater wisdom and expects the latter to be guided by such or be ready to take responsibility for the consequences of the resultant disobedience. Thus, in Ex 11: Txt 3, Doctor’s life word, cultural voice provides a warner, disowning tone in bad consequences and seems to suggest a poor prognosis in situations of continued non-adherence.

5.4 Negotiating clinical outcomes with discursive repetitions and voices

Doctor and Patient through the deployment of discursive repetitions and enacted voices negotiate three clinical outcomes: joint verdicts on Patient’s health state, Patient’s commitment to adherence and Patient’s admittance of non-compliance with regimens. Except in about five of the interactions, the outcomes are not found at once in all the 30 sampled interactions. To save space and avoid repetitions, Text 3 which more clearly exemplifies all the outcomes is used for the analysis in this section. The outcomes are sequentially rather than categorially discussed to allow for a good flow and a clear

demonstration of context-shaped and context-determined choices and strategies deployed by the parties.

Two discursive repetitions used in the interaction are “*Torí*” and “(so) *óń reflect*”. Doctor’s self-repetitive “*Torí*” (Line 91) issues a sudden disowning warning contra preceding turn. The repetition is discursively designed as a strong health warning, relying on attention (Kecskes 2014) based on the apriori common ground at Lines 85-91a&b where both draw on the knowledge of the recommendations made by Doctor, the fasting rites of Patient and her alteration of the regimen plan prior to the current interaction. “*Torí*” serves as an assumed reference to these with the expectation that without an explicit statement, Patient would perceive the connection between her choice treatment plan and the medically acceptable practice. The verbalised declarative shared knowledge of medical institutional and scientific standards by Patient at Line 88 as a response to Doctor’s hinted dosage restoration at Line 85 comes off as Patient’s co-construction of the compliance expectations from her. Doctor, having established this co-knowledge with Patient, undertakes two discursive actions. First, at Line 91a, he indirectly accuses Patient of non-adherence. While “*È máa lò ó bẹ̀...*” admits and authorises Patient’s knowledge of her expressed treatment plan, it implies that Patient did not follow the plan for effective control of her BP. To reinforce this move, he suddenly announces his verdict on Patient’s poor health and strengthens this with the repetition of “*torí*”, carrying a strong force of accusation, itself premised on their shared discursive knowledge of Patient’s negative role on the management of her BP condition.

Patient co-constructs Doctor’s self-repetition of “*torí*” as a warning intention by recognising the cultural voice as an appeal to sobriety, caution, and adjustment (Line 94). This is demonstrated through Patient’s repetition of Doctor’s “*óń reflect*” at Line 91, enhanced by the realisation cue latch at Line 94, as an admittance of Doctor’s medical scientific truth; and thus an alignment with Doctor’s verdict on the poor state of her health. The preceding sequence (Line 94: *èmi gan-an rí i ...*) orients to the salience of Doctor’s “*torí*” and scientific voice (*óń reflect*) as a co-construction (with Doctor) of health hazard and thus an admittance of non-adherence to regimens due to religious obligation.

At Lines 97–100, Doctor’s repetitive “*Óń reflect*” occurs in two forms: the first “*óń reflect*” (Line 97) comes as a conclusion pract, as earlier pointed out, following the warning “*torí*” and the announcement of Patient’s heart state. The second at Line 100, “*Óń reflect lára ẹ̀*” comes as a preceding contribution to Doctor’s closing of the consultative session. Combining both repetitive turns, Doctor evokes medical authority with its attendant medical scientific voice by co-constructing Patient’s admittance of non-

adherence at Line 94 as the right clinical action. This co-construction is achieved at different levels. First, in respect of the first at Line 97 which is an interplay of CRCAOR and CSCR, he co-constructs Patient's view and knowledge as the right medical perspective through the deployment of the reason ('torí') and the logico-conclusion ("so") markers at Line 97. Second, following the "so" construction is a latching version of the "ó ñ reflect" repetition, "Ó ñ reflect láraè (Line 100), in which Doctor discursively meshes Patient's admittance of non-adherence with his own medical view as a proposal for a final agreement on the clinical event. By this clear negative evaluation of Patient's health, Doctor has responsabilised, as an institutional act, for her poor health. In the same Line, Doctor further establishes the authority of his declaration by the use of the Yorùbá affirmation marker "Uhn", designed doubly as authority and a reaction-inviter from Patient. Then, in alignment with the principles of patient-centred medicine, he observes a very short in-talk pause to allow Patient's uptake of his negative evaluation and a TRP for her contribution. He continues as a current speaker when Patient does not take up the floor. This implicates Patient's acceptance of Doctor's position as the right medical direction and her commitment to adherence to regimens following Doctor's negative evaluation and its implications for her health. He now selects "so" as a conclusion marker with a pragmatic role.

Based on the overall negotiated clinical outcomes, "so" serves as a logical concluder of the parties' co-constructed position that Patient's action is responsible for her poor health and a signal of the conclusion that the two parties are agreed on Patient's fault and her commitment to adherence. Still following the principles of patient-centred medicine to ensure that his inferences are fully co-constructed with Patient, Doctor requests for Patient's complaint (Line 100). Her "no-complaint" response implicates the acceptability of her responsibility for her poor health and the commitment to a positive change.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, I have identified two key discursive repetitions in clinical interactions: non-contiguous full-constituent self-repetitions in diagnostic and post-diagnostic contexts and contiguous full/reduced-constituent self/other- repetitions in positive and negative evaluative contexts. I have argued that they enact four discursive voices: conjectural, institutional, scientific and cultural, and that the interaction between the repetitions and voices produces the negotiation of three clinical outcomes: joint agreement on Doctor's verdicts, Patient's admittance of non-adherence and Patient's commitment to adherence.

With the application of the model of discourse tracking and the theory of polyphony, supported by Kecskes' socio-cognitive approach and Cafi's (and Mey's) concept of (de)responsibilisation, I have shown that repetition-grounded voice salience and common ground largely constrain co-construction and negotiation of meaning, social perspectives and medical knowledge in the encounters. This study connects with Lindström (2011) only in its exploration of other repetitions in consultative meetings, not in its comparison of the rate at which different categories of doctors repeat their patients' utterances. It also only partially aligns with Bendix (1980) which emphasizes doctors' repetition of patients' last words. Beyond these studies, in the research, I have given attention not only to other-repetitions but also to self-repetitions of doctors and patients. I have in addition shown a link between the repetitions and the voices enacted in the encounters together with the discursive negotiation of clinical outcomes through the deployment of repetitions and voices.

In particular, I have claimed that while all the four voices of discursive repetitions play significant roles in consultative meetings in Nigerian hospitals, the medical scientific voice and the lifeworld cultural voice appear more directly impactful on patient believability of the medical process and cooperation for information and medical effectiveness. I have focused only on the broad, non-differential discursive repetitions achieved with linguistic resources from both English and Yoruba. I have not explored a comparison between English and Yoruba repetitions and their discursive impacts on the sequential contexts and clinical outcome negotiations. Future research can pay attention to these aspects. Future research can also focus exclusively on and expand the pragmatic features and implications of each of the voices. Such research can also investigate in detail the relative impacts of the voices on the effectiveness of care in Nigerian hospitals.

Finally, this research has demonstrated that clinical conversations provide useful insights into the design of diagnostic contents and clinical assessments; and combine effectively with polyphony to show how doctors and patients satisfactorily negotiate therapeutic outcomes in clinical meetings. It, therefore, has presented a useful resource for physicians, particularly in high-context cultures, to navigate patient-centred practice in consultative meetings.

Acknowledgements

I appreciate the invaluable comments of Prof. Peter Auer of Freiburg University, Germany and Prof. Karin Birkner of Bayreuth, Germany on the early draft of this paper.

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Appendices

Transcription Notations

- [] indicating overlap
- (0.2) indicating elapsed time in tenths of seconds
- (.) indicating a brief pause
- (), indicating inaudibility
- < > talk said more slowly than surrounding talk
- > < talk said more quickly than surrounding talk
- @ laughter
- ::: prolongation
- ↑ ↓ high or low pitch
- (()) transcriber's descriptions
- WORD (upper case) loud sound relative to the surrounding talk
- °word° word/utterance indicating that the sounds are softer than the surrounding talk
- = no break or gap
- - indicating a short or untimed interval without talk

Text 1

1. DR: °Olorundare°
2. PAT: Good morning, sir
3. DR: Hey, how are you? What's your name? =
4. PAT: Olorundare Femi =
5. DR: Sit down
6. PAT: She's not there
7. DR: She didn't check your BP?

8. PAT: Yes=
9. DR: So, what's the complaint?
10. PAT: I do have stomach pain
11. DR: Stomach pain, I hope it's not the ulcer pain or () you having at one part in time like that
12. PAT: No:: =
13. DR: where is the pain?
14. PAT: At the middle here
15. DR: It's the ulcer pain (.) lie down let me check it () it's the ulcer pain now, **se igba yen na**
16. Is time that it
17. Was that time too
18. **se** period exam? **bo ya O KIN JEUN DA:DA: Igba** August **igba yen**, hope it's not exam period? (0.02)
19. Is period exam? Maybe you don't eat very well. Time August time then, hope it's not exam period
20. Is it the exam period? Maybe you don't eat well. That time was August; I hope this is not an exam period
21. Did you use any drug like Ibuprofen or Felvin? =
22. PAT: No (0.02)
23. DR: And you didn't take Alabukun↓=
24. PAT: >No< (0.02)
25. DR: You are having ulcer pain now, so **ma n jeun DA:DA: bayi?**
26. You eating very well now?
27. Are you actually eating well?
27. PAT: **Mo** <'un try **bayi** >
28 I trying now
29. I am trying now
30. DR: °You can't afford not° to eat on time **o**, if you have ulcer (.)
31. PAT: °Super pain°
32. DR: And () **me je ji**, when you urinate did you feel pain? =
33. And the two, when you urinate, do you feel pain?
34. PAT: No
35. DR: Let me check () bi mo se gba yen se kodun e sha?
36 as I hit it that, did it not pain you really?
37 As I hit it, did it really pain?
38. PAT: Odun mi ni ibi bayi
39. It pains me in here this.
40 It pains me here
41. DR: And you said you don't e () to ba to o ma feel pain (.)

42. And you said you don't () if you urinate, you feel pain (.)
43. And you said you don't feel pains; if you urinate, you feel pain?
- 44.PAT: Bi ijeta ibiyi ko dada pe n kan wuwo
45. Like three days ago, this place looks like something heavy
46. Three days ago, I felt heavy here.
47. DR: Ni be
48. There
49. At the spot
50. PAT: Bee ni
51. Yes
52. Yes
53. DR: Ok sha l'ogun ni sha
54. Okay, just use drug is so
55. Okay, just make sure you use your drugs
56. PAT: Ra ra. I always have difficulty sleeping at night
57. No no, I always have difficulty sleeping at night
58. No no, I always have difficulty sleeping at night
- 59.DR: Hmm, and you are writing exam, so o kin kawo oru?
60. Hmm, and you are writing exam, is it you don't read in late night?
61. Hmm, and you are writing exam, I hope you don't read late into night
62. PAT: Mi o kin kawo oru o, ale ni kan
63. I don't read in late night, night only is it
64. I don't read late into night; only at night
65. PAT: Hmmm (.)
- .
- .
- .

Text 2

1. DR: E pele sir, e joko sir se eyin le tele?
2. You sorry sa. You sit down sa; is it you that follows him?
3. You are welcome, sir. Sit sown sir. Are you the one that accompany him?
- 4.PAT: Doctor ()
- 5.DR: Ok, epele sir
6. sorry sir
7. You are welcome, sir

8. PAT: Yes sir
9. DR: Kilo oruko yin sir?
10. What name you sir?
11. What is your name sir?
12. PAT: Fatunbi Abel
13. DR: Fatunde Abel
14. PAT: Fatunbi Abel []
15. DR: Fatunbi Abel, ok (.) hmm:: se won ti se ifunpa yin leni?
16. have they done hand pressure you today?
17. Have they checked your blood pressure today?
18. PAT: E ni
19. You say?
20. What did you say?
21. DR: Se won ti se ifunpa yin nigba te de?
22. Have they done arm pressure you when you came ?
23. Have they checked your blood pressure since you came?
24. PAT: Rara
25. No
26. No
27. DR: E je kin i se ki n mo(.) ((checks the patient's BP)) Se ito yin o kin po sa?
28. You let me do it and know. Is urine your not much
29. Let me read it to know I hope your urine is not excessive?
30. PAT: Hmm::, ito mi o kin n po, sugbo::n mo[]
31. Hmm::, urine mine is not always much but I
32. Hmm::, my urine is not excessive but I
33. DR: [E kan fe se test]
34. You just want to do test
35. You want to have a test
36. PAT: Bee ni
37. Yes
38. Yes
39. DR: Hmm hun
40. I hear
41. That's okay
42. PAT: Mo kan ni ki n se, ki n mo bi ara mi se ri

43. I just say I do it for me to know how my body looks
44. I just want to do it to know the state of my health
45. DR: Fatunbi abi?
46. Fatunbi is it?
47. Your name is Fatunbi, right?
- 48.PAT: Bee ni
49. Yes
50. Yes
51. DR: Fatunbi kile pe?
52. Fatunbi what is it you called it?
53. Fatunbi what?
54. PAT: Abel
55. DR: Ok (.) Ara yin o de gbona
56. Body your is and not hot?
57. And you have no temperature?
58. PAT: Ara mi o gbona
59. Body me is not hot?
60. I have no temperature.
61. DR: Okay:. E ti jeun leni? (0.2)
62. You have eaten today?
63. Have you eaten today?
- 64.PAT: BEE ni sir (0.03)
65. Yes sir.
66. Yes sir
67. DR: Ifunpa ti mo se fun yin yen, °o fe lo soke die°, tori 150, 90 ni. °**O kan fe lo soke die ni**°,
- 68 The arm pressure that I do for you so, it want to go up small, because 150, 90 is. It just want to go up small
69. Your blood pressure increased a little bit. It is 150/190. It only increased a little bit sir.
70. koti i de level ti a maa fun yan loogun (0.03) So, ti won ba fe fi iyo sounje yin, ekan maa ni ki won
71. It has not reach level that we give person drug, so, if they want to put salt in your food, you just say they should
72. It requires no medication yet. Just instruct that the quantity of salt put in your food should
73. dikun, then lore koore boya, leyin bii o se meji, e kan le lo sibi ti won ti n check e, ki won ba
74. reduce it then, every time, maybe, after like two weeks, you can now go to where they check it, they should help you

75. be reduced, then occasionally, maybe after two weeks, you may then go to places where they read it so they can help
76. yin check e ki eeyan ripe ko lo soke, because to ba lo soke eeyan o ni mo. E pele o
77. you read it, so that one sees it does not go up, because if it goes up, person will not know. Sorry o
78. you read it to be sure it does not rise because one may not know it has risen. Sorry.
79. PAT: °Kini diabetes yen n ko sa?°
80. The thing diabetes that where it sir?
81. What of the diabetes issue, sir?
82. DR: Gbogbo e eni mot ii, test e nii, lab le ti maa se, won ye ito yin wo, won a ye eje yin wo.
83. All of them that I have tested is, lab is you will do it, they check your urine, they will check your blood
84. Everything has been included. You will carry out all the tests in the lab: your urine and your blood.
85. So e mu lo
86. So take it there
87. So take it there
88. PAT: ()
89. DR: So, to ba ready e le mu wa. Hmm E pele o
90. So if it ready, you can bring it. Hmm. Sorry o
91. So when it is ready, you can bring it. Hmm. Take care
92. PAT: °Then kini kan ti mo samba maa bere nip e ::, mo maa feel pain ni epon, o maa n kan
93. Then something is I often will ask is that I often feel pain in my scrotum, it often
94. Then, there is a deep pain I feel in my scrotum; it often
95. ro mi ninu°
96. pains me inside
97. deeply pains me internally.
98. DR: Se ki n se pe after ti e bat i ni erection lo maa se bee sa?
99. Is it not that after you have erection that it does like that?
100. Does it occur after you have had erection?
101. PAT: Hun-hun, igba mii lowo ale, ti n bas a ti sun, a[]
102. Yes, sometimes, in the hand of night once I sleep it
103. Yes, sometimes it pains me and night when I'm sleeping
104. DR: [a kan maar o yin]
105. It will just be paining you
106. It will just be paining you
107. PAT: °A kan maar o mi°
108. It will just be paining me 

109. It will just be paining me
110. DR: Emi::, nkan to tun maa sele ni pe, ti e ba seleyi ni Monday (0.3) Ti e ba n to se e o ki n
111. I what that again will happen is that, if you this on Monday. When you are urinating, does not it
112. What happens is that, if you do this on Monday, when you urinate, I hope you do not
113. feel pain, sha?
114. feel pain just?
115. feel pain
116. PAT: Rara (0.3)
117. No
118. No
119. DR: Monday le maa wa se eleyi, but eleyi, eni le maa se eyi
120. Monday you will come do this but this one, today you will do it
121. You will come for this on Monday, but this one will be done today
122. PAT: ()
123. DR: Ehn
124. What?
125. PAT: Se after ti mo ba ti ri won tan?
126. Is it after I have seen them finish?
127. Is it after I they have concluded with me?
128. DR: No, e mo pe test ti Monday yen
129. No, you know that test that Monday own
130. No, you know that test to be done on Monday
131. PAT: Ehn, eleyi ti e ni ki n se ni eni
132. Yes, this one that you said I should do in today
133. Yes, the one you said I should do today
134. DR: Ti iyen ba ti ready ki e mu pada wa. E pele o. E ba mi pe Mrs Oriyi
135. When that that one is ready, that you bring it back come. Sorry o. You help me call Mrs Oriyi
136. Once that one is ready, present it to me. Take care. Help me call Mrs Oriy.
- PAT: Oriyi?
- DR: Ehn

Text 3

1. Dr: °**Kini** initials **yin yen**°; B.O. **ABI**? =
2. What initials your you; B.O. Is not?)
3. What are those initials of yours; B.O. isn't it?

4. Pat: >Yes, sir<
5. Doc: Okay (0.13) °E [me le yi wa°] ((asks to have one of Patient's hands))
6. You can bring this come
7. Give me this
8. Pat: [°Okay °] (0.18)
9. Dr: °Je ki n koko check BP won° (0.07). °But báwo lara yin°?=
10. Let me first check BP them. But how body you?
11. Let me check her BP first. But how is your body/health
12. Pat: °Well-- mo dupe lowo Olorun°=
13. Well I thank hand God
14. Well, thank God
15. Dr: Se e ni complaint kankan? =
16. Is it you have no complaint any?
17. Do you have any complaint?
18. Pat: °Mi o ni complaint°=
19. I not have complaint
20. I don't have any complaint
21. Dr: °Okay° ((measures her BP)) (0.36). Igbawo le ti lo oogun yen last Ma? (0.03)
22. When you use drug that last Ma
23. When was the last time you used the drug, Madam
24. Dr: O [ti se die]
25. It has done little
26. It's been a while
27. Pat: [Ee ri naa pe] (.)
28. You will see actually that
29. You would actually realise that
30. Dr: °Kilo sele?°=
31. What happens
32. What's the matter
33. Pat: A WA NI FASTING AND PRAYER NI CHURCH=
34. We are in fasting and prayer in church
35. We are observing a period of fasting and prayer in our church
36. Dr: Oka::y↑=
37. Pat: Uhn=
38. Dr: Okay::↑ Enh, @ E MA LO LAALE E, ABI SE MARATHON NI FASTING YEN

39. You will use in night night, or is it Marathon is fasting that
40. Use it every night, or is the fasting absolute?
41. NI↑= ((enthusiastically))
42. It
43. Pat: No, **MO MA NLO LALE**=
44. I am using it in night
45. I use it in the night
46. Dr: **Enh::,EN BOYA FOR THIS PERIOD KE SI GET ONI 30 MILLIGRAM YEN**=
47. Maybe for this period you can get the one 30 milligram that
48. May be for this period, you should get the 30 milligram one
49. Pat: OKA::Y↓
50. Dr: Uhm: °so, **e maa loo leekan l'oj[umo°]**
51. you using it once in every day
52. use it once a day
53. Pat: [°Lojumo°] =
54. every day
55. Dr: Uhm:: for the period of the fasting=
56. Pat: **Igba ti AA BA TI break fast yen**=
57. When that we have broken fasting that
58. When we have broken the fast
59. Dr: **T'e ba ti break, e maa wa pada si ori oni** twenty=
60. If you have broken, you will come back to the head that of twenty
61. When you have broken the fast, you will revert to the 20 milligram dosage
62. Pat: °Okay°↓=
63. Dr: **MEJI NI NIFEDIPINE YEN. >IKAN WA TO JE THIRTY MILIGRAM, IKAN**
64. Two is nifedipine that. One is that is thirty milligram, one
65. There are two brands of Nifedipine. One is thirty milligram, the other
66. **WA TO JE:: TWENTY<=**
67. is that is twenty
68. is twenty miligram
69. Pat: Okay↓
70. Dr: So for now=
71. Pat: **Ola gan lo maa pari**↑=
72. Tomorrow even will it end
73. It will even end tomorrow

74. Dr: **Ola lo n pari abi?**=
75. Tomorrow is it ending, it not it?
76. It is ending tomorrow, isn't?
77. Pat: **Enh**=
78. Yes
79. Dr: It's okay↓ So, **E SI LE MAA LO ONI TWENTY YEN EYO KOOKAN LALALE**=
80. You still can using that one twenty that one one one in night night
81. You can still be using the twenty milligram one, one every night
82. Pat: **>Mo N LOO<↑**=
83. I using it
84. I am using it
85. DR: **Enh enh**, so, **to baa ti e bati wa pari** [fasting e maa pada]
86. Yes, yes; so, if it once you now have ended fasting you will return
87. Yes, so once you finish the fasting, you will revert
88. Pat: **> Hmm, maa pada** [si morning and night yen<=]
89. I will return to morning and night that
90. I will revert to the morning and night plan)
91. Dr: **E maa loo bee, tori o n** reflect **lara BP yin bayi tori**=
92. You using it like that, because it reflecting on body BP you now because
93. Be using it that way because it is already affecting your BP because
94. Pat: **O n** reflect, **emi gan n ri igba ti mo nbo**=
95. It reflecting, I myself seeing it when I coming
96. It is affecting it, I too noticed it when I was coming
97. Dr: **Tori 156/94 ni mo** get **bayi, abi 154/94, so o n** reflect=
98. because 154/94 is I get now, or 154/94, so it reflecting
99. because 154/94 is my reading, or rather 154/94, so it is affecting it
100. **O n** reflect **lara e**. Uhn (0.01). So, **se bee ni** complaint **kankan?**
901. It reflecting on body it. So, is it no complaint at any?
102. It is affecting it. So, do you have any complaint?
103. Pat: **Rara** sir=
104. No sir
105. Dr: **E le maa lo**=
106. You can be going go
107. You can now leave
108. Pat: Okay sir=

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.3>

SOCIO-ETHNIC STEREOTYPES AND THE REFUSAL OF OFFERS

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to establish the impact of stereotypes directed at social and ethnic groups in interpersonal interaction in collectivist postcolonial societies. Focus is on the refusal of offers whose acceptance is otherwise supposed to be default. I illustrate using interviews conducted in two Cameroonian towns, Bamenda and Yaounde in 2009, that knowledge of socio-ethnic stereotypes plays a significant role in speakers' decision to accept, or refuse offers from people of certain ethnic backgrounds or origins. From a postcolonial pragmatics theoretical standpoint, the analysis shows that the desire to enhance in-group cohesion, adhere to societal norms and defend in-group collectivist face while attacking out-group collectivist face is salient in interlocutors' verbal and physical behaviour.

Keywords: stereotypes, offer refusals, collectivist / group face, ethnic group, postcolonial pragmatics

1. Introduction

This paper illustrates how the refusal of certain offers that would normally be accepted is sometimes motivated by stereotypes linked to the social background or ethnic origin of the offerer. Overall, the aim is to establish that in group-based cultures like the Cameroonian, individual face needs (as in Western cultures) are not prioritised over collectivist or group face needs, e.g., ethnic group or social entity (cf. religious community). In Cameroon, certain ethnic groups have specific stereotypes appended to them. For instance, the Bamileke ethnic group is generally linked with the practice of witchcraft or belonging to evil sects, referred to in their language as 'famla' or 'nyong'. It is claimed that members of the Bayangi ethnic group appear in another location shortly after they die and continue to live there or elsewhere – a form of reincarnation. The Hausa ethnic group, often treated as synonymous with being a Muslim, is stereotyped for being quick-tempered and violent. These stereotypes, I illustrate below, have impacts on social interaction, for instance, on how people accept, or refuse offers. The thinking often is that accepting an offer from a member of these ethnic groups

could expose the offeree to the stereotypes or *ills* identified with them. Focus in the analysis is on four socio-ethnic groups in Cameroon: the Bamileke, Banyangi and Hausa ethnic groups, and the Anglophones, the English-speaking part of Cameroon, formerly colonised by Britain.

Verbal behaviour is often modelled to suit social perceptions and expectations of interlocutors in a speech event or communicative act. The closer interlocutors may depend, to various degrees, on how close their ethnic or social groups are to one another. Interlocutors often have to deal with two types of stereotypes. The first is inter-group stereotypes, which target members of other ethnic or social groups, for instance, those between Anglophones and Francophones or between different ethnic groups in Cameroon. The second is intra-group stereotypes, which are societal stigmas placed on individuals within their respective communities. Being aware of these stereotypes, interlocutors adopt various discursive strategies that help them avoid conflict, save or maintain face and consolidate societal cohesion during social interactions. In the communicative event of offering discussed in this paper, offerees formulate their offer refusals in ways that enable them to refuse the offer but at the same time remain polite, respectful and socially acceptable, since blatant unmitigated refusals could lead to breakdown in societal cohesion within and across social and ethnic groups (see Anchimbe 2018).

The data used here are taken from two open-ended interviews conducted in two towns in Cameroon, Yaounde and Bamenda, in September 2009 with three females and one male respondents. Interviewees were asked about the reasons and circumstances under which they would refuse offers whose acceptance is the default expectation in their society. The respondents were interviewed in groups of two and were given the freedom to react to whatever the other said. The objective was to find out how they co-constructed certain variables or disagreed about them. The group interviews method reduces the imposing and often distracting presence of the researcher. In Bamenda, the two respondents were a journalist (female, 25-30 years old) and a teacher (male, 40-45 years old) while in Yaounde, they were both female postgraduate researchers (35-40 years old). In all, the data consist of over one hour and twenty minutes of recordings but only those parts that deal with social and ethnic group stereotypes are used in this paper. Since these stereotypes are common knowledge in the society, the respondents' responses are used here as testimonial and not quantitative proof of their impact on social interaction.

2. Postcolonial pragmatics: Theoretical insight into collectivist cultures

In order to properly access speakers' intentions in the interviews, I rely on the tenets of the postcolonial pragmatics framework (cf. Anchimbe and Janney 2011a, b, 2017, Anchimbe 2018). This theoretical framework posits that any comprehensive investigation of social interaction in postcolonial societies must take into account the complex constitution of these societies marked by contact, hybridism and the emergence of linguistic and social behavioural patterns during and after colonialism. Postcolonial pragmatics aims, among other things, to accentuate the impact of collectivist societal norms on social interaction among the group's or the society's members and with members of other groups. Using postcolonial pragmatic components like age, history, ethnicity, collectivist social expectations, gender, societal norms, respect, religion and social status, grants insights to the choices speakers make during interaction. The bottom line is that in collectivist societies individual choices are determined by stakes of the collectivist group and its expectations.

In these societies, accepting offers, giving advice, helping out others in need, etc. are default behaviour expectations (see Nwoye 1992, Kasanga 2011). However, with inter-group stereotypes, some of these default behaviours could be flouted. While stereotypes and insults directed at the individual may be hurtful, those addressed at entire groups are more hurtful and hence tend to influence group members' interactional choices (see Ige 2010, Mulo Farenkia 2011, Anchimbe 2021).

The extensive multilingualism, multiethnicity and multiculturalism of Cameroon, further exacerbated by colonialism and its related outcomes, make it best approachable using an emic framework like postcolonial pragmatics. With approximately 200 ethnic groups, over 280 indigenous languages, two official languages (English and French) and a widespread Pidgin English (cf. Breton and Bikia 1991, Kouega 2007, Gordon 2008, Lewis 2009), it is certainly a complex linguistic and ethnic entity within which the construction of socio-ethnic in-groups is almost inevitable. An outcome of these socio-ethnic in-groups is the emergence of group-based stereotypes and stigmas. The need to generalise individual-based stereotypes to include the individual's ethnic or social group has resulted in the metonymical conceptualisation of larger units as equivalent to ethnic groups. As illustrated later, insults directed at one's ethnic group tend to hurt more than individualised ones. As a result, administrative units like Regions are equated with an ethnic group. For instance, the West Region is often treated as synonymous with the Bamileke ethnic group, which is the largest in the region. Additionally, the three northern regions (Adamawa, North and Extreme North Regions) are considered a homogenous religious group even though non-Muslims also live there. Again, the Anglophone zones, which constitute two

administrative regions (North West and South West Regions), are, based on their historical, colonially and (English) linguistic heritage, regarded as a homogenous entity almost analogous to an ethnic group (see Wolf 2001, Anchimbe 2005). These groups and the stereotypes placed on them influence patterns of both social and verbal interaction even at interpersonal levels.

The postcolonial pragmatic components relevant for the analysis of the data are history, ethnicity, social norms and linguistic identity. From a postcolonial pragmatics perspective, I illustrate how, for instance, the colonial history of Cameroon, which resulted in the emergence of the Anglophone and Francophone groups, is relevant in understanding interaction between members of these two groups. The component ‘ethnicity’ defines identity boundaries and often dictates terms of interaction with other ethnic groups. The next section explains how stereotypes operate at these levels.

3. Ethnic origins, group boundaries and stereotypes

A number of salient publications have appeared since the 1990s that investigate the politics of identification, ethnicisation, regionalisation and language in Cameroon. While some of these studies deal with the relationship between the Anglophones and the Francophones, others focus on the construction of ethnic, individual and linguistic identities within different contexts and by different groups of people. The following studies discuss the history, evolution and contemporary facets of the relationship between the Anglophones and the Francophones: Eyoh (1998a, b), Jua (2003), Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003), Jua and Konings (2004), Anchimbe (2005, 2010). Others, including the following, have extended the discussion to include ethnic and social groups within the country: Monga (2000), Anchimbe (2006), and Mulo Farenkia (2011, 2015).

In all of these identity groups, the desire to build (social, ethnic, political) alliances and to confront ethnic and social group rivalry have been deciding factors, as Monga (2000), Anchimbe (2006) and Mulo Farenkia (2011) hold below. The outcome has been the construction of identities and the creation of boundaries around ethnic and social groups. These boundaries have also engendered cross-group stereotyping; which also is a strategy for confronting opposing social and ethnic groups, defending the group face and attacking the group face of the other groups. As Monga (2000: 723) explains, political manoeuvring has led to the fluidity of geographical and ethnic boundaries in Cameroon.

...the ethnicisation and ruralisation of politics in Cameroon have led political entrepreneurs not only to redefine the geo-cultural boundaries of their ethnic labels and “villages”, but also to display their cultural

differences as a way of marking their cultural space, distinguishing themselves from potential or actual “enemy” groups, and “recruiting” allies [...] The geographical boundaries of ethnic groups in Cameroon have been characterised by their fluidity and ability to respond to changes in the overall national sociopolitical and economic context. [...] The reconfiguration of ethnic frontiers is a selective, arbitrary, and hence a political process because it depends on particular political situations.

The identification of potential or actual enemies and the recruitment of allies, as explained by Monga (2000) above, lead to the creation of certain types of groups whose relevance is temporary, selective, opportunistic and fluid. Anchimbe (2006) identifies many such identity-based opportunistic groups Cameroonians construct in order to benefit from the socio-political advantages provided by such groups. These groups, consciously constructed by members, are endowed with (positive) qualities that make them look different from others. The major markers used are geographical and linguistic similarities. Anchimbe (2006: 250) sums up the non-linguistic factors thus:

The main non-linguistic parameters of group identity in Cameroon are generally geophysically shared features that signal similarity and common identity. The notorious diversity of Cameroonian ethnicity is overcome by impressively devised similarities. Geophysical similarities are used to bridge the more glaring differences of languages, ethnicity, religions and cultural practices. Common among these are references to regionally shared characteristics and natural boundaries. Regionally, we have *the coastal people, the Grand North, the forest people, the Grassland cultures*; and for natural boundaries we have the historically significant expressions, *on the other side of the (River) Mounjo, Ambazonian Republic (Ambas Bay)*.

Interaction within and across these groups require coping strategies that can be explained using postcolonial pragmatic components like history, ethnicity, religion and others. A significant question to answer in such an investigation is: What happens when these groupings are rather used to stigmatise members and subject them to certain verbal insults or linguistic victimisation from other groups? Opportunistic identity groupings are modelled on the in-group structure and identity alignment provided by ethnic groups. Ethnic group identity tends to be the strongest and the innermost coat of the onion-like multiple identities people construct in postcolonial collectivist societies.

Mulo Farenkia (2011) explains from a postcolonial pragmatic perspective how ethnic group stereotypes are used to insult and denigrate members. Certain ethnic and social group names have been steeped into stereotypes such that they are no longer used only for members of the group but are also used metaphorically as insults on others. In some of these names, Mulo Farenkia (2011: 1485) says,

on observe qu'il s'articule surtout autour des termes comme *bami*, *anglo*, *nkwa*, *wadjio*, *bassa*, etc., des dénominatifs qui n'indiquent pas seulement l'appartenance (ethnique ?) d'un individu, mais ces mots-textes participent aussi et surtout à l'affirmation agressive de l'*ethos* ethnique du locuteur qui entend par là dénier ou dévaloriser l'identité ethnique de l'autre.

...one observes that it revolves around the terms *bami*, *anglo*, *nkwa*, *wadjio*, *basaa*, etc., which are indicative not only of the ethnic appearance of the individual but also, and above all, are an aggressive affirmation of the ethnic style or ethos of the speaker. The aim is to devalue or denigrate the ethnic identity of the other. *My translation*

In the quote above, Mulo Farenkia (2011) identifies stereotyped appellations used to refer not only to the entire ethnic or social group but also to its members. These terms are, therefore, used to devalue and attack the group's face in a bid to insult or ridicule the individual. Two of the terms are created through clipping, i.e., *Bami* from Bamileke and *anglo* from Anglophone; one is a derogatory name, i.e., *wadjio*, for Muslims; and the other, *Bassa*, is the name of the ethnic group.

Mulo Farenkia (2011) uses Example 1 to illustrate the extension of socio-ethnic insults from the group to the individual. The exchange takes place in an open market in Yaounde. The two female market retailers (commonly referred to in Cameroon as 'buyam-sellams' – buy-to-sell), belong to two different ethnic groups: the Bamileke and the Beti ethnic groups. In the exchange, they quarrel over a potential buyer, but the insults they direct at each other rather target their ethnic groups. The context of the interaction – the competitive open market setting – creates a tense atmosphere between the two as they struggle to sell their goods.

Example 1

Eton woman: Aaaa glafis! Vous et vos maris, vous êtes des sources de famla. (*Aaaa grassfield! You and your husbands are the source of witchcraft.*) *My translation*

Bamileke woman: Les nkwa! Vous êtes très égoïstes. Pour un seul client, tu m'agresses comme ça? (*The Nkwas! You are very egoistic. Because of one client, you are attacking me this way?*) My translation (Mulo Farenkia 2011: 1488)

The Eton woman does not call the Bamileke woman by her name or by the name of her ethnic group, i.e., Bamileke, but rather chooses a stereotyped reference, 'glafis' (grassfields). In this reference, she includes ethnic groups and regions generally referred to as the grassfield people or cultures. The Bamileke vendor in return uses a highly stigmatised reference to the Beti, i.e., 'les nkwa', which means worthless, lazy, unprogressive, unscrupulous and pleasure-seeking people. This reference ignores the ethnic diversity within the Beti group which is made up of the Bulus, Ewondos and Etons, who in turn have internal stereotypes on them. Notice the use of the plural pronouns, 'vous, vos', even though they are addressing each other. This confirms the hypothesis advanced above that ethnic insults hurt the individual more than personal insults. Selecting group-based insults or stereotypes is, therefore, conscious, and investigating such intentions requires solid foundation in the composition of the society. Postcolonial pragmatics offers the tools for doing so (see Anchimbe 2018).

4. Offer refusals: Stereotypes and verbal behaviour

Searle (1976) classifies offers (of services, goods, assistance, etc.) under the category of commissive speech acts since these commit the offerer to a future action deemed to be relevant to the offeree. But for Wunderlich (1977: 30), offers are similar to conditional speech acts like warnings, threats, advice, and extortions, which as he explains "interfere with the addressee's planning of action". Whichever classification we accept, the bottom line remains the same – the realisation of any offer depends on the offeree's disposition to accept it. Therefore, acceptance is generally dependent on the amount of trust the offeree has in the offerer, the social distance between the two, and the offeree's decision to incur such a debt. The onus here is on the individual and their personal wants and face needs.

However, in the Cameroonian postcolonial context, the onus lies more with respect for the group's norms and expectations than with individual wants and face needs. Offer refusals could, therefore, also be motivated by the offeree's knowledge of the social stereotypes attached to the ethnic group of the offerer and the social norms of their own society that govern behaviour in such situations. As such, it is not only the individual social relationship between the two but also the collective public face of their ethnic groups that determines how individuals react in such social interaction situations.

The discussion of the role of social and ethnic stereotypes in the refusal of offers below is at two levels: ethnic groups (4.1) and historical linguistic groups (4.2). Ethnicity and history are two central postcolonial pragmatic components through which the collectivist base of postcolonial societies can be easily described. These components are crucial in the discussion in sections 4.1 and 4.2.

The data discussed indicate how ethnic and historical linguistic groups have been associated with certain negative qualities that repel other people from interacting with, accepting offers from, and engaging in personal relationships with them. It indicates that social conflicts are easily and strategically represented in speech, and that the physical and non-verbal patterns through which negatively-construed groups are avoided, denigrated also have linguistic counterparts, i.e. physical avoidance and denigration of group members can also be done through speech. The defence of ethnic group identity and face, therefore, takes priority over individual identity and face, which also explains why insults on the ethnic group directed at individual members of the group tend to have a stronger effect than those directed at the individual's persona.

4.1 Ethnic group stereotypes in offer refusals

The multiplicity of ethnic groups in Cameroon, just as in many other postcolonial African countries, has often been used for political gains by politicians, who emphasise ethnic differences in a bid to keep the people divided making it easy for them to consolidate power. This has had a top-down effect on inter-ethnic and inter-regional interaction. Members of these groups now place stereotypes and stigmas on certain cultural and social aspects of other groups they consider opposed to them and use these to denigrate, avoid and close group borders to their members. The bigger picture is that this socio-political behaviour has extended into social interaction and verbal behaviour. Ethnic groups are now often recognised, not according to their specific positive social features, but rather according to the stigmas placed on them. Facets targeted in the creation of stereotypes include cultural activities, religious beliefs, sectarian belonging, history, political leaning, ethnic group myths, norms and expectations. These facets could be used as pragmatic components in the investigation of speaker intentions in interactions, as shown in the analysis below.

In Example 2 below, both respondents agree they would turn down offers from people if they knew they were members of certain ethnic groups. They initially hesitate to name the ethnic groups but eventually do so when reassured that the interview is for research only. The male respondent mitigates the refusal by implying that he would accept it but “will not consume the offer” (2). Accepting but not consuming the offer helps him maintain the bond between him and the offerer so that none of them loses face. It also ensures solidarity and cohesion within their society hence consolidating the

group's public image or face. He (and by extension his ethnic group) has respected the default norm of accepting offers but by not consuming it, he gives credence to the stereotype placed on the ethnic group of the offerer.

Example 2. (2009, Bamenda, Male (40-45 years, teacher) and female (25-30 years, journalist))

- (1) Question: So you will turn it [the offer] down if you knew that person is from a given ethnic group?
- (2) Male: Good, from a particular ethnic group that is, let's say, is suspicious, I will not consume the offer.
- (3) Question: Just tell me, any ethnic group?
- (4) Male: No, I don't have any.
- (5) Female: (smiles) You know, it is not good calling names here, but ehh, you know, it is a matter of research, research purpose?
- (6) Question: Hmm, yes.
- (7) Female: I will say; we get to the South West, the Bayangis. I fear that tribe wholeheartedly from what I have been hearing and they confirm it themselves. Like, you know, when they die, they go, they come back. I don't know how far is that true. But coming from their mouth, I would say, they usually say, get the news from the horse's own mouth. When I get to areas like that I am very very scared. My acquaintance to people, my approach, my manner of approaching to people changes automatically.
- (8) Question: So you would think of turning down an offer if you knew this is a Bayangi person?
- (9) Female: From that zone, from that area. Even you are from the North West Region or you are [from] my tribe and you've been living there for over 15, 20 years, I am just going to be scared. I will be scared all through until I get out of that place.

On the contrary, the female respondent is blunt in her response. She singles out the Bayangi ethnic group because as she says, "when they die, they go, they come back" (7). The aspect of the Bayangi ethnic group that is stigmatised here is the common belief that members of the ethnic group continue their lives in other parts of the world after they die, especially if they die prematurely. It might not altogether simply be a belief or a myth because as the respondent says in turn (7), it is "coming from their mouth" and is thus believable. The strength of the stereotype is seen in her choice of

words, e.g. “I fear that tribe wholeheartedly”, (7) “I am very very scared” (7), and “I will be scared all through until I get out of that place” (9).

Her reaction to people from this ethnic group is not only physical, i.e., fear and scare, but also verbal or linguistic. As she says, her way of approaching people will change automatically (7). What this means is that social acts of exclusion and stigmatisation exert impacts on linguistic choices; and it is only when interactants observe these hurdles correctly without creating breaches in interpersonal relationship that they are considered competent members of the community. This competence is almost indispensable in a postcolonial society like Cameroon given its sociocultural, linguistic and ethnic plurality. Being aware of, and socialised into, social norms, inter-ethnic rivalry or cooperation facilitates choices in communication.

Interestingly, the female respondent does not limit this stereotype to Bayangi people alone but extends it to include anyone, even people from her “tribe” and region who have lived in Bayangi land for 15 to 20 years (9). This indicates that the stereotype could be extended to non-ethnic group members. When that happens regularly, the stereotype could become a metaphorical or idiomatic reference for anyone who portrays aspects of the ethnic group, i.e., the practice of coming back to life in another location after death.

In Cameroon, ethnic origin often takes priority over linguistic similarity or personal closeness in the decision to refuse offers. This applies most evidently to those ethnic groups that have widespread stereotypes on them. Given that Anglophones and Francophones identify each other exceedingly through the use of English and French respectively, the use of English does not usually automatically open Anglophone in-group boundaries to others, especially Francophones.

In Example 3, Female 1 says she will not be flattered by the use of English by someone from Mbouda (14), a Bamileke town (Francophone), into accepting an offer from him or her. The Bamilekes are identified with witchcraft, especially what is referred to as ‘famla’ or “nyongo” (41). It is believed that some members of this ethnic group belong to witchcraft cults (famla) that kill people mysteriously and that these victims go on to work for them in another world as zombies. Being a wealthy and business-inclined ethnic group, this famla argument is often used to account for the amount of wealth these people have. Again, like above, an ethnic-group stereotype determines how an offer is accepted or refused at the interpersonal level.

Example 3. (2009, Yaounde: Two females, postgraduate researchers, 35-40 years)

- (10) Question: If the person speaks English and then offers to give you something and you realise the person is from the West. Would you accept?
(11) Female1: That’s why I told you that sharing begins with dialogue.

- (12) Question: The person is from the West and you have started talking in English.
(13) Female1: And I ask you, 'where are you from?'
(14) Question: And you ask deeper and the person says, ohh! I am from Mbouda.
(15) Female 2: You just vomit all what you have eaten.
(16) Female1: I have not yet eaten.
(17) Question: If you have eaten?
(18) Female1: You just, hahahah.
(19) Question: And if you had eaten?
(20) Female1: No. I can't eat like that. I know it, I am not a child.

In the exchange in Example 3, Female 1 hesitates to say exactly what she would do if she had accepted the offer before knowing the offerer is from Mbouda, a Bamileke town in the West Region (12-14). Given her knowledge of inter-ethnic rivalry, she says she would rather be cautious: "I can't eat like that. I know it, I am not a child" (20). However, Female 2's reaction is more dramatic and unmitigated as she says she will "vomit" all she had eaten (15). This response signals the pervasiveness of ethnic stereotypes within the community and their influence on interpersonal interaction. The desire to protect the social public face of the group is not as strong in this example as in Example 2 where the male respondent says he would accept the offer but would not consume it. The two respondents in Example 3 do not feel obliged to maintain in-group cohesion with a Bamileke person because first, they do not belong to the same ethnic group and second, they are Anglophones and the Bamilekes are Francophones. The Anglophones have often accused the majority Francophones of marginalisation since the two former British and French colonies reunited at independence in the 1960s (see section 4.2) This double layer of identity attachment is crucial for individuals when they interact both socially and linguistically in inter-ethnic or inter-group contexts.

Again, the importance of verbal interaction during the offer act is highlighted in this exchange. Female 1 insists on talking with the offerer first before accepting any offer. For her, the face-threatening question "Where are you from?" is indispensable in such situations, even if the discussion is in a language that is the group's major code, such as English for Anglophones. In this regard, the relationship between language and ethnicity becomes a tricky one since the use of the same language is not enough to signal belonging to the 'same' social or ethnic entity.

4.2 Colonial linguistic group stereotypes in offer refusals

The two colonially-introduced linguistic groups in Cameroon are the Anglophones and the Francophones. They are strong because they have historical roots and are identified with specific geographical locations: the former French and former British colonies.

Moreover, the country is divided into ten administrative regions, two of which are Anglophone. This historically-based classification makes Cameroon to stand out as an odd member in the common dichotomies studied in postcolonial communities. The struggle for public space is not between discourses produced in the ex-colonial languages and the indigenous languages, as it is the case in Ghana, Nigeria, Mozambique, etc., but rather between two ex-colonial languages, French and English. Cameroonians now build solid ethnic-like groups and identities (see Example 6) around these languages such that certain characteristics, which Anchimbe (2005) refers to as anglophonism and francophonism, can be identified as specific to each of them. Members of the two groups behave differently when together and when with a member of the other group. For instance, they quickly open group boundaries to fellow members but close them to non-members. They also easily accept offers from fellow members but not from non-members. These groups now have unwritten in-group norms that members are expected to abide by in order to project and consolidate an acceptable group face (see Eyoh 1998a, Tatah Mentan 1998, Wolf 2001, Jua and Konings 2004).

In Example 4, the male respondent says he would accept the offer if he knew the offerer were an Anglophone like himself. He is convinced that such situations cannot be mistaken because he can distinguish, even through dressing, an Anglophone from a Francophone (24-28).

Example 4. (2009, Bamenda, Male (40-45 years, teacher) and female (25-30 years, journalist)

- (21) Question: Well, in all, speaking English in that context, will it affect your reaction?
- (22) Female: It's no assurance.
- (23) Question: But for you, yes.
- (24) Male: Ya, at least ehh you may be thinking that this person might have known you somewhere and giving you an offer and being a stranger in that town this person might have known a bit about you. But unfortunately, you know, dressing used to sometimes indicate where you come from... Where you come from because when I find an *anglophone* in Yaounde
- (25) Question: You know?
- (26) Male: I know that this is an *anglophone*. When I find a *francophone* I will know.
- (27) Question: Just from the way they dress?
- (28) Male: Just from the way they dress.

(29) Female: That is just to say, eh, if I meet that person; let's get more acquainted, you know, and eh maybe.

(30) Question: Maybe later on?

(31) Female: May be later on, in the course of the discussion.

If we compare the position adopted by the respondents in Example 4 to earlier examples, we realise that they are softer towards fellow Anglophones even more than to members of certain Anglophone ethnic groups. The female respondent initially says it is no assurance that she would accept an offer if she knew the offerer were an Anglophone (22) but ends up agreeing with the male respondent that she may accept later after getting acquainted to the offerer (29-31). This is not the case in her reaction to Bayangis in Example 2, where she stresses "I fear that tribe wholeheartedly... I am very very scared" (7).

It is contradictory that Female 2 who lives in Yaounde (an Anglophone from the South West region) considers all Anglophones as 'brothers' and 'sisters' (41), and that at the same time a fellow Anglophone (the female respondent in Bamenda) is scared of an Anglophone ethnic group. This is, however, normal in postcolonial communities where identity construction depends on contexts of interaction, interactional goals and the desire to be close to or distant from interlocutors, topics and third-party referents. As a result, individuals in these multilingual spaces have various onion-like coats of identity built around languages, ethnicities, professions, social groups, etc., which they constantly put on or switch to as situation and goal demand. Within the entity Anglophone are several ethnic groups. The need to identify with or defend the group or collectivist face of either the Anglophone group or the ethnic group is determined by context and the exigencies it imposes.

5. 'Ethnic' as collectivist container

The category 'ethnic' is construed in the examples as an entity a lot bigger than an ethnic group. The bond between members of certain groups like administrative regions and linguistic groups could be so strong that they think of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group (see Wolf 2001, Anchimbe 2006). Alternatively, they could be thus conceptualised by members of other groups. So, based on certain similarities members of certain other groups may treat groups of people as belonging to an ethnic-like group even though this might not be the case. References to the West, Northerners, Southerners, Anglophones and Francophones in the examples construct them into an ethnic-like group similar to the Bayangi or Bamileke ethnic groups. While the West is an administrative unit, Northerners constitute three administrative regions but are combined into an ethnic-like group based on religion. Islam is the predominant religion

in these three regions. With the help of more examples (5, 6) from the interviews, I explain below how these diverse groups are treated as ethnicities both by members and non-members.

5.1 Regions as ‘ethnic’: West, Northerners, Southerners

The question in turn (32) lists three ethnic entities but the responses from Female 1 and Female 2 extend the concept of ethnicity to cover a whole administrative region (35), a group of provinces; “North” and ‘Southerners’ (39). The name of an ethnic group, “Hausas” (39), is mentioned only once in Example 5. The term ‘Bamilekes’ mentioned in the question turn (32) is reframed by Female 1 as “people from Western Province” (35), suggesting that both are interchangeable. They are not synonymous because there are many other ethnic groups in the West Province. Similarly, for Female 2, the Hausas and the Northerners are the same people. This explains why she uses both references as synonyms, “we call them Hausas” (39). Again, this is an extended category because the North is made up of non-Hausa ethnic groups as well. It is also an extended religious container (39) because non-Muslims also live in these three administrative regions. The use of the plural (inclusive) pronouns “we” and “us” (39) introduces another extended category or container, the “Southerners” (39), which includes everyone else apart from the Northerners.

Example 5. (2009, Yaounde: Two females, postgraduate researchers, 35-40 years)

- (32) Question: You know people from different ethnic groups in Cameroon like the Bamilekes, the Ewondos, Wum and so forth. Would you normally not accept an offer from someone because of his/her ethnic group?
- (33) Female1: Of course.
- (34) Question: For instance?
- (35) Female1: For instance, the people from *Western Province*. They are involved in sects, what they call in quotes “nyongo”, yes.
- (36) Question: So, if they offered you a drink you will normally not accept because the person is from the West?
- (37) Female1: I don’t even make friendship with them. For you can make a friend with that type of a person and you find yourself far.
- (38) Question: The same opinion? (*to Female 2*)
- (39) Female 2: Very very much the same, you know. I would not say the *West* but people from the *North*, we call them *Hausas*. Looking at their religion and also their indecency, at times they offer me certain things I will not like to take because it’s like they have a stigma from

us *Southerners*; so such people will scare me from receiving anything from them.

In identifying and stigmatising the Northerners, Female 2 finds it necessary to create an in-group to which she belongs; one to which the Northerners may be opposed. This can be seen in the use of the inclusive plural ‘we’ and the exclusive plural pronoun ‘them’ in turn (39): “we call them” and “us Southerners”. The boundaries between these groups are sometimes inflexible as Female 1’s response to the question in turn (36) illustrates: “I don’t even make friendship with them” (37). The pronoun “them” covers more people than just the Bamilekes who make up most of the West region but who are not the only ethnic group therein. Creating these extended collectivist groups, makes it easier to delimit the group faces that have to be protected or attacked; the extent to which social norms apply; and the expectations to comply with vis-à-vis the group.

5.2 Anglophones and Francophones as ‘ethnic’

If one takes into account the creation of collectivist containers in which to fit different groups of people, then Wolf (2001) is right to suggest that the feeling of being an Anglophone in Cameroon has become as strong as belonging to an ethnic group. Anglophones can no longer simply be defined in terms of the use of English and origin in the two English-speaking regions because over the decades they have constructed themselves into an extended socio-ethnic group with more characteristics and ethics that stretch beyond language and origin. These characteristics, especially in moral behaviour and education, have often been credited for the influx of Francophone children in English-medium schools not only in Yaounde and Douala but also in the Anglophone zone (see Anchimbe 2005, Mforteh 2007, Fonyuy 2010).

As can be seen in Example 6, Anglophones refer to each other using the kinship relations ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ and behave more cooperatively when together. Here the conceptual metaphor, COMMUNITY IS FAMILY is used to define the limits and expectations of the group (see Anchimbe 2018, 2021). Of course, an offer from a kin is expected to be accepted without any distrust or suspicion. The respondent in Example 6 agrees that she would go against her normal habit of refusing offers to accept an offer if she knew the offerer were an Anglophone, whom she refers to as “my brother, my sister from the same zone” (41). Even though the word ‘Anglophone’ is not mentioned in the question (40), the respondent immediately links the act of speaking English to being Anglophone.

Example 6. (2009, Yaounde: Two females, postgraduate researchers, 35-40 years)

- (40) Question: Alright, any addition to that as far as language and contact is concerned; that is to say, if you met someone on the bus and the person speaks to you in English, would you move closer to the person or you will still stay far away until you know where exactly that person is from?
- (41) Female 2: Considering the context in which we are in Cameroon, you know there is that division, francophone and anglophone. So, when we are travelling and you identify your *brother anglophone* or *your sister anglophone*, you will find yourself relating more to that person because you really identify with the person. So, it is very difficult to refuse an offer from such a person because you already know this is *my brother, my sister* from the same zone. So, you will, I think, for me I will not refuse any offer but then considering the fact that I am a Christian, so, anything that I receive I pray and I know nothing evil can happen to me. So, I don't have that much fear.

Interestingly, the amount of fear that goes with receiving offers from 'strangers' disappears when the offerer is an Anglophone. An Anglophone is family. Besides, whatever unknown, evil outcome may be triggered by the offer is, for the respondent, to be taken care of by God, since, as she says, "I am a Christian, so, anything that I receive I pray and I know nothing evil can happen to me" (41). By reverting to God in this case, the respondent makes use of a strong postcolonial pragmatic component, religion. Being a resilient facet of postcolonial societies, religion serves as an all-powerful solution to every problem. In Example 6, protection from anything evil in the offer lies in prayer. The reliance on this colonial heritage indicates the level of hybridism and coalescence that colonialism set in motion in these societies. In line with the tenets of postcolonial pragmatics, all of these components are indispensable in appropriately accounting for communicative decisions in postcolonial societies.

6. Conclusion

This paper has illustrated, with the help of examples from Cameroon, that socio-ethnic stereotypes, biases, and insults directed at an individual's group hurt the individual even more than those directed at the individual as an individual. This is because of the collectivist nature of these postcolonial societies in which an individual's worth is often valued in terms of their socio-ethnic group's value. Using postcolonial pragmatics as frame of analysis, the paper showed how group members' verbal and physical

behaviour could be influenced by belonging to and alignment with an ethnic or social entity. For instance, accepting offers from strangers is possible if offerees know the offerers belong to the same socio-ethnic group as themselves and not to a group that has certain stereotypes linked to it. So, in these collectivist societies success in interpersonal and intergroup communication sometimes depends on knowledge of group stereotypes and biases. In individualistic societies, success rather depends more on the mitigation, through for example, politeness, indirectness, hedging, etc., of the speech act than interlocutors' group alignment.

Any pragmatic analysis of interactional (verbal and non-verbal) behaviour in collectivist societies like the Cameroonian studied in this paper will have to take into account the place of social and ethnic stereotypes in the way people address others, agree with others, accept things from others, position themselves vis-à-vis others, make friends with others, and open up individual and group boundaries to others. It is not a temporary stage in the lives of people because some of these adaptation strategies are taught to children in their early years of interaction with the outer, extended family and inter-ethnic contacts. They are socialised into them from childhood. Studies also have to take into account the possibilities and constraints of each collectivist culture, and how members live up to societal expectations by playing the roles that match their social status, age, gender and position in the community.

From another perspective, one of the aims of this paper has been to encourage more pragmatic research into patterns of social and linguistic interaction among Cameroonian (and other African) indigenous cultures in their hybrid and hybridising states. Such perspectives will provide more reliable explications of speakers' choices of language, words and identity 'coat' in given contexts and with given interlocutors. The use of names or naming strategies (Anchimbe 2008, 2011), address forms (Echu 2008), insulting references (Mulo Farenkia 2011), and certain discourse markers (Talla Sando 2006) to refer to people suggest far more than identification or naming. These strategies also indicate patterns of closeness and distance, politeness and impoliteness, in-group vs. out-group construction, and deference and social hierarchy within the society and between interlocutors. While sociolinguistic approaches expose them as they are, emic pragmatic approaches like the postcolonial pragmatics framework are necessary in explaining their illocutionary motivations, the importance of collectivist social norms on them and their actual or intended perlocutionary impacts on interlocutors.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.4>

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF HUMOUR IN *KOOKUROKOO* MORNING SHOW

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Abstract

Humour is central to language use and form, as well as human communication generally; and yet there is a dearth of linguistic research in Ghana on this important facet of human communication. This paper, therefore, contributes to filling the gap by providing a pragmatic analysis of humour in an Akan radio programme - the *Kookurokoo Morning Show* on Peace FM (a popular Akan radio station in Ghana). Attention is paid to the types of humour employed, their functions, and the (para)linguistic strategies used. Data was sourced from newspaper review and the general discussion sections of the programme and analysed with reference to the incongruity theory. Findings indicate that the show is mainly characterized by teasing (jocular mockery in particular), with a few retorts. It was also observed that humour signals solidarity, playful mitigation of threatening propositional meaning and an indication of 'moral transgression'. Due to the sensitive nature of some of the issues discussed, humour is used as a form of indirection strategy, which manifests itself through devices such as innuendoes, idiomatic and apologetic expressions, proverbs, and wordplay. The paper concludes that invoking a humorous/play frame in this context reduces tension and creates a cordial atmosphere for solidarity building, while at the same time conveying *serious meaning*.

Keywords: Conversational humour, jocular mockery, teasing, indirection, media, radio show, incongruity.

1. Introduction

Humour, which is considered a universal phenomenon, is an important aspect of human behaviour and communication because it demonstrates the artistic and innovative use of human language (Hassaine 2014, Wu 2013). It has been defined by O'ring (1992)

“as a message which comprises incongruous elements which are enacted playfully”. Schnurr (2005:44) also defines humour as “utterances which are intended and/or perceived as being funny, and which result in a change of emotions in the audience, which then triggers some kind of response”. Generally, it is seen as the tendency of experiences to provoke laughter and amusement (Singh et al. 2011); but as Dynell (2011a) rightly observes, certain humorous phenomena (for example, those indicating anxiety) may not induce laughter or amusement.

Because humour is intended to create fun, it is often regarded to be trivial, and discussions that are embedded with humour are thus considered as partaking in that triviality (see O’ring 2003; Schnurr 2005). Lockyer and Pickering (2008), however, argue that humour is far from being trivial. They see it rather as an integral part of social relationships and interactions. They further argue that although it may be viewed in some contexts as light-hearted banter, in other contexts, “it can injure people’s social standing, or cut deeply into relationships and interaction between people within and across different social groups” (Lockyer and Pickering 2008:2). Indeed, we agree with Dynel’s observation that “while it may be argued that the playful frame is conducive to the suspension of truthfulness and to deviation from norms obtaining for serious talk”, it can also be postulated that “humorous duality allows speakers to convey *serious meanings*, while appearing to be “only joking” (2011a: 226, emphasis added; cf. Lampert and Tripp 2006; Mulkay 1988; Kotthoff 2007; Oring 2003; Simpson 2003).

As a universal phenomenon (see Attardo 1994), humour research is widely diversified, ranging over disciplines such as philosophy (Lippitt 1991; Cameron 2003, Morreal 2012), psychology (Martin 2007; Kuiper 2016), anthropology (see Swinkels and de Koning, 2016 for the synthesis of some of the studies), sociology (Grzybowski, 2020, Kuipers 2008), and linguistics (Attardo, 1994; Dynel 2011; see edited volume by Sinkeviciute and Dynel 2017), among others. Intracultural and cross-cultural patterns of humour have also been studied widely, albeit scantily in Africa (but see Dowling 1996; Dowling and Grier 2015, Obadare 2009). Research in this area includes the characteristics of Jewish humour from a variety of perspectives and various contexts (Ziv and Zajdman, 1993), as well as works on Chinese (Chey and Milner Davis, 2011; Milner Davis and Chey, 2013), Japanese (Milner Davis, 2005), and Polish (Brzozowska and Chłopicki, 2012, 2019) humour. These studies have aided in the discussion of specific forms and sources of humour typifying different kinds of sense of humour also known as “taste-cultures” (Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017). The uses of humour, its importance in human life and the major theories on it have also been extensively researched into (see, Freud 1905, Raskin 1985, Attardo 1994, Harris 2009, etc.).

In the field of linguistics (the scope of this study), humour research is equally numerous and can therefore hardly be summarised exhaustively (see Coates 2007; Holmes 2006; Raskin and Attardo 1994; Attardo 1994, Norrick 2010; Dynel 2009; also

see edited volumes by Dynel 2011; Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017). Humour in linguistics has been studied as an all-encompassing phenomenon, covering linguistic and paralinguistic forms or events that elicit laughter, amuse, or are felt to be funny. It also covers topics and approaches which have been frequently borrowed from ample literature on “non-humorous” language (Dynel 2011: 2). Dynel (2011: 2) further notes that linguists with interests in pragmatics, for example, aim to describe chosen types, functions and mechanisms of humour as a communicative phenomenon (see papers in Dynel 2011; Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017).

Despite the abundance of humour research, there is a dearth of research on humour in Ghanaian contexts, particularly in the field of linguistics (but see Agyekum 2009, 2011). Agyekum (2011) only mentions humour in passing in his study of Akan palace language. He notes that one of the characteristics of the Akan palace language is the performance of appellations by griots (poets and oral artistes), who “often employ humour (2011). Agyekum (2009), on the other hand, considers puns, jokes and humour (among others) in the context of the ethnography of Akan speech play. On punning, he notes the use of ideophones and homophones in selected proverbs, songs and surrogate language on drums. He opines that punning here functions as an indirection to regulate face threats that may arise from comments on delicate issues or verbal taboo topics, but they may also be used just for humour or entertainment. Agyekum’s (2009) paper also identifies a joking relationship between the Asantes and the Nzemas of Ghana, where they use joking language to insult each other without taking offence¹. The insults in these jokes are considered as games for entertainment and, as such, anyone who takes offence is frowned upon. Such a joking relationship can be subsumed under the umbrella term of ‘teasing’ in linguistic humour research (Dynel 2009; Martin 2007; see also Takovski 2018 for a discussion on teasing/interethnic jokes). While Agyekum’s work provides some significant insight into humour in Akan, specifically in speech play, the information on the section on jokes and humour is scanty, as it only mentions a joking relationship between Asantes and Nzemas without any linguistic data to demonstrate how this is done.

Considering that humour is central to language use and form, as well as human communication generally – and yet this has not been given much attention by Ghanaian linguists – this paper contributes to filling the gap by analysing humour in a popular Akan radio programme, the *Kookurokoo Morning Show*. Specifically, the study aims at investigating the type(s) of humour employed and the functions that humour plays in the programme. Attention is also paid to stylistic devices and other (para)linguistic strategies that participants employ in creating humour. A focus on the media (radio) is

¹ A similar joking relationship between the Dagaaba and the Frafra in Ghana is reported by Wegru (2000) from a socio-cultural perspective) – what has been referred to in the literature as ‘interethnic or interracial jokes’ (Sherzer 1985: 217).

important because the world is increasingly moving towards technology-mediated interactions and, as such, communication is shifting from interpersonal face-to-face interaction to sound and airwave interactions in Ghana (see Agyekum 2000 for similar observations). Again, since radio is a formal institution, it is expected that discussions in this space are rid of inflammatory language and discussants observe some decorum in their speech. The role of humour in navigating such terrain is thus important.

To properly contextualise the study, which hinges on talk in interaction, section 2 will look at conversational humour research and discuss some of the approaches and concepts relevant for this study. Section 3 presents brief background information about the Akan society and the language used for broadcasting in the media. Section 4 gives an overview of the theoretical framework employed in the study while chapter 5 highlights the methodology. The data presentation and discussions are presented in section 6. The summary and conclusion of our discussions are in section 7.

2. Conversational humour

Conversational humour (CH) comes under the umbrella term of verbal humour, and it is largely credited to Victor Raskin for his 1985 seminal work on the *Semantic Script Theory of Humour*, which was later developed into the *General Theory of Verbal Humour* (see Dynel 2011a: 2; cf. Attardo and Raskin 1991; Attardo 1994, 2001). CH is said to be one of the most important categories of humour, as it occurs frequently in the (pragma)linguistics of humour research (see edited collections by Dynel 2011; Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017; Coates 2007; Dynel 2009; Holmes and Marra 2002). It is defined as “humour relevantly interwoven into conversations, both spoken and written, whether private, institutional or mediated” (Dynel 2011a: 4).

An important facet of (conversational) humour is the concept of play frame or humorous frame inspired by Bateson’s (1953) influential work on frames². Bateson (1953, 1972) opines that actions can be framed in terms of serious/non-serious or play/non-play. Conversational participants can, therefore, “frame their talk as humorous by signalling ‘this is play’” (Coates 2007: 51; see also Dynel 2011a, 2011b; Everts 2003), which suggests that the talk is not serious. Key to establishing a successful play or humorous frame is intentionality. Conversational humour researchers like Holmes and Hay (1997) see successful humour as a joint enterprise between participants, where the speaker invokes a play frame and the hearer maintains it (see also Coates 2007). Although intentionality is often difficult to access, contextual cues such as laughter, giggles, change in tone of voice, the use of a smiling voice etc.

² Dynel (2011b: 219) views the frame as “an interactive event orientated towards a particular goal and centered on rules and expectations but negotiated and co-constructed by interacting parties”.

have been identified as signals that a play or humourous frame has been invoked (see Holmes and Hay, 1997; Jefferson 1985). Dynel (2011b) notes that these contextual cues, including nonverbal forms, can be used before, during or after producing a humorous unit.

2.1 Types of conversational humour

Conversational humour encompasses various subtypes like witticism, banter, putdown, self-denigrating humour, retort and *teasing*, which is considered as the most common subtype (see Dynel 2011a, 2011b; Haugh 2010, Geyer 2010, Pullin 2011, Chovanec 2011) – which is also the type of humour that dominates this study. According to Dynel, teasing can be conceptualized as

a higher-order concept embracing jocular utterances performing a variety of pragmatic functions (such as mock challenges, threats or imitation), the meaning of which is not to be treated as truth-oriented and which invariably carries humorous force to be appreciated by both interlocutors (2009: 1293).

It is seen as combining elements of both (ostensible) provocation and (ostensible) playfulness (Haugh 2014). It has been noted in the literature that although teasing carries some ostensible aggression or face-threat, this should not be considered as genuine. In other words, the teaser speaks within a humourous frame and does not intend to be genuinely offensive towards the one it is directed at, even if he implicitly conveys certain pertinent meanings outside it. In terms of functions, teasing has been variously viewed in terms of mocking, or as playful mitigation of threatening propositional meaning (see Dynel 2009; Drew 1987), but more so in terms of its solidarity-building (Bateson, 1972; Dynel, 2011b; Sinkeviciute, 2013; Coates 2007; Crawford, 2003).

Closely related to teasing, and of particular interest to this study, is what has been referred to as jocular mockery (see Haugh, 2010, 2014; Haugh and Bousfield, 2012). Indeed, Haugh (2010) refers to it as a type or a particular instantiation of teasing. Haugh (2014) also sees jocular mockery as one of the interactional mechanisms through which “teasing as mocking/ridiculing can be accomplished within a jocular or non-serious frame” (p.76). In other words, jocular mockery is defined as teasing that is accomplished through mocking or ridiculing a conversation participant or a third party within a jocular or non-serious frame. Putting it in a play frame is important for humour appreciation since the ordinary meaning of mocking entails a “figurative cutting down or diminishment of the target” (Haugh 2014: 72). This puts a considerable moral

pressure on the target to treat it as jocular, and thus not to be taken (too) seriously (Haugh 2014: 72; cf. Fox 2004; Goddard 2006, 2009; Norrick 1993). Like in teasing generally, jocular mockery may be signalled by “various combinations of lexical exaggeration, formulaicity, topic shift markers, contrastiveness, prosodic cues, inviting laughter, and facial or gestural cues” (Haugh 2010: 2108)³. As has been identified in humour research broadly, and on teasing in particular, jocular mockery is a joint enterprise between the speaker and the hearer, who may maintain the play frame through laughter (although laughter does not always suggest acceptance of the play frame), (partial) repetition of the mocking remark, elaborating or countering the mockery (Haugh 2010: 2108).

Another important type of conversational humour relevant for this study is retort, which is defined as “a quick and witty response to a preceding turn with which it forms an adjacency pair” (Dynel 2011b: 1291; see also Norrick 1993; cf. Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Sacks 1974; Schegloff 1986). Schaffer (2005) argues that the rhetorical question is one of the common but rarely investigated techniques of performing a humorous retort. She further notes that because all rhetorical questions-as-retorts are intended to be funny, it is possible to argue that humour is an intrinsic feature of such questions, although some fail to amuse because of conversational context and other factors. According to Dynel (2011b), a retort can also be a manifestation of sarcasm – an example of which is discussed in section 6.1.2.

3. The Akan society and language use in the media

Akan refers to both the language and the people who speak it. Speakers of Akan constitute about 47.5% of Ghana’s population, according to the 2010 population and housing census (GSS 2012). It is also spoken by the majority of non-native speakers as a lingua franca (Agyekum; 2006, 2017, 2018). The language is used in several domains of communication (media, education, entertainment, market etc.). With the proliferation of many private FM stations and Akan being the majority language in Ghana, most of these stations carry out their programmes (for example, morning talk shows, proverbs competition, sports, etc.) in the Akan language to get a wider audience⁴. Agyekum (2010a) discusses the sociolinguistic role of Akan in Ghanaian radio and notes that radio broadcasters, as well as their audience, are agents for the modernisation

³ For signals on teasing in general, see Attardo et al., (2003), Edwards (2000), (Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006).

⁴ It is estimated that there are about 247 radio stations in Ghana (see Wiafe-Akenten, 2017:28 and National Communication Authority), and out of these, about 70% are Akan radio stations. In these stations, the programmes are held in the Akan language. For the historical development of radio in Ghana (see Agyekum 2010b and Wiafe-Akenten 2008; 2017 for further details).

and development of the language by educating, informing and entertaining the Ghanaian populace. He further notes that as a model for proper language use and a catalyst for linguistic innovations, radio discourse in Akan helps radio broadcasters to tap, manufacture, design, and redesign repertoire of words where radio broadcasting serves as databank and reference point for future use (see also, Agyekum 2000, 2006). Per the nature of certain programmes (like news and newspaper reviews), what listeners need are the facts. At the same time, it is expected that presenters also make their programmes interesting to sustain the attention of their listeners. The role of humour in keeping the balance is thus important. But there has been a public outcry in recent times concerning how some local news presenters (especially Akan) broadcast news and interlace it with so much humour that it sometimes loses its ‘seriousness’⁵. Indeed, Opare-Henaku (2016: 4) reports of how this “has become a source of concern for media experts and some members of the general public who believe local language radio newsrooms in Ghana lack professionalism”, something which the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) considers as unethical (see Daabu, 2009, cited in Opare-Henaku 2016).

In other studies, on the use of Akan in the media (not necessarily on humour), attention has been paid to the use of interactional strategies that are useful for analysing the role of humour in this study. For instance, Wiafe-Akenten (2017) discusses the use of Akan language in radio and TV in current times and notes some changes in modern broadcasting, where some speakers on radio, especially on morning shows and, in the news, resort to the use of indirectional strategies (such as proverbs, circumlocution, simile, etc.) in order to save their faces. She also observes that mitigating and softening mechanisms like honorifics, humour and comedy also thrive in this highly sensitive and delicate context as well. Agyekum (2010b) examines the ethnopragmatics of Akan compliments and notes that as a universal pragmatic speech act, compliments convey perlocutionary effects on the addressee. He found out that compliments express goodwill and solidarity. By identifying the two functions of compliments (positive and negative), he states that whereas the positive function enhances the image and says something good about the addressee, the negative, on the other hand, threatens the face of the addressee. As shown in many radio advertisements in Akan on appearance and beauty products, positive compliments are particularly useful in selling the products (see Agyekum 2010b: 18-20); but positive compliments are also good for solidarity-building, which is considered as a key function of humour.

⁵ Peter Essien for instance notes in his article on Radio broadcast in Akan: “News is a serious business and must be presented as such ... Sometimes I listen to radio news in Akan on some radio stations and I cannot tell whether it is news or comedy” (<https://www.graphic.com.gh/features/opinion/radio-broadcast-in-akan-by-peter-essien.html>).

These studies provide useful information for the contextualization of the current study. For example, while Agyekum's (2010a) work show the significant role of radio broadcasters in educating, informing and entertaining the Ghanaian populace, Wiafe-Akenten (2017) work unearths some of the strategies that can be considered relevant in fulfilling this mandate. Similarly, participants in radio programme (like *Kookurokoo*) try to inform, educate and also entertain their audience through humour, which has been observed to be frequent and has recently gained popularity (see Wiafe-Akenten 2008; 2017 for further details). Wiafe-Akenten (2017:85-86) for instance postulates that even though humour exists in the language, the proliferation of many radio stations has also increased its patronage. She notes that politicians will either resort to laughter, coughing (as a means of distracting the speaker from saying it as it is), non-verbal cues, or banter-politeness when issues they are discussing are delicate or relate to their party to save their face and that of their party. The use of similar strategies during discussions to generate humour has also been observed in the *Kookurokoo Morning Show*, which this study seeks to explore because it has become an important phenomenon in the Ghanaian media space. It shall be argued that participants use these strategies in a humorous way in order to adhere to the face needs of their listeners.

4. The Incongruity theory

Incongruity⁶ is one notion that runs through almost all the researches on humour (see Attardo 1994, 2002; Foot and McCreddie 2006; Raskin 2008; Wu 2013). Like most theories in humour research, the incongruity theory originated from philosophy and psychology (Attardo; 1994, 2008, Morreall; 2008, 2012, etc.). In psychology, it is understood as a "deviation from the cognitive model of reference" (Dyrel 2011a: 3), where there is a violation of expectations. According to Attardo (2008:103), incongruity theorists claim that "humour arises from the perception of an incongruity between a set of expectations and what is actually perceived". In other words, it occurs when a speaker violates the expectation of his audience to create laughter (Morreall 2012; Archakis and Tsakona 2005). It, therefore, emphasizes "the unexpected, the absurd, and the inappropriate or the out-of-context"/place situations as the source of humour (Foot and McCreddie 2006:295).

From a linguistic perspective, Dyrel (2011a: 3) describes incongruity as "a mismatch or contrast between two meanings". It has been argued in the literature that it is the resolution of the incongruity that brings pleasure or enjoyment in humour and

⁶ According to Attardo (1994: 47), this theory is usually credited to Kant (1724-1804) and Schopenhauer (1788-1860).

not just the mere apprehension of the incongruous (Kulka 2007; Dynel 2011a)⁷. There have been several attempts to describe the incongruity resolution (IR) model, however, the most influential account is the one propounded by Suls (1972, 1983) which sought to provide an explanation for the tactics underlying humorous texts/canned jokes. According to proponents of this model, humour (mostly jokes) usually follow a parallel linear processing pattern (Yul 2016), where the hearer encounters an incongruity when a humorous text/ joke is processed and s/he obtains the intended humorous effects through a resolution. This is captured by Suls as follows:

- (1) First, a recipient will encounter an incongruity, this originates from the dissonance which occurs as a result of an expectation which is violated.
- (2) In the second stage, the recipient will resolve the incongruity by making an effort to obtain a “cognitive rule” which is intended to reconcile the punchline in the initial incongruity (Suls 1972: 82 cf. Kaczorowski 2011).

Shultz (1972) adds that a meaningful resolution of the incongruity will lead to a humorous response from the hearer.

Although the IR model was originally used for canned jokes, Dynel (2008, 2009) maintains that it can be used to examine other forms of humour, e.g., parody (see also Kaczorowski 2011). IR is also useful in examining the pragmatic aspects of humour as it relies heavily on context (see Yus 2016). For instance, the context, including contextual cues like a speaker’s tone or facial expression, will determine whether something is out of place, and thus humorous, or not (Miczo et al. 2009: 444; see also Wu, 2013). As noted by Yus (2017: 6) the IR model also fits Sperber and Wilson’s (1996/2002) relevance-theoretic model of comprehension because “it describes the inferential activity of an evolved psychological ability that invariably selects the most relevant interpretation by making comparative judgments among competing interpretations and opting for the one that provides the highest relevance”. That is, a hearer will consistently choose the most relevant interpretation which corresponds to the requirements of “effects vs. effort” (Yus 2017: 6; see also Yus 2016).

Yus (2017) identified 12 new taxonomies of the incongruity resolution model (based on five hundred corpora of jokes) and distinguished them using these two parameters of incongruity: *discourse-centred incongruity* and *frame-based incongruity*. Whereas the discourse-centred incongruity focuses on the inferential strategies that are applied by the hearer to the joke (to change it into an entirely contextualized proposition

⁷ But see Nerhardt (1976) who believes that incongruity alone may be sufficient to trigger a humorous effect.

like reference assignment, disambiguation, concept adjustment, saturation), the framed-based incongruity centres on what the hearer uses to make sense of what is happening in the situation i.e., joke, usually in the make-sense frame (see Yus 2017: 8). As the most prominent theory on humour studies, the incongruity theory provides us with the appropriate explanation for interpreting some of the utterances made in the *Kookurokoo Morning Show* as humorous.

5. Methodology

This paper set out to do a pragmatic analysis of humour in a popular Akan radio programme – the *Kookurokoo Morning Show* at Peace 104.3 FM⁸. Data was therefore sourced from pre-recorded audios of the programme aired between October and November 2018, after formal permission had been sought from the station (they were informed that the data taken will be used for a purely research-driven analysis of language use). The programme airs between 6:00 am -10:00 am, from Monday to Friday, and covers a wide range of topical issues like the morning's news bulletin, newspaper reviews, interviews, general panel discussions, sports segments, phone-in sessions etc. The length of the whole corpus was for an average of 160 hours of talk time. However, attention was paid particularly to the newspaper reviews and general discussion segment of the programme (with an average of about 20hours talk time). These segments were selected because they form the core component of the show and contain a wide range of topics like politics, economic and socio-cultural issues. Our choice of this programme was also informed by the fact that it is highly patronized because it is a prime-time programme, thereby increasing the expectation that an 'appropriate' language which also makes the programme interesting and catchy will be used to sustain the interest of the listeners. More importantly, they were selected on the basis of their rich humour content. This was determined by observing factors such as the use of wordplay, witty comments and contextual cues like giggling voices, laughter etc., which we later interpreted as instantiations of jocular mockery.

The participants in this show are the hosts, newspaper discussants, political representatives, social commentators, etc. who are speakers of the Akan language. The

⁸ Peace 104.3 FM is selected because it has the widest listenership and also has affiliate stations in almost all the regions in Ghana (see Media Watch, Pragma and Synovate Ghana survey (2014), Wiafe-Akenten 2017). In the 24th Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) awards, Peace FM received 'the best radio station (Akan)' and 'radio station of the year' awards categories. Also, the *Kookurokoo Morning Show* was awarded in 2019 as the 'best morning show' and 'radio morning programme of the year' in the Radio and Television Personality awards due to the quality of the content of the programmes and its larger audience as well.

data were transcribed, using the following transcription conventions (adapted from Bucholtz, 2007):

Symbol	Function
,	pause, including end of a statement
!	exclamation
?	rising intonation
...	omitted transcript
[]	transcriber comments/background information
‘ ’	quotation
Word	transcriber emphasis
<i>Words</i>	original data

The data was also translated from Akan to English and analysed by categorising them under two major types of conversational humour. The following sections present the findings from our analysis.

6. Data analysis and discussion

As has already been discussed in section 2, this study falls under conversational humour. In situating it within the subcategories of conversational humour research (see section 2.1 for discussion), findings from this research generally point to teasing, jocular mockery in particular (Haugh 2010, 2014; Haugh and Bousfield 2012; see also Dynel 2011a), as the dominating humour type. However, the data also shows a few instances of ‘retorts’ (see Dynel 2011a, 2011b; Norrick 1984, 1986, 1993). The types of humour and their occurrences are summarized in Table 1, and Table 2 gives a summary of the stylistic devices⁹ and other linguistic strategies (and their occurrences) used in creating the humour.

Table 1: Types of humour

Type	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Teasing (jocular mockery)	15	88.2
Retorts	2	11.8
TOTAL	17	100.0

⁹ Dynel (2011a: 5) notes that devices commonly used in humour include primarily irony and puns (the most salient form of wordplay, i.e., play with language forms).

Table 2: Stylistic devices and other linguistic strategies

Stylistic devices/linguistic strategies	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Pun (wordplay)	5	25
Irony	2	10
Simile	1	5
Allusion	1	5
Proverb	1	5
Apologetic expression	1	5
Idiomatic expression	1	5
Insinuations/inferences	2	10
Rhetorical questions	6	30
TOTAL	20	100

As shown in Table 1, teasing (jocular mockery) has the highest number of occurrences (i.e., 15, representing 88.2%), while retort has 2 (11.8%). On linguistic strategies used, Table 2 shows rhetorical questions recording the highest number of occurrences (6, representing 30%), followed closely by pun (wordplay) with 5 occurrences (representing 25%). This is followed by irony and insinuations/inferences with 2 (10%) each, while simile, allusion, proverb and other linguistic strategies like idiomatic and apologetic expressions recorded the least occurrences 1 (5%) each.

Overall, participants tend to tease other participants on the show or a third party mostly through the use of rhetorical questions and wordplay. Section 6.1 gives a more detailed analysis of instances of the humour types and strategies used, while section 6.2 addresses the function of humour in the study.

6.1. Teasing in the *Kookurokoo* Show

It was generally observed that humour in the programme appeared in the form of teasing (ridicule), which is regarded as the basic component of all humorous material because it is often more acceptable socially than an insult (Gruner 1978). Teasing is traditionally viewed as involving feigned hostility and real friendliness (Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017; cf. Radcliffe-Brown, 1940). As discussed in section 2.1, although teasing generally carries ostensible aggression or face-threat, this must not be interpreted as genuine. This is prevalent in the data sampled, especially in the newspaper segment used by the reviewers.

Excerpt 1 illustrates teasing that arises out of incongruity – an inconsistency between a set of expectations and what is actually perceived, or from a linguistic perspective, “a mismatch or contrast between two meanings” (Dynel (2011a: 3; see section 4 for further discussion).

Excerpt 1. General discussion, November 6, 2018

[The participants were discussing an alleged corruption scandal in the banking sector which involved prominent personalities in the country; pseudonyms have been used for anonymity].

1. Host: *Yeabobɔ din: PMO, AE, OMA, RGD, AKM nom. Mekaɛ ne memo bi a na wo serialize, ye de wɔn akɔ kɔt. Seisei mo kɔto keesi no nso ete sen? Participant1 nti wohunuu saa adeɛ wei na ete wo sen?*
We have mentioned the names: PMO, AE, OMA, RGD, AKM. I recall that you were serializing their memo; you were taken to the court. How far with the court case? Participant1 what did you make of this when it came out?’
2. Participant1: *Hmm! Host, asem no ka ye den, deɛ woreka no nyinaa ye nokore...mekaɛ se wɔnom de yen kɔɔ kɔto se yeresee wɔnom adwumana wɔnom de yen kɔɔ kɔto no, eye me se papa yi wonim mmara kakra?*
‘Hmm! Host, this issue is a dicey one but all that you have said are true... I recall that they sent us to the court that we are destroying their work...and when they sent us to the court [to Participant2] I guess you are a lawyer and you know a bit about the law?’
3. Host: *Participant2 nye lɔya oo*
Participant2 is not a lawyer oo’
4. Participant1: *ena woaspoti saa no?*
[to Participant2] And you have dressed nicely like this?’

5. All: *Haha! Haha!*

Looking at just the appearance of Participant2, Participant1 assumed that he might be a lawyer. As typical of the incongruity theory, his expectation was squashed when the host said “Participant2 is not a lawyer oo’, which serves as the punchline for the set-up. In other words, it creates a mismatch between Participant1’s expectation and the actual situation (see Archakis and Tsakona, 2005). This occurs at the first stage of the incongruity-resolution (IR) model discussed in section 4, where a hearer encounters an incongruity due to a dissonance. It can be argued that Participant1 made an effort to resolve the incongruity (stage 2) by appealing to his sense of how lawyers are expected to dress in Ghana (Participant2 was probably in a black suit, a white shirt and a tie).

Although Participant1’s rhetorical question in turn 4 carries ostensible face-threat, it is not considered as genuine because it occurs within a humorous frame (see section 2.1), thereby creating laughter in turn 5. Indeed, Sinkeviciute and Dynel (2017: 2) add that teasing has been variously defined not only in the context of its aggressive/face-threatening potential but also in the context of its solidarity-building function (e.g. Bateson, 1972; Drew, 1987; Pawluk, 1989; Alberts, 1992; Norrick, 1993; Alberts et al., 1996; Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997; Keltner et al., 1998; Tholander and Aronsson, 2002; Partington, 2006; Geyer, 2010; Haugh, 2010; Dynel, 2011b; Sinkeviciute, 2013). This excerpt exemplifies one of such solidarity building. The resolution of the incongruity is seen in the explanation given by the Host. This supports the literature on incongruity that it is its resolution that brings out the aesthetic (see Kulka, 2007).

6.1.1 Jocular mockery as an instantiation of teasing

As discussed in section 2.1, Jocular mockery is defined as teasing that is accomplished through mocking or ridiculing a conversation participant or a third party within a jocular or non-serious frame (see Haugh 2010; 2014). Although not a prototypical example of jocular mockery, Excerpt 1 above illustrates elements of this since, according to Haugh (2010: 2108), “[j]ocular mockery may be locally occasioned in response to the target “overdoing” or exaggerating a particular action”. In Excerpt 1, the target (Participant2) was seen to have dressed like a lawyer which in reality, he is not, and this occasioned the expression of shock and the teasing by Participant1. Other examples of jocular mockery are illustrated in Excerpts 2-3.

Excerpt 2. Newspaper review on October 9th, 2018

[There was a report that the Minister of National Security had gone to a town in northern Ghana to resolve chieftaincy clashes that led to two deaths and several injuries]

1. Host1: *Na The Daily Dispatch de owura KD mfonin abeto hɔ, ɛɛ security minister na atiefoɔ bekae a, Bole ne Damango nsemnsem bi a esisii hɔ me-nte-me-ho-ase bi esii wɔ hɔ no; ne kurom kwan nye ooo.*
The Daily Dispatch has brought the picture of KD, the National Security Minister; and if listeners can recall the conflict that occurred between the indigenes of Bole and Damango; **but the road to his hometown is very bad oo [said with a giggling voice]**
2. Host2: *Haha! Haha!*
3. Host1: *Woreka ekwan bɔne a ɛwɔ Ghana a, Honourable KD kurom kwan, Kwaman nom ne Kyekyewere ne nkae, a! Awurade Nyame!...*
'If you are talking about bad roads in Ghana, then KD's hometown road is part, Kwanman, Kyekyewere and its environs, oh my God!'

From excerpt 2, Host1 intentionally digressed from the main issue (the conflict) and rather teased the National Security Minister, which is incongruous to the situation at hand (stage 1 of the IR). His statement, that “the roads in his hometown are bad”, is an example of political humour which appeared in the form of an insinuation or an inference, to suggest that he may not be able to solve their problems because he has not solved the poor road issues in his hometown. Host1 invokes a humorous frame, through a smiling/giggling voice (see Holmes and Hay, 1997 for similar contextual cues which signal a play frame), and this was interpreted as such (stage 2 of the IR) and maintained by Host2 in turn 2 (note that laughter is often regarded to be synonymous with humour, Attardo 1994, Ruch, 2008). In other words, the incongruity was resolved when Host2 interpreted the oddness of Host1's comment, together with the contextual cue (the smiling/giggling voice), as an insinuation that the Minister may not be able to resolve the problem.

It is worth noting, however, that invoking a humorous frame here allows them to address a serious national issue (poor road networks). By diverting the conversation to the roads, this will hopefully attract the Minister's attention for action. This aligns with observations in the literature, that ‘while it may be argued that the playful frame is conducive to the suspension of truthfulness and to deviation from norms obtaining for serious talk’, it can also be postulated that ‘humorous duality allows speakers to convey *serious meanings*, while appearing to be “only joking”’ (Dynel 2011b: 226, emphasis added; cf. Lampert and Tripp 2006; Kotthoff 2007; Oring 2003; Simpson 2003).

It can be argued that the use of these linguistic strategies (inference, insinuation or indirection) in Excerpt 2 is to mitigate the effect of the underlying message – that the Minister is incapable of solving the problem at hand. Other indirectional strategies and stylistic devices like idiomatic and apologetic expressions, proverbs, wordplay, allusion, and simile are employed by participants to create humour in Excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3, Newspaper review on October 9th, 2018

[Participants were discussing a report that the president went to the Financial Times World Summit and said that his administration came to meet debt from the previous government. The former president had written a rebuttal, which prompted the current vice to also send in his rebuttal to the former president’s statement]

1. Host: **[with a giggling voice]** ... *ɔmanpanin dadaa JDM na eni ooo, Ghana manpanin abadiakyire Vice president DB nso na eni ooo, wɔmo na ɛreto mane yen ho no. Wei eye ɛɛm, mpanimfoɔ yi mmienu, ɔmanpanin JDM akasa afa ɔman yi deɛ erekɔ ho, nye a enye ne see a aseɛ ne nneema a ereha adwene. ena ɔmanpanin abadiakyire DB enso erekyere ye a wɔmo ereye no yie, ene eka wɔmo agya ene see a wɔmo see no ama wɔmo abetena ho enti na enne awie yen sei. Anka ente saa anka enne Ghana enwie yen se Amoako ne Adu. enwie Amaoako no na Adu mpo abeka ho. Enti se ampa se wɔmo reye nnoɔma yie a, ɛɛɛ ɔmanpanin dada, sebe, ɔnka n’ano ntom na ‘incompetency’ a wɔnom gyaeɛ no anaa se ‘incompetent’ nnoɔma ena enne awo deɛ awoɔ yi.*

[with a giggling voice] ‘the former president JDM is here ooo; and Ghana’s vice president DB is here ooo. They are giving it to each other. This is erm, these two elders/leaders, ex-president JDM has spoken about how the country is being run, how bad it is and how worst it has gotten to, and how worrying it has become. Vice president DB is also indicating how they are fixing it for better, and how they left debt for them that is why the country is in this state. If not so, then **Ghana would not be like ‘Amoako ne Adu’. It would not get to Amoako, not to talk of Adu.** So, if it is true that they are working to make things better, then, **excuse my language**, the former president should shut up because it is as a result of the incompetency they left, that is why things are like these’.

In Excerpt 3, a humorous frame is invoked as the Host uses a giggling voice, an indication of jocular mockery. To set the stage for the teasing/jocular mockery, the Host

resorts to the use of wordplay with a rhyming effect¹⁰ on the opening sentences “JDM is here ooo ... DB is here ooo”. The use of the wordplay here is for the purpose of creating a humorous effect, which in the end functions as ridicule for a moral transgression (i.e. high political leaders ‘insulting’ each other). To reinforce the humour, whilst adhering to the face needs of his listeners and using ‘appropriate’ language, the Host resorts to the use of idiomatic and apologetic expressions in the review. For instance, the use of the idiomatic expression “they are giving it to each other” (*wɔmo na ɛreto mmane wɔn ho no*) is considered more appropriate than ‘they are insulting each other’ – something that may be considered as moral decadence and, thus, not expected from such public figures. This serves as a face-saving mechanism for the sender, his audience and the targets (Brown and Levinson 1987, Bonvillain 1993, Agyekum 2010b). As it has been pointed out in the literature, formulaic or idiomatic expressions appear to frame the mockery as non-serious by indicating a possible summarizing and closing of the sequence (Haugh 2010: 2108; cf. Drew and Holt, 1998).

Another linguistic strategy used is the apologetic expression *sebe* (literary meaning ‘excuse my language’) which serves as both politeness and mitigation strategy. If not for the use of this expression, the Host would have been criticized for using language in its ‘plain’ form (that the vice president said the former president should *shut up* because the mess in the country is as a result of *their incompetency*). Indeed, the literature on language use among the Akan indicates that the appropriate use of this apologetic expression signals the speaker’s communicative competence in the language (see Diabah 2020; Agyekum 2010c). This show of politeness is significant, not just for the speaker, but for the entire society (see Agyekum’s argument that in African societies, face transcends the individual and encompasses the entire society, 2010b).

Humour is again reinforced through allusion¹¹, by comparing the current state of the country and the leaders’ behaviour with the proverb about two friends (If not so, Ghana would not be like Amoako ne Adu) – also note the use of simile in making this comparison. History has it that Amoako and Adu were friends who were lazy and aimless. They, therefore, begged for alms (including food). People eventually became fed up with their lazy behaviour and stopped giving them alms. They, therefore, became poor and hunger-smitten, and they were used as a reference for anybody who was seen as exhibiting such traits. This gradually became a proverb among the Akan and the Ghanaian community in general. By alluding to this proverb, the Host equates the

¹⁰ Dynel (2011a: 5) describes a wordplay as “play with language form ... which also can manifest itself in non-punning figures, such as rhyming” (cf. Attardo 1994; Alexander 1997; Dynel 2009a, 2009b; Venour et al. 2011).

¹¹ Allusion refers to making reference directly or indirectly to a person, event, thing or characters from another story or text, to his or her own story. This is intended to add context or depth to the story being told or written (Agyekum, 1999).

former president JDM to Amoako (the eldest) and the current vice president DB to Adu (the youngest) and insinuates how both governments have made a mess of the country's economy. The humour content of the excerpt is further strengthened by using the proverb in the wordplay *enwie Amaoako no na Adu mpo abeka ho* "it would not get to Amoako, not to talk of Adu".

6.1.2 Teasing and retorts

Although teasing (jocular mockery) is what dominates in this study, a few instances of the use of retorts, i.e., quick and witty statements, were identified (see section 2.1). These also include some rhetorical questions. Schaffer (2005: 434), for instance, notes that "while all RQs [rhetorical questions] seem to be used specifically to imply that the answer to the prompting question should have been obvious to the asker, many are also clearly exploited in different ways to create humour". Excerpt 4 further illustrates retorts amidst teasing.

Excerpt 4. Newspaper review, November 1, 2018

[Participants were reviewing a publication on the government's response to people's reactions to loans they had contracted. This was against the background that the government had campaigned against similar loan contracts by the former administration].

- 1 Host1: [with a giggling voice] *Na zmanpanin AA na zreka se znkztenkzete a yeabo bosea! yebo bosea a, obiara tua ne zanko dee!* [there was laughter at the background]
[with a giggling voice] And president AA says he has been hearing some rumours that we have gone for a loan! 'if we have gone for a loan, each one should pay the debts of the other!'
- 2 Host2: *Hei!*
Hey!
- 3 Host1: *Enti wo nso mebo bosea na wo nso wobetua na aye den? Na aban reb bosea dodo! Na zse: oouu! oouu! bosea no yewo 2!*
So, you too, if I have gone for a loan and you come and pay it, what is wrong with it? But the government is taking too much loan! And he says 'oh! oh! we have two types of borrowing!'
- 4 Host2: *Ookay, saa?*
'Okay, really?'
- 5 Host1: *Yewo bosea: 'makobo bosea abekye adi; eno no wo ho'; ena 'yeakobo bosea de abeye 'investment', yede abeye adwuma!'*

- We have this type ‘I have gone for a loan and I have squandered it with others’, that one is there; and ‘we have gone for a loan but we used it for investment, we have used it in development!’
- 6 Host2: *Saaa? Aaa, ‘but’ se eye bosea?...*
Really? Aaa! but is it not a loan?
- 7 Host1: *Yee!.. Woasem wa! tie na ma me nkyerkyere mu.*
[with a giggling voice] ‘Yee! you talk too much! Listen and let me explain it’.
- 8 Host2: *Aaa! kyerkyere mu!*
Aaa! explain it!
- 9 Host1: *AA kyere se bosea no wabɔ, ɔde, woahu? Woahu?*
AA says that he has contracted the loan for, do you get it? Do you get it?
- 10 All: *Haha! Haha! Haha!*
- 11 Host1: *ɔgu so rebɔ, ɔno no deɛ no ɔse eye according to deɛ no bi, kyere se ɔrebɔ de aye adwuma! a, adwuma no nso a ɔreye no wotumi de wo nsa kyere so se enie! Obi wɔ hɔ a ɔkɔbɔ bosea a na wadi. Obi nso de ye adwuma ma yehu se enie!..* [there was laughter at the background]
‘He is still borrowing. He says that his own is the ‘according to type’, this means that he is working with it! And you can point at the work he is doing. Someone else will go and take a loan and squander it. Another one will take a loan and we will see it!’
- 12 Host2: *Enti bosea no ɔbekɔ so abɔ anaa ɔbekɔ break?*
‘So, is he going to continue the borrowing or he will go on break?’
- 13 Host1: *eno deɛ gye se wobegye bisa no!*
You have to come and ask him yourself!
- 14 All: *Haha! haha! haha!..*

It has been acknowledged in the literature on humour research, and especially on teasing, that humour is a joint enterprise between the speaker and the hearer, who may maintain the play frame through laughter and other contextual cues, (partial) repetition of the mocking remark, elaborating or countering the mockery (see Haugh 2010; Coates 2007). The participants here mock the attitude of the president by trying to differentiate between his style of contracting loans (the ‘according to’ type, i.e., for investment) and that of his predecessor (the squandered type) through various signals of ‘this is play’. For instance, Host1 invokes a humorous frame when he notes that the president said ‘he has been hearing some rumour ...’ with a giggling voice. This is interpreted as such by Host2, who employs a lot of discourse markers (hey!, aa!, okay!) and laughter which function as encouragement markers to lead the speaker on, thereby sustaining

the discussion in a jocular mockery frame. Host2 also uses a lot of questions (including rhetorical questions) based on a pretended misunderstanding to create an opportunity for Host1 to continue in this jocular mockery frame (see turns 4 and 6).

In addition to jocular mockery, which characterizes the entire dataset, participants also use retorts as a sub-type of conversational humour. By feigning misunderstanding, Host2 (in turn 6) makes a 'statement' with a rising intonation which, on the surface level, appears to be a genuine question 'is it not a loan?' However, what she indeed intends to say is 'this is also a loan'. Based on this feigned misunderstanding, Host1 then retorts 'Yee! you talk too much!' (amidst giggles) and offers to provide the president's explanation for why their loan may be 'justified' and should, therefore, not be treated on the same level as that of their predecessors. This aligns with Dynel's (2011b: 1292) argument that one of the subtypes of retorts is based on a pretended misunderstanding which pertains to cases couched in ambiguity that manifests itself at the level of inferences rather than be rooted in the surface structure (cf. Ritchie 2004; Dynel 2009).

Again, in turn 12, Host2 asks a question which elicits a witty and sarcastic response (a retort) from Host1 in turn 13. This question is ironic because Host1 had already noted that the president is still borrowing (turn 11), and Host2's use of 'break' in itself only suggests an interruption, not a complete stop. The answer, therefore, appears to be already embedded in the question, hence the retort in 13. By this, Host 1 dissociates himself from the question (similar to what Haugh, 2010, refers to as disaffiliative stance). In other words, since the answer is 'obvious', but Host2 still wants to know, the best person to address that question is the president himself, not him (Host1). Another application of irony (which ties in with incongruity) is seen in turn 1, where the president is reported to have said "if we have gone for a loan, each one should pay the debts of the other!". The expectation here is that each person would pay for their own debt, not the other way round. This is foregrounded later in 3 through the use of the rhetorical question "you too if I have gone for a loan and you come and pay it, what is wrong with it?", which is interpreted here as a retort directed at his earlier statement (see Schaffer, 2005 for a discussion of rhetorical questions as retorts) – indeed, Schaffer argues that "a substantial number of RQs [rhetorical questions] might be taken as supporting incongruity theories based on content, as their humour seems to stem from unusual or incongruous phrasing or imagery" (2005: 446). The irony in this humorous frame is interpreted as such by the other participants, as they join in the laughter. This reiterates Coates assertion that "conversational humour is a joint activity, involving all participants at talk" (Coates 2007: 32). These ironies, rhetorical questions etc. act as indirect strategies to mitigate potential face threat to the referents – high political actors in this case.

6.2 Functions of humour in the *Kookurokoo* Show

Conversational humour has been described in the literature as a joint activity involving all participants in the conversation. Consequently, many researchers see its key function as the creation and maintenance of solidarity (see Norrick, 1993; Hay, 1995; Crawford, 1995; Boxer and Cortes-Conde, 1997; Holmes and Hay, 1997, cited in Coates 2007: 31-32). Like these studies, humour in the *Kookurokoo Show* generally functions to create and maintain solidarity among conversation participants (for example, see Excerpt 1 and 2). Other functions include:

1. teasing for the sake of amusement or entertainment of the participants, not necessarily the target (see Haugh & Bousfield 2012; Yu 2013). This is shown through the use of discourse markers like “hey!, aa!, ookay, yee!, and really” in Excerpt 4 and contextual cues like smiling/giggling voices in Excerpts 2 and 3.
2. playful mitigation of threatening propositional meaning (see Drew 1987; Dynel 2009; Yu 2013). This is manifested through the usage of the apologetic expression *sebe* in Excerpt 3 to mitigate the effect of telling a former president to shut up and describing his government as incompetent. It is also shown in how the Host employs a proverb and the wordplay thereafter to insinuate how the two governments have made a mess of the country’s economy. Thus, humorous duality is useful here, by allowing the Host to convey serious meanings, while appearing to be just joking (Dynel 2011b: 226).
3. indicating moral transgressions (e.g., Drew 1987; Everts 2003; Franzén and Aronsson 2013). This was seen in Excerpt 3, where the host used the idiomatic expression *womo na ere to mane yeho no* “they are giving it to each other” to downplay how the two presidents were ‘insulting’ each other.
4. claiming or ascribing identities (e.g., Drew 1987; Queen 2005; Schnurr 2009). This was subtly shown in Excerpt 1 when Participant1 mistakenly described Participant2 as a Lawyer based on his dressing.

7. Conclusion

The paper set out to investigate how humour is manifested in a popular Akan morning show programme (the *Kookurokoo Morning Show*) in Ghana. It has been shown that the newspaper review and general discussion segments are mainly characterized by teasing (jocular mockery) which is often targeted at politicians. Because

ridicule/teasing can sometimes be interpreted as offensive, especially by the addressee, participants resort to the use of indirectional strategies and stylistic devices such as wordplay, irony, allusion, idiomatic expressions, politeness and softening strategies to mitigate face threat. This is particularly important when it comes to public figures like politicians, who have a lot of followers. The paper reiterates that invoking a humorous frame in a situation like this helps to reduce tension and creates a cordial atmosphere for solidarity building, while at the same time conveying *serious meaning*. This strategy is also useful in providing participants with some leeway to retract their statements, irrespective of their initial intentions (see also Dynel, 2011b).

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.5>

AN ETHNO-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF HUMOUR IN AKAN DRAUGHTS GAMES

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Abstract

Humour is an important aspect of human behaviour and communication. However, it is one of the least studied phenomena in Akan linguistics. This paper, therefore, offers an ethno-pragmatic analysis of humour in the Akan draughts game called *Dame*. It focuses on the types of humour, the linguistic strategies used in creating humour and the functions of humour in the game. Data were gathered through non-participant observations of the game and semi-structured interviews. The paper shows that participants of the game generally resort to teasing in the form of jocular mockery and jocular abuse. This is done through the use of stylistic devices like metaphor, allusion, sarcasm and simile, as well as other linguistic strategies like rhetorical questions and songs. Contextual cues such as laughter and giggles are employed to signal the evocation of a humorous frame, and as such, insults and ridicule should be perceived as 'this is play'. Through the application of the Superiority Theory, we argue that participants often use insults and ridicule, which generate humour, to demoralize and spread fear in a losing contestant while boosting the confidence, competence and importance of the winning contestant. Rather than generating tension and conflict, this language use engenders bonding and strengthens group cohesion.

Keywords: Conversational humour, draughts, games, jocular abuse, jocular humour, superiority theory.

1. Introduction

Humour is a universal phenomenon, which may be exhibited in various forms by various cultures. It encompasses an integral part of any culture because it forms part of the peoples' personality, cognitive and emotional processes (Agyekum 2017, Harris 2009, Palmer 1994, etc.). It is defined as the "amusing communications that produce positive emotions and cognitions in the individual, group, or organization" (Romero and Cruthirds 2006: 59); Dynell (2011a), however, opines that some humorous phenomena (for instance, those showing anxiety) may not provoke laughter or amusement. From a psychological point of view, humour has been described as one of the characteristics associated with well-being (psychology today.com). Ruch (2008:19) adds that "humour research forms a solid column of positive psychology." It aids us in knowing the positive traits of individuals and design the appropriate interventions which help in understanding, evaluating and assessing their character strength. On her part, Holmes (2000) intimates that the most essential social function of humour is that it aids in creating and maintaining solidarity between members in a group, which guarantees a sense of in-group belonging. For instance, in his discussion of humour as a ritual insult in the corner of a doughnut shop in California, Murphy (2017) notes that humour in that space offers a license for the in-group members to direct verbal putdowns toward one another without any offence, and this ensures the solidarity of the group (see also, Agyekum 2010a, Attardo 1994, Fine and De Soucey 2005, O'ring 2008). These arguments make humour an important field of research in an area like games, which are also meant to create bonding, solidarity, social cohesion, etc. and ultimately contribute to well-being.

Whilst scholarly work on the linguistics of humour abounds globally (see Attardo; 1994, 2008, Dynel 2009a, 2009b, 2013; Gruner 1978, Piata 2016, Raskin 1987, 2017, Takovski 2018, etc.), not much attention has been given to it in the Ghanaian context. For instance, in Akan, the majority language of Ghana, a few scholarly works on humour have so far been identified (see Agyekum 2009, 2011, 2017; Yankah 1983). For example, in Agyekum's (2009) paper on puns, jokes and humour in Akan speech play, he argues that punning in the game functions as a face mitigating strategy (e.g., during discussions on taboo topics); but it may also be used just for humour or entertainment. He also identifies the use of insults as jokes between the Asante and the Nzema of Ghana. Like teasing generally, and jocular abuse in particular (Haugh and Bousfield 2012), such insults are not expected to be taken to heart. While Agyekum's (2009) work provides some significant insight into humour in Akan, specifically in speech play, the information on jokes and

humour (which is similar to our study, especially jocular abuse) is scanty. For instance, there is no linguistic data to illustrate the use of jocular abuse between the Asante and the Nzema. Yet, considering the importance of humour outlined above, it is necessary that linguistic researchers give it as much attention as they have given to other linguistic routines like compliments, thanking and apology (see Agyekum; 2006, 2010b, 2015, Obeng 1999, Sekyi-Baidoo 2016). This study, therefore, extends linguistic research in Akan by investigating the nature of humour in the Akan game called *Dame* (draughts) because games create social cohesion and contribute to well-being. The paper will focus on the type(s) of humour used in the game, the linguistic strategies used to create humour, and the functions/effects of humour in the game.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides an ethnolinguistic background of Akan and the focus of our research, and section 3 focuses on some scholarly works in the field of humour studies (especially conversational humour, under which this study falls) as a way of providing some context for the current study. We provide additional context in section 4, where we discuss the history of the game of *Dame* and the beliefs, norms and practices that govern it. In section 5, we discuss the theoretical underpinnings of this study; whilst section 6 gives the approach to data collection and analysis. The results are discussed in section 7, focusing on the types of humour, its linguistic manifestations and functions. The conclusion is presented in section 8.

2. An ethnolinguistic background of Akan

Akan refers to the language as well as its native speakers. The Akans are comprised of Bono, Fante, Asante, Akuapem, Assin, Twifo, Akyem, Kwahu, Sehwi, Awowin, Ahanta and Nzema, and they occupy the greater part of southern Ghana (Buah 1998; Agyekum 2011; 2018). They are found in 9 out of the 16 regions in Ghana: Ahafo, Ashanti, Bono East, Bono North, Central, Eastern, Oti, Western and Western North. Akans celebrate some prominent festivals like Akwesidɛɛ, Odwira, Ohum, Ahobaa, Akwambo and have staple foods like ampesie, fufu, etsew, etc. Although the *Dame* game is not played by only Akans, they dominate since they form the majority of the nation's population, as noted below. *Dame* has recently been added to the national sporting games in Ghana.

Linguistically, Akan belongs to the Kwa group of languages (Agyekum 2010a, Dolphyne 1988, 2006). It is estimated that about 47.5% of Ghana's population use it as their mother tongue (Ghana Statistical Service 2012) while about two-thirds of the population use it as a lingua franca (Agyekum 2017; GSS 2012). This makes Akan the

major language in Ghana, although it is not officially recognized as a national language. It has about 13 major dialects i.e., Agona, Akuapem, Akyem, Akwamu, Asante, Assin, Bono, Buem, Denkyira, Fante, Kwawu, Twifo and Wassaw (Agyekum 2018). Three (Asante, Akuapem, Fante) out of these dialects, namely Asante, Akuapem, Fante, have been codified and are used in schools (Diabah and Amfo 2015). The language is, therefore, used in several domains of communication (e.g., media, advertisement, education, entertainment, market, etc.) in the country. With such extensive use of the language, it is expected that data on humour will abound since humour can somehow be considered as one of the daily linguistic routines.

3. Humour research and cohesion in social groups /games

This paper falls under conversational humour. Dynel (2011a: 4) defines it as “humour relevantly interwoven into conversations, both spoken and written, whether private, institutional or mediated”. It is one of the most important categories of humour, as it appears frequently in the (pragma)linguistics of humour research (see edited collections by Coates 2007; Dynel 2011a; Dynel 2009b; Holmes and Marra 2002; Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017). Ofori et al (this volume) note that for a conversation to be considered as humorous, a play frame or humorous frame (cf. Bateson 1953) needs to be activated. This is done through signals or contextual cues such as laughter, giggles, the use of a smiling voice, change in tone of voice, among others.

Although conversational humour includes types such as witticism, retort, banter, self-denigrating humour, putdown etc., we pay particular attention to teasing – which encompasses jocular mockery and jocular abuse (see Dynel 2009a; Haugh 2010; and Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017) – since it is directly linked to how humour is enacted in the Akan draughts game. Teasing is believed to combine elements of both (ostensible) provocation and (ostensible) playfulness (Haugh 2014). Although it carries some ostensible aggression or face-threat, this is not perceived as genuine.¹ It rather functions as solidarity-building (see Bateson, 1972; Coates 2007, Crawford 2003; Dynel, 2011b; Sinkeviciute, 2013). According to Haugh (2014:76), “teasing as mocking/ridiculing can be accomplished within a jocular or non-serious frame”. In other words, jocular mockery is defined as teasing that is accomplished through mocking or ridiculing a conversation participant or a third party within a humorous frame (also see Haugh and Bousfield, 2012). As Haugh

¹ However, teasing can sometimes slip into being interpreted as annoying or provoking, especially by the target (Haugh 2014).

(2014: 72) further notes, using a humorous or play frame is important for humour appreciation since the ordinary meaning of mocking entails a “figurative cutting down or diminishment of the target”. This, in a way, forces the target to treat it as ‘just play’ and thus not to be taken (too) seriously (see Haugh 2014; Goddard 2009; Norrick 1993). Jocular mockery, like other types of humour, is jointly achieved by the speaker and the hearer, who may maintain the play frame through laughter, (partial) repetition of the mocking remark, elaborating or countering the mockery (Haugh 2010: 2108).

Jocular abuse is also defined as “a specific form of insulting where the speaker casts the target into an undesirable category or as having undesirable attributes using a conventionally offensive expression within a non-serious or jocular frame” (Haugh and Bousfield 2012: 1108). It is believed to have its roots in the concept of “ritual abuse, which serves solidarity building in certain communities of practice (Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017: 2). Like jocular mockery, and teasing generally, the use of the humorous frame requires participants to treat such abuses as ‘just play’. For instance, draughts in Akan has an informal setting where participants have a ‘license’ to use certain verbal expressions which, outside of the context, would have been considered offensive (Agyekum 2010a, Yankah 1983). Agyekum (2010a), for example, adds that in Akan, there are instances where expressions which are regarded as offensive (insults and verbal atomic weapons) are not considered as such. However, these are considered as verbal games used just for teasing one another. They function as social management, and occur in games like *dame* (draught), *oware*, etc.

Humour in any communicative event can affect an individual’s emotions and cognitive capacities either positively or negatively (see Agyekum 2017, Gruner 1978). Wilson (1979) also notes that ridicule which is seen as the basic component of humour has the tendency to be more personal, which is usually directed at an individual, rather than at a group. In Akan for example, there is a type of invective game played by peers known as *aborɔme*, which is directed at individuals but may have vicarious references to their parents. This game shares some similarities with the social practice, i.e., ritual humour (insult), documented by Labov (1973) in ‘the Dozens’ which is performed in the inner city by young male adults. In *aborɔme*, young males dig or search one another for the correct answers to some riddles; these are insults meant for the addressee. Here, the game will continue when the addressee is able to find the right answer and he also poses a riddle to the opponent (see also Agyekum 2010a, Ofori 2019, Yankah 1983). Such ridicule-packed games, like in *Dame*, are intended to create bonding and social cohesion.

O'ring (2008) states that humour plays a significant role in anthropology and folklore because they are embedded in some social, religious and oral literature genres such as songs, tales, jokes, proverbs, etc. He further explicated that these humorous expressions (joking relationships) are observed, recorded, interpreted and documented in the context of the socio-cultural life of a group of people which aids in forging a mutual sociocultural relationship between them. In her discussion of the manifestations and functions of humour in business meetings between New Zealand and Japan, Murata (2014) also notes the significance of context in humour appreciation. She argues that "workplace humour is context-bound and often cannot easily be understood by non-group members" (Murata, 2014:2). Such workplace humour is relevant as it creates and reinforces good workplace relations (see also Schnurr 2005, Westwood and Rhodes 2007, etc.). On his part, Jewell (2005) explains that humour helps in building our cognitive and social life because it helps us to decipher different varied complex concepts in our environment based on our experiences. Agyekum (2017) also states that humour is one of the pragmatic and rhetoric strategies used by Akan herbal drug sellers and advertisers to persuade their would-be buyers by using certain humorous expressions which touch on their emotions and cognition. This also shows how people identify with their customers and create social bonds through humour. As noted above, this study also offers a platform for creating social cohesion and bonding because what would have been considered offensive under normal circumstances, rather creates amusement.

4. Superiority theory and the game of draught

One key theory that has underpinned humour studies for decades is the superiority theory. According to Janes and Olson (2010), the superiority theory dates back to the early Greek Philosophers Plato and Aristotle. In the view of Plato and Aristotle, people see the weakness of others as humorous, hence "laughter is an expression of derision or malice directed at the less fortunate" (see Ferguson and Ford 2008:288). In other words, the superiority theory suggests that humour is an indication of a feeling of self-importance or superiority over other people or over one's own former position (Cooper 2008: 1096). Hobbes (1968), who is considered as the 'father' of modern humour theory and the first researcher to provide a precise description of this theory, postulated that amusement and laughter are the outcomes of how glorious we feel when we compare ourselves favourably with the less fortunate (see Janes and Olson 2010: 48). He further indicates that humans are constantly in competition with each other, hence searching for the weaknesses of the

other. As a result, the higher the dignity of the victim, the higher the subsequent amusement.

Harris (2009:7) indicates that Superiority theory functions better in political humour because a political opponent can easily laugh at another political party-member. This is similar to our current context, where someone who is winning the game may make fun of his opponent in order to demoralize him to his advantage. To Janes and Olson (2010:48), “the concept of *schadenfreude* (delight in the misery of others) captures the essence of this superiority dynamic—[since] it sometimes makes us feel good to see other people fail”. They further add that when we enjoy the misery of others, we may turn out to be more aware of the fact that others may similarly enjoy our misery.

The superiority theory is not all-encompassing when it comes to humour studies (other classic theories of humour include incongruity theory and relief theory – see Ofori 2019 for some reviews and Ofori et al, this volume). For example, laughter is not only expressed by comparing ourselves to the less fortunate, neither is it always in relation to ‘celebrating’ someone’s strength and another’s weaknesses. An example can be cited of a Ghanaian comedian, Bob Okala, whose dressing alone can generate a lot of laughter. We, however, find the superiority theory useful in explaining how humour is mostly manifested in this study as ridiculing/teasing, with the aim of mocking a loser or demoralizing the target so that his opponent may gain an advantage and consequently win the game.

Like many board games, draughts is considered a game of the mind, which requires careful calculations and strategies to win (see, for example, Donkoh et al 2019). One of the ways through which someone can be disoriented and eventually lose is when he is ridiculed or mocked (either by his opponent or by the spectators of the game), especially if he appears not to be doing well already. In other words, teasing/ridiculing someone in a disadvantageous position has the ability to influence how they play the game, which can lead them to sink further into their misfortune (see also Jussim 1986; Jussim 2001). The types of humour employed by participants in this study (jocular mockery and jocular abuse) suggest the speaker’s self-importance or superiority to the target and are, thus, in line with the tenets of the superiority theory outlined above.

5. Draughts: History, norms, and beliefs

The generic name given to numerous board games is draughts, where an opponent’s pieces can be won by just ‘jumping’ over (see Figure 1 for how the game is played). Draughts, (the name of the game in British English and other English-speaking countries), is also

known as checkers in American English. It is called *Dame* in Akan, which is believed to have been borrowed from the French word *Jeu De Dames* or simply *Dames* [<http://idf64.org/a-history-of-draughts/>]. This literally means lady or queen. The *dame* is believed to have begun as an Alquerque or Quirkat which shares a strong similitude with modern-day draughts. In the olden days, the game was usually played by the elderly men after they have returned from their farms and other traditional workplaces in Akan communities (Kwame Addai personal communication, December 24, 2018). However, in modern times, *dame* in the Akan community is played by people of all ages.

Generally, some norms govern the appropriate use of language in any communicative or speech event, including the game of *dame*. One of such norms is on who is permitted to participate in this game. Traditionally, chiefs are not allowed to play this game in Akan because of its nature. For example, it is a game which is full of insults and invectives due to the lift of the ban on social insult in that context. Therefore, because Chiefs are revered and held in high esteem, they are not supposed to partake in the game since anybody can insult them and bring their highly respected status and office into disrepute. Another interesting feature of this game is that women are not permitted to engage in it because the game is full of insults. Again, since women in the past were supposed to be working at home after coming from the farm, they could not join the men to play.

In recent times, the game has become a full-time job for some people, and there is a global association called International Draughts Federation (IDF) where people/contestants meet annually to compete in the *dame* game.



Figure 1: A sample picture of participants playing draughts (Asante, Bekwai 24/12/2018, The picture was taken with the permission of the participants)

6. Data and data collection procedures

Data for this study were sourced from non-participant observations of the game, as part of a bigger study by the first author. In all, a total of thirty games were observed between December 2018 and January 2019. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to get a better understanding of certain behaviours and practices of participants. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted for selected opinion leaders to get the background information about the history of the game, norms and practices. Overall, a total of twenty interviews were conducted.

In order to get the appropriate data for the study, we combined both convenience and purposive sampling techniques in selecting the games and participants for the study (see Cresswell 1998, Owu-Ewie 2012). These techniques helped to get data depending on whether there is a game, and whether or not the participants agreed for us to observe and audio-record them. The data were audio-recorded (with the permission of the participants) and later transcribed and translated from Akan into English. The analysis was done by listening to the audio recordings and reading through the transcript several times for emerging themes, which were grouped under various headings. The texts were subjected to semantic and pragmatic analysis. The findings are discussed in the sections that follow.

7. Data analysis and discussion

This paper set out to do an ethno-pragmatic analysis of humour in the Akan game called *Dame* (draughts). The results are discussed according to the types of humour, stylistic devices and other linguistic strategies employed in creating humour, and the functions of humour in the game.

7.1 Types of humour

Humour in the Akan draughts game generally appeared in the form of teasing (ridicule). As noted in section 3, although teasing generally carries ostensible aggression or face-threat, this must not be interpreted as genuine. Teasing in this study manifests itself through subtypes such as jocular mockery and jocular abuse (see section 3; see Dynel 2009; Haugh 2010; Sinkeviciute and Dynel, 2017).

7.1.1 Jocular mockery

As stated by Fine and De Soucey (2005:1) every social group creates a joking culture i.e. a set of humorous references which are known to members of the group alone to which they can refer overtime. In the draughts games in Akan, this joking culture is observed through a jocular mockery frame. This is illustrated in excerpts 1 and 2 below.

Excerpt 1: A game between Mr. Ernest and Charles -Asante, Bekwai-02/01/2019.

[Background: Although Mr. Ernest had won most of his pieces, it was obvious Charles was struggling to win any of his opponents' pieces].

1. Mr. Ernest: 'I don't like my legs, don't come who!'
2. ɔyerepa (Good wife) I don't like my legs, don't come who!
[The audience burst into laughter]
3. Mr. Ernest *Woyi a, na mede agu so.*
'If you win then I will drop mine on it!'
4. Charles *ennee ma yennyae toɔ ee?*
Then, how about we stop playing?'

Excerpt 2: A game between Gyimah and Adiyea- Asante, Bekwai-24/12/2018.

[Background: Gyimah had won most of his opponents' (Adiyea) pieces. Adiyea could not understand why Kwame wanted to thwart his efforts to cause his defeat].

1. Adiyea *Hmm, aba yi reye apae.*
This game is almost a draw.
2. Gyimah *Aden? waye mmere anaa?*
Why? Are you weak?
3. Kwame *Lae wɔ mu!*
There is a lie in it!
4. Adiyea *Kwame hwe yie!* [They laughed]
Kwame be careful

In excerpt 1 above, Mr Ernest used *I don't like my legs, don't come who!*, a humorous reference known to the group which they use to ridicule a participant, when he realized that his opponent was losing the game. Since humour is jointly constructed by conversation participants, *oyerepa* (Goodwife), an observer, also repeated it to reinforce the ridicule. This created a lot of laughter among the audience and strengthened group cohesion. This strategy supports Haugh's claim that a humorous frame can be maintained by participants, through a repetition of the mocking remark. As was explained by *oyerepa* later through an interview, it was obvious that Charles could not decipher the tricks used by Mr Ernest, hence, the use of that expression. The use of that expression literally means he (Charles) is 'defective' in his leg, hence it cannot take him anywhere. Metaphorically, this suggests that he is not good at playing the game, let alone win it. We see the application of the superiority theory here. Thus, he places himself above his opponent and sees his loss as a defect. Like the audience, Charles' plays along and sustains the humorous frame as he jokingly accepts defeat in turn 4 (*ennee ma yennyae toɔ ee?*).

In excerpt 2, Gyimah teased Adiyea in turn 2 when he asked him whether he was weak. To maintain the humorous frame, Kwame, an observer, used one of the group's joking reference terms (*lae wɔ mu* "there is lie in it"), confirmed by *oyerepa*, to give a clue to Gyimah. Adiyea was not happy because he lost the previous game and this could make him lose again. His comment *Kwame hwɛ yie* 'Kwame be careful' brought laughter, thereby reinforcing the humorous frame.

Other instances of jocular mockery (not based on known reference) are illustrated in excerpts 3 and 4 below.

Excerpt 3. Game between *sofo* and Charles-Asante, Bekwai- 02/01/2019

[Background: Charles was initially leading in the game. He was however tricked by his opponent, and he began to gradually lose.]

1. Charles *Woboa! boa! boa!*
'You are lying!'

2. *oyerepa* (Good wife) *Hɛɛ, ooo, daabi, daabi, in fact, wode sɛn? Sofo*
woaye adeɛ pa ara! Watricke Charles papapapa.
'Hɛɛ, oh, no! no! in fact, what is your name?
Sofo you have really done well! You have tricked
Charles very well.'

3. Charles *eye asem oo*
‘Is something oo’

From the excerpt above, we see a manifestation of humour in Akan through ridiculing. An observer, *oyerepa*, asked the rhetorical question *wode sen?* ‘what is your name?’, with the intention of deriding Charles who was losing the game. Later in an interview, *oyerepa* noted:

Mehunuu se na ɔayɛ mmere, enti na ema mekaa saa no.
Se wohunuu se ehɔ aguo?
‘I saw that he was weakened, that is why I said so.
But you saw that his side was empty?’ (*oyerepa*)

This suggests that *oyerepa* asked that questions just to mock Charles because he could not decode his opponent’s ruses. This was also meant to disorient him and divert his attention for his opponent to win the match easily. This supports the claim by superiority theorists that people see the weakness of others as humorous (Janes and Olson 2010). Indeed, as Ferguson and Ford (2008:288) note, laughter or making fun of someone is “an expression of derision or malice directed at the less fortunate”. On the other hand, *oyerepa*’s comments serve as a booster for *ɔɔfo*, the winning contestant.

In turn 3, Charles sustains the humorous frame activated by *oyerepa* by accepting defeat. He sees the complete turn of events in favor of *ɔɔfo* as a problem that indeed deserves ridicule. This aligns with the assumption in humour research that humour is a joint enterprise between a speaker and a hearer.

Excerpt 4. A game between Osei Kwabena and Gyimah-Asante, Bekwai-02/01/2019.

[Background: Gyimah was not scoring any of his opponent’s cards even though it was clear that he could easily score some and win and win the game]

1. *oyerepa* (Good wife) *Aba yi koraa wontumi nni bi*
‘You can’t even score any of these cards.’
2. Osei Kwabena *Yenkɔ afuom nanso yebedidi!*
Yenkɔ afuom nanso yebedidi!
‘We won’t go to the farm but we will eat!’
We won’t go to the farm but we will eat!’

Twa bi di wɔ hɔ nom a, wose worekɔtɔ ayi...

W'ano se nwa, w'anim nso huhuuhu!

[audience burst into laughter]

'...Even when you cry, I will be doing it more oo

Osei has gotten a cheap fellow, If, there is an easy way out,

then you are saying you are going to buy something...

Your mouth is like a snail, and your face is ugly too!'

2. Gyimah

Wo deɛ w'ano ye ya oo! [he giggles]

'as for you, you are full of insults!'

3. Nana Amansee:

Wo dame toɔ nye fe koraa Osei!

'Your style of playing the draughts is not nice at all Osei!'

Through the use of a simile *w'ano se nwa*, 'your mouth is like a snail' Osei Kwabena insults Gyimah in turn 1. This generated laughter among the audience, thus enhancing group cohesion rather than creating tension. Osei Kwabena also made use of allusion by quoting a line (*woresu koraa na mereye no more oo* '...Even when you cry, I will be doing it more oo') from the lyrics of Ernest Nana Acheampong's (formerly of Lumba Brothers) song titled *Na anka ebeye den na aye wo ya* (how else will it pain you?). This offered him the opportunity to further ridicule his opponent. By combining these with another insult (*w'anim nso huhuuhu!* 'and your face is ugly too!'), his main aim was to demoralize Gyimah psychologically and emotionally so he could gain an advantage over him and win the game. It is worth noting that such insults could have generated tension and possible rebuttals if it had occurred outside a jocular frame, which was jointly constructed and maintained by all participants through either laughter (see turn 1) or giggles (see turn 2).

Excerpt 6: Game between Osei Kwabena and Mr. Ernest- Asante, Bekwai-24/12/2018)

[Although this was a match between Osei Kwabena and Mr. Ernest, Boateng who had earlier lost a game to Adiyea, so he was leaving the venue. Osei Kwabena enquired about it and he insulted him.]

1. Osei Kwabena

ɔnye adeɛ nti aba no ɔne wo reto a, na ɔrewia mu. Na Boateng wasɔre?..

‘Because he does not know how to play very well, he cheats when he is playing with you. So, Boateng, are you going?’

2. Boateng

Firi me so kɔ! [the audience burst into laughter]
‘Go away!’

In this extract, we see a combination of insult and ridicule. First, we see an instance of ridicule in Osei Kwabena’s rhetorical question ‘*na Boateng wasɔre?*’ It was obvious that Boateng was leaving because he had lost a game. This question was, therefore, meant to foreground the defeat of Boateng and the claim that he is not good. As already indicated, humour appreciation is a joint enterprise between the speaker and the hearer (see section 3), Boateng interpreted the ridicule as such and retorted with an insult (jocular abuse) *firi me so kɔ* ‘go away’ (this is similar to what Ofori et al describe in their paper in this volume as another type of humour called ‘retorts’). This made the situation even more humorous, as shown in how the audience maintained the humorous frame through their laughter in turn 2. Boateng’s insult is not taken as an offence in the context of the game because there is a lift of the social ban on insults. This is supported by Adiyea’s point below from a follow-up interview:

... *yeyɛ ma no de... dame no toɔ no eyɛ agodie na ɛma yɛtoɔ. Enti sɛ wote sɛ ayi bi reba mu a na ɛnye atennidie biara eyɛ ayi biara. eyɛ agodie na yeredie, na yereka nsem seree bi... Obi beka nsem a eseree...*

‘...We do that to make it fun... it is just a game. If you hear something unpleasant, it should not be taken seriously. It is just for the fun of the game. Some will say some funny things...’ (Mr. Adiyea)

Although Boateng is younger than Osei Kwabena, and per the Akan socio-cultural norms, it is highly inappropriate for a younger person to insult an elderly person, his insult was not considered as disrespectful in this context. Rather it was considered humorous; hence it attracted laughter from the audience. The discussion here supports arguments in the literature on humour, that context plays a critical role in humour appreciation (see Fine 1983, Ross 1998, Wu 2013).

7.2 Figurative expressions and other linguistic strategies

On the linguistics of humour, we found certain figurative expressions as the key channels through which humour in the Akan draughts game is created. Agyekum (2013: 183) opines that “a figure of speech is basically a sort of comparison based on association, and their meanings must be inferred from larger cognitive, cultural or environmental context”. Examples of figurative expressions used to create humour in the game are sarcasm, simile, metaphor (excerpt 4), irony (excerpts 4 and 7), and allusion (excerpt 5). Other linguistic strategies used include rhetorical questions (excerpts 2, 3, 6 and 8) and songs (excerpts 4, 5 and 9). Sarcasm and simile are discussed in detail below, but we have also referenced the other figurative expressions in other places, as already noted.

7.3.1 Sarcasm

Agyekum (2013:257) posits that “sarcasm is a form of verbal irony in which the speaker who seems to be praising rather hides behind the screen and sends a bitter expression of strong and personal disapproval to the addressee”. It entails the use of ironic remarks which can hurt the feelings of other people. Usually, the speaker hides behind praising words to ridicule the addressee to hurt his/her emotions. The following excerpts from the data illustrate this further:

Excerpt 7: A game between Adiyea and Asante- Asante, Bekwai- 25/12/2018.

[Background: Asante is known to be a good player but, in this match, things were not going in his favour.]

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1. Adiyea | <i>Aba no aye dɛɛdɛɛde, anka sɛsɛɛ Asante aho me kwakwa de agu ne nsa fɛɛfɛ no so!</i> [He giggled] |
| | ‘The match is becoming so interesting, by now Asante might have scored me easily and placed the cards on his beautiful hands! |
| 2. Asante | Hmmm |
| 3. Adiyea | <i>Kɔ! kɔ! kɔ! kɔ</i> |

4. ɔyerepa (Goodwife) *Akoa no aye saka!*
Haha! Haha!

‘He is being weakened! Haha! Haha!’

From the above, Adiyea concealed his intention of mocking his opponent (Asante) through the use of the expression *ne nsa fɛɛfɛ no so!* ‘his beautiful hands’. Although he knew the game was not going in his favour – and as such, his hands could not be described metaphorically as beautiful. This was done via giggling to indicate that a humorous frame had been evoked. ɔyerepa ’s comment in turn 4 emphasized the ridicule that Asante was certainly in a difficult position, and his laughter reinforced the humour. We can interpret *aho me kwakwa* by Adiyea metaphorically, to mean that his opponent (Asante) could have won his *akorɔma* ‘masterpiece’ easily without any hindrance, but he could not do that because he was losing the game.

7.3.2 Simile

Another important figurative expression identified in the game is simile. This is a figure of resemblance used to show the similarity between two things through the use of connectives such as *like, as, than*, etc. The use of simile in this game to create humour is exemplified in excerpt 7 (see excerpt 5 for another example):

Excerpt 8: A game between Papa Wee and Bɛɛko- Asante, Bekwai- 31/12/2018.

[Background: Papa Wee started the game with energy, boasting how he could win hands down, but getting to the end he lost.]

1. ɔsɔfo *Apae! Apae!*
‘It is a draw! It is a draw!’
2. Akwadaa *Wayɛ dinn?*
‘Are you quiet?’
3. Owusu *Hwan na wayɛ dinn?*
‘Who is quiet?’

7.3 The function/effects of humour in Dame games

Research has shown that humour can affect individuals in various ways, including their emotions and cognition (see Agyekum 2017, Gruner 1997, Obadare 2009, Van Ramshort 2019). Discussing the affective and emotional aspects of humour in the voyages of immigrants of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras descent, Van Ramshort (2019) states that migrants use humour to make light of their plight. For instance, when challenged by immigration officials on the Mexico-US border they poke fun, amidst smiling and laughter (emotive), on their illegality and means of transport to show how vulnerable they are.

Similarly, we see the emotive function of humour in this study, as various expressions are used to generate some laughter, thereby facilitating in-group interaction and strengthening in-group bonding or cohesion. This aligns with arguments in the literature on humour research, which describe the general function of teasing in terms of its solidarity-building (Bateson, 1972; Dynel, 2011b; Sinkeviciute, 2013; Coates 2007; Crawford, 2003). On the other hand, a more general function of humour (teasing as mockery/ridicule) in the dame game is the cognitive effect. Participants often create humour through ridicule to demoralize an opponent or a third party (especially one who may be losing the game), while providing confidence to the one who may be winning. This aligns with the claim by superiority theorists that humour is an indication of a feeling of self-importance or superiority over other people (Cooper 2008). Furthermore, amusement and laughter are the outcomes of how glorious we feel when we compare ourselves favourably with the less fortunate (see Janes and Olson 2010). Thus, people constantly look for the weakness of their competitors so they can have an upper hand over them. Asiedu, one of the participants, sums up these arguments in the following interview extract:

Whether what we speculate is true or not we just want to prevent the person from thinking straight which will affect his thinking. (...) Draughts is about cognition, so you have to say something to divert the attention and focus of your opponent hence, doing everything possible so that he thinks of something else that is emotional. At that moment your mind will be processing on how best you can win. Some people cannot take pressure or tension, that is the more you are talking or saying something your opponent cannot think right, he is therefore distracted, thereby, losing the game'. (Kwame Asiedu).

The humour generated by Osei's song to ridicule Mr. Ernest served as a source of motivation to boost his confidence. He noted in a follow-up interview that, when he sings or chants, it gives him energy and it motivates him to win the game, which he won anyway. For instance, the expression *Osei nim dame to, ɔnim to* 'Osei knows how to play draughts, he knows how to play' served as a source of encouragement to him and gave him the energy to win the game. On the other hand, this ridicule was a distraction to his opponent. He also added that he intentionally used *Osei dame toɔ ye ateetee*, 'Osei makes you suffer in his game' to spread fear in his opponent. These diverted his opponent's attention from making an appropriate mental calculation that could help him win the game.

8. Conclusion

The paper focused on the use of humour in one of the Akan games, typically played by men, called *dame*. Through the use of the superiority theory, this paper has shown that participants often use insults and ridicule, which generate humour, to demoralize a losing contestant while boosting the confidence, competence and importance of the winning contestant. Rather than generating tension and conflict, this language use engenders bonding and strengthens group cohesion. This is because participants understand the context of the game as one in which the social ban on insults and ridicule is lifted, so they are not expected to take such language use to heart but rather see it as a means of generating amusement for their own benefit. This is important if we look at the use of humour in the game also from a psychological point of view, where humour has been described as one of the characteristics of well-being. From the perspective of pragmatics, we see humour in the game as an aspect of indirection where offensive expressions rather connote entertainment, and divisive utterances rather bring about in-group identity and social cohesion.

Acknowledgement

This paper is supported by a grant to the first author from University of Ghana and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. We are also grateful to all the participants of the draughts games.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.6>

A CROSSLINGUISTIC STUDY OF BODY PART EXPRESSIONS IN CLASSICAL AND CONTEMPORARY AFRIKAN¹ LANGUAGES: AKAN, YORÙBÁ, KISWAHILI AND Ꞗ *mdw ntr*

*Obádélé Kambon
Lwanga Songsore*

Abstract

This study aims to discuss body part expressions in Akan (a Ghanaian language), Yorùbá (a Nigerian language), Kiswahili (a Tanzanian language) and Ꞗ *r n Kmt* ‘lit. the language of the Black Nation’. The paper addresses the common worldview whereby the concept and its articulation maintain a close connection to the literal real-world referent (the body part in question). The data is taken from collections of previously attested oral and written texts. The study demonstrates that there is a shared worldview continuum from ancient to contemporary Afrikan languages as manifested in body part expressions and that degree of proximity and similarity can be charted along a fundamental interrelation/fundamental alienation continuum.

¹ As the first author has argued elsewhere, Afrika (n.)/Afrikan (adj.) is preferred to ‘Africa’ as the word is consistently spelled in various Afrikan languages with a /k/ (cf. Yorùbá Áfrikà; Akan Afrika; Kiswahili Afrika; isiZulu iAfrika; Kikongo Afelika; Hausa Afirka; Kirundi Bufirika; Gikūyū Abīrika; Igbo Afrika; Luganda Afirika; Lingála Afrika; Malagasy Afrika; Sesotho sa Leboa Afrika; Oromoo Afrikaa; Fulfulde Afirik; Setswana Aferika; Tshivenda Afurika; Tsisonga Afrika; Siswati Í-Afrika; Soomaaliga Afrika; Kinyarwanda Afurika, etc.) noting that Afrikan languages by-and-large do not use a /c/ for a hard /k/ sound. Because of the aforementioned consideration, this spelling has been advanced and preferred since the 1960s by various Afrikan-Centered individuals, movements and organizations of the continent and diaspora such as Llaila O. Afrika, the Republic of New Afrika, Afrika Youth Movement, the Afrikan-Centered Education movement, the Afrikan-Centered Psychology movement, the New Afrikan Prison Struggle, AfrikanWorldAnalysis.com, Inspire Afrika, Step Afrika!, *n.k.*

Keywords: body part expressions, fundamental alienation, fundamental interrelation matrix, continuum

1. Introduction

“They say a picture is worth a thousand words but you know, I feel like I grew up in an environment where a person could use a few words and it felt like a thousand pictures.”

– Okunini Keith Cross (Hutcheson and Cullinan 2017)

This paper is a cross-linguistic study of body part expressions in classical and contemporary Afrikan languages. Specifically, the comparative analysis will address these expressions as attested in Akan, Yorùba, Kiswahili, ¶ *Mdw Ntr*.

Akan is a language spoken by approximately 9,100,000 speakers in Ghana with 8,100,000 of these L1 users. It is also spoken in La Côte D’Ivoire and Togo. The two main subdivisions of Akan are Mfantse and Twi. Mfantse dialects include: Agona, Anomabo Fanti, Abura Fanti, and Gomua while the Twi dialects include: Ahafo, Akuapem, Akyem, Asante, Asen, Dankyira, Kwawu (Ethnologue 2020b). In this paper, examples will be drawn primarily from the Asante Twi dialect.

Yorùbá is one of three major languages of Nigeria. It is spoken by 42,000,000 people in Nigeria, with L1 users estimated at 40,000,000 in Nigeria as of 2018. L2 users are estimated at 2,000,000 with total users in all countries amounting to 42,472,860. Yorùbá dialects are Oyo, Ijesha, Ila, Ijebu, Ondo, Wo, Owe, Jumu, Iworro, Igbonna, Yagba, Gbedde, Egba, Akono, Aworo, Bunu (Bini), Ekiti, Ilaje, Ikale, Awori, Ào and Standard Yorùbá, which is spoken and used in education, the media, and social contexts generally (Ethnologue 2020a). It is also spoken in Sierra Leone, Benin and Togo with its westernmost contiguous variant—known as Kiliji—spoken in Ghana (Brindle, Kropp Dakubu and Kambon 2015). It is also used in the Diaspora by heritage speakers and as a ritual language in Brazil, Cuba, Trinidad and Tobago, and Puerto Rico, among others. The Standard Yorùbá orthography will be used throughout the paper.

Kiswahili is the national language of Tanzania with over 47,000,000 speakers in that country alone. L1 users are estimated at 15,000,000 in Tanzania (2012) with the remainder comprising L2 users (32,000,000). Total users in all countries are estimated at 98,523,010 with 16,223,010 as L1 users and 82,300,000 as L2 users. Dialects include Mrima (Mtang’ata), Unguja (Kiunguja, Zanzibar), Pemba, and Mgao (Kimgao). Other

countries in which Kiswahili is spoken widely include Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo (DRC) (Ethnologue 2020c). Standard Kiswahili (based on the kiUnguja dialect) orthography will be used in this paper.

𐤎𐤌𐤍 *Mdw Ntr* is the written variant of the classical spoken language known indigenously as 𐤎𐤌𐤍 *r n Kmt* ‘language of the Black nation.’ Its usage is attested from ca. 3400 BCE with its last variant, known as Coptic, used as a spoken language until the mid-1800s CE (Mitchell 1999). Coptic continues to be used as a liturgical language (Allen 2013). As a member of the Négro-Égyptian language family, cognates of the language are found in many contemporary Afrikan languages throughout the continent (Obenga 1993). 𐤎𐤌𐤍 *Mdw Ntr* examples will be drawn from the stage of the language referred to in egyptological circles as so-called “Middle Egyptian.”

This cross-linguistic study aims to demonstrate not only body part expressions common to the languages under study, but to also demonstrate the common worldview that underpins the manifestation of body part expressions throughout space and time among 𐤎𐤌𐤍 *Kmt(yw)* ‘Black people.’ This will then be framed with regard to what we term the Fundamental Interrelation/Fundamental Alienation Continuum with Fundamental Interrelation typical of the worldview of 𐤎𐤌𐤍 *Kmt(yw)* ‘Black people’ and with fundamental alienation typical of the 𐤎𐤌𐤍 *ʕmw* ‘foreigners (of eurasia)’ worldview.

Fundamental interrelation

Fundamental alienation



“Physicalistic” conventionalized B.P.E. | Optional Idiomatic B.P.E. | “Mentalistic” etymologically opaque sounds

Interrelation between thought and body

Separation between thought and body

Figure 1: Fundamental Interrelation / Alienation Continuum

This continuum will be discussed in the conclusion with specific examples from the body of the paper given to demonstrate what is meant in each instance.

This paper is organized by means of introduction, conceptual framework and methodology, data, and, finally, significance and conclusions.

2. Conceptual framework and methodology

In terms of methodology, we engage in purposeful sampling (Patton 2002, p. 230) of body part expressions from several sources and from the four languages delineated above each rendered in the standard orthography of the language in question. Sources for body part expressions from the Akan language were derived principally from Agyekum (2019), Dzahene-Quarshie (2016), and Gyekye (1987). Yorùbá expressions were primarily sourced from Fabunmi (1985) and Babalola (1979). Kiswahili body part expressions were sourced from Scheven (2012) and Mackenzie (2013). ¶ Mdw Ntr body part expressions were extracted from Allen (2013, 2014) and Vygus (2015). Additionally, seven sets of body part expressions are introduced here with one or two illustrative examples coming from each language in each instance yielding thirty-six (36) examples in total. With regard to body part expressions included, we will focus on conceptual and semantic parallels or at least near parallels cross-linguistically. Secondly, we will look for identical or similar lexemes. Further, we will deal with dimensions of proximity as a measure of similarity between people: We will address biological proximity, cosmological proximity and cultural proximity, all of which are shown below in what we term the Fundamental Interrelation Matrix (cf. Kambon and Dzahene-Quarshie 2017):

Table 1: Fundamental Interrelation Matrix

	Conceptual/Semantic Similarity	Contextual Similarity	Lexical Similarity
Physiological proximity			
Cosmological proximity			
Cultural proximity			

The purpose of this matrix is to facilitate the charting of similarities and proximity in the case of each body part expression across various dimensions. Before inclusion in the comparative study, we use the evaluative criteria of Conceptual/Semantic Similarity (similarity of meaning and the concept conveyed by the body part expression), Contextual

Similarity (similarity of the context in which the body part expression is used), and Lexical Similarity (similarity of lexemes with specific regard to the body part in question). These criteria are then juxtaposed with intersecting considerations of Physiological Proximity (same options available for expressing embodiment), Cosmological Proximity (closeness with regard to how the worldview is expressed), and Cultural Proximity (closeness in terms of cultural outlook as manifested through body part expressions). These dimensions of similarity are expressed in terms of what we coin in the pragmatics context as fundamental interrelation. The implications of fundamental interrelation in this regard are founded upon conceptualizations of our relation between ourselves and that which is around us in nature as affirmations of being and reality as opposed to alienation from them and negation thereof. In the next section we will look at data exemplifying the cross-linguistic phenomenon of body part expressions in the languages under study.

3. Data

In the first example, we will look at a body part expression on a literal level. These are not as conceptual, metaphorical or analogical as other expressions that we will cover below. An example of literal usage can be found in the following examples:

1. *Pain associated with the head*

Akan

- a. a-ti-pae-ε
NMLZ-head-split-NMLZ
'headache' (Agyekum 2019: 34)

Yorùbá

- b. Orí fíḡ
head NMLZ.break
'headache' (Fashagba 1991: 164, 314)

Kiswahili

- c. Kichwa ki-na-ni-uma
7-head 7SM-PRES-1OM-hurt
'headache' (Dzahene-Quarshie 2016: 96)

𐎎𐎗 *Mdw Ntr*

- d. 𐎎𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗²
 gs tp²
 side head
 ‘headache’ (Vygyus 2015: 492)

Each body part expression, here, is basically more or less straightforward; dealing with the head as associated with pain. In Akan, this is rendered as *atipaee* ‘headache (lit. head-split).’ In Yorùbá this is rendered as *orí fifó*, which literally translates to head breaking. Again, this is because it is the head that is directly associated with the pain, so it is, of course, reflected in the way of expressing headache. And in Kiswahili, we find *kichwa kinaniuma*, which is literally head-hurting.

However, the core of this paper deals with body part expressions in terms of metaphors and connections that are, perhaps on the surface, less straightforward. However, we find that, whereas in non-Afrikan languages these expressions are not conventionally connected with the specific body part affected, in each instance of the Afrikan languages included in this study, body part expressions are the standard and, oftentimes, the only way of expressing the concept in question.

An example of this is found in (2) below:

2. *Heart as Seat of Thought/Remembrance/Knowledge*

Akan

- a. O-dwen ne komam bɔne
 3SG.think 3SG heart-inside bad/evil
 ‘he devises (is contriving) evil in his heart’ (Christaller 1933: 247)

Yorùbá

- b. èrò ọkàn mi
 thought heart 1SG.POSS
 ‘thought of my heart’

² According to Allen (2014), “The traditional transcription of these two signs, *tp*, is now known to be wrong” Allen, James P. 2014. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., p. 30. For our purposes, we will follow standard dictionary transcriptions with Allen’s point duly noted.

- c. fi í sòkàn
 take 3SG.OBJ LAT.heart
 ‘put it in the heart’ (remember it)

Kiswahili

- d. Ku-wapo moyo-ni, ha-lipo ma-cho-ni.
 INF.exist heart-inside, NEG.exist PL-eye-inside
 ‘Something can be in the heart without being seen.
 (lit. What you do not see, you can remember in your heart).’ (Scheven 2012)

¶ *Mdw Ntr*

- e. †ꞑꞑꞑ
 imt ib
 that which is in heart
 ‘thought, idea, wish’ (Vygus 2015: 1382)

In Akan in (2a) we find the construction *Odwen ne komam bɔne* ‘he devises (is contriving) evil in his heart’ (Christaller 1933: 247). Conversely, in English—on the other side of the aforementioned Fundamental Interrelation/Fundamental Alienation Continuum—one would say that someone is contriving evil ‘in his/her mind’ whereby the ‘mind’ is an abstract entity disembodied and dissociated from any specific body part. In Yorùbá, as shown in (2b) we see *èrò òkàn mi* ‘my heart’s thought.’ Again, it is the heart that does the thinking. There is also the conventionalized body part expression *fì í sòkàn* ‘remember it (lit. put it in the heart).’ In Kiswahili, we find you can say *kuwapo moyoni, halipo machoni* ‘something can be in the heart without being seen (lit. what does not exist in the eye, exists in the heart).’ This is yet another instantiation of the idea of the heart as the seat of remembrance. In ¶ *Mdw Ntr*, we find †ꞑꞑꞑ *imt ib* ‘thought, idea, wish (lit. that which is in the heart).’ Each body part expression deals with the heart as the seat of thought, remembrance and/or knowledge. This again points to a shared worldview in that in non-Afrikan languages like English, for example, it is the head that knows, it is the head that thinks, and so forth and so on. But in these various Afrikan languages separated by significant spatial and temporal distance from each other, there is a relationship between the heart and all of these functions. Further, in each instance, the source body part from which the expression is derived is transparent.

3. *Evil eye*

Akan

- a. ani bɔne
eye bad
'evil eye' (Asumasem 2017)

Yorùbá

- b. gba ojú ibi
receive eye bad
'To incur displeasure of another person.' (Fabunmi 1985: 27)

Kiswahili

- c. ma-cho ma-baya
PL-eye PL-bad
'evil eye' (Mackenzie 2013)

᳚ *Mdw Ntr*

- d. ᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚
smḥ
'one with evil eye' (Vygus 2015: 971)

The concept of the evil eye is related to a look that has a negative effect on someone spiritually. In Akan the term *ani bɔne* translates to 'bad/evil eye.' In Yorùbá you can also say *gba ojú ibi* which is to literally 'receive bad eye' which may or may not have a negative spiritual effect on the person being looked at. In Kiswahili, the exact same concept is conveyed by *macho mabaya* 'bad eyes.' In the case of ᳚ *Mdw Ntr*, we have ᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚ *smḥ* 'one with evil eye' where the word itself has an eye as the determinative showing the body part with which the concept is associated.

The basic idea is that each of these different languages is using the same means in order to express the concept. In languages steeped in a worldview of fundamental alienation, however, expressions such as these would be considered idiomatic with a disembodied, often etymologically opaque, abstract term divorced from being and reality considered to be the standard term.

4. *Heart as experiencer of Happiness*

Akan

- a. akoma-tɔ-yam/a-bo-tɔ-yam
heart-fall-stomach/NMLZ-chest-fall-stomach
'rejoicing of heart/happiness' (Agyekum 2019: 209, 210)

Yorùbá

- b. ọkàn yọ
heart rejoice
'heart rejoices'

Kiswahili

- c. moyo wa furaha
heart GEN joyfulness
'heart of joyfulness'

¶ *Mdw Ntr*

- d.  ndm ib
sweet heart
'joyful, cheerful, content, to rejoice, be glad' (Vygus 2015: 645)
- e.  3wt ib
long heart
'happiness' (Vygus 2015: 285)

In Akan, we see examples such as *akoma-to-yam* or *abo-tɔ-yam* 'heart fall stomach' or 'chest fall stomach,' which connote that the body-part is the experiencer of happiness. Similarly, in Yorùbá, one can find examples such as *ọkàn yọ* where it is the heart that rejoices and is the experiencer of the happiness. We notice that there cannot be an option of *ika yọ* 'the finger rejoices' or *ẹjìkà yọ* 'the shoulder rejoices' to come out with any type of meaning to any Yorùbá speaker. As such, the expression is not arbitrary, it is rather a common expression as a manifestation of a common worldview whereby the standard way

of expressing the concept is with embodiment rather than for embodiment to be a secondary or tertiary poetic option.

In Kiswahili one says *moyo wa furaha* ‘heart of joyfulness’ whereby again the heart is the experiencer as opposed to any other body part that could arbitrarily be the assigned standard experiencer. Also, in the case of $\mathbb{1}$ *Mdw Ntr*, there are terms such as $\mathbb{1}$ *ndm ib* ‘joyful, cheerful, content, to rejoice, be glad (lit. sweet (of) heart)’ and $\mathbb{1}$ *3wt ib* ‘happiness (lit. long (of) heart)’ with the image of the heart as the determinative.

5. *Heart as experiencer of courage*

Akan

- a. abo-tee
chest-straight
‘courage’
- b. akoma-tii
heart-tough
‘fearlessness’ (Agyekum 2019: 209, 210)

Yorùbá

- c. $\mathbb{1}$ *ṣe ọkàn gírí*
do heart suddenly
‘to summon courage’ (YFAP 2018)

Kiswahili

- d. *kuji-pa moyo*
REFL-give heart
‘give oneself heart’ (encourage)
- e. *a-na moyo*
3SG.have heart
‘have courage’

¶ *Mdw Ntr*

- f.  *nhtw* *ib*
 stiffness/hardness heart
 ‘courage, valour, bravery’ (Vygyus 2015: 737)
- g.  *m^ck3* *ib*
 roasted heart
 ‘brave’ (Vygyus 2015: 327)

In the preceding examples, we see that the heart is also the body part associated with courage. In the Akan examples, we see expressions like *abotee* ‘chest straight’ and *akomatii* ‘heart tough’ to denote abstract terms ‘courage’ and ‘fearlessness,’ respectively. In Yorùbá one can say, *şe ọkàn gírí* ‘do heart suddenly’ again, rendering clearly visible the body part associated with courage. In Kiswahili again there are body part expressions like *kujipa moyo* ‘to give oneself heart’ and *ana moyo* ‘he/she has heart.’ Similar expressions are found in ¶ *Mdw Ntr*  *nhtw ib* ‘courage, valour bravery (lit. stiffness/hardness of heart)’ and  *m^ck3 ib* ‘brave (lit. roasted (of) heart),’ where, again, we see a direct linkage between the so-called abstract concept and the tangible body part associated with the concept.

6. *Heart as experiencer of cowardice/worry/anxiety*

Akan

- a. *akoma-tu-o*
 heart-fly-NMLZ
 ‘consternation, despair, fear’ (Agyekum 2019: 210)

Yorùbá

- b. *ọkàn/àyà pa-mi*
 heart/chest kill/rub-water
 ‘heart/chest turn to water’ (to have great fear) (Babalola 1979: 2)

- c. mi-kàn
jolt-heart
'jolt/shake heart' (to be afraid) (Fabunmi 1985: 43)

Kiswahili

- d. h-a-na moyo
NEG-3SG-have heart
'he/she is without heart/timid, too cautious, cowardly'

¶ *Mdw Ntr*

- e. 
rdi ib m s3
cause/give heart in back
'be anxious' (Vygus 2015: 33)

- f. 
hw^c ib
short heart
'be apprehensive' (Vygus 2015: 1224)

In example (6) we see the Akan example *akomatuo* glossed as the disembodied abstract terms 'consternation, despair, fear.' However, in the Akan language these are not disembodied abstractions and, indeed, we see the body part in question rendered literally as 'heart fly.' In this, we can see the heart flying up out of the chest referring to the feeling that one has if someone shocks, scares, or surprises one. In Yorùbá, this is expressed in *òkàn/àyà pa-mi* which is literally for the heart to turn to water. In the AAA dialect, there is an expression where someone may say "my heart don't pump no water" meaning I am not a coward, relating a similar embodied idea missing from the abstract term 'coward' (Kambon and Duah 2017). In Yorùbá there is also *mikàn* translating to 'jolt heart' or 'shake heart.' Compare this to the English gloss 'to be afraid' which fails to convey any such body part that is affected by the feeling. As mentioned previously, in Kiswahili, we find *ana moyo* to say he/she possesses heart connoting that the person is courageous. Conversely, one can say *hana mo yo*, that 'he/she is without heart,' conveying that the person is timid, too cautious or cowardly—again disembodied alienated abstract terms devoid of meaning with regard to that which actually is tangible and exists in reality. In ¶ *Mdw Ntr* as well,

the heart is also the experiencer of ‘cowardice, worry and anxiety’ but these ideas are conveyed with  *rdi ib m s3*, literally, ‘cause/give heart in back’ or for the heart to be taken aback. This is how the abstract disembodied concept of ‘cowardice’ is conveyed in conventionalized form. There is another form  *hw' ib* literally translating to ‘short (of) heart’ conveyed in English as ‘to be apprehensive.’ Again, we see the stark contrast between languages with a worldview grounded in fundamental interrelation vs. those grounded in fundamental alienation.

7. *Head as top, principal, best*

Akan

- a. ti-tire
head-head
‘influential person, renowned’ (Agyekum 2019)

Yorùbá

- b. olóri
owner-head
‘chief of any group of people or organization, the headman, the principal of a school, the president, the master in-charge’ (Fashagba 1991: 159)

Kiswahili

- c. kichwa cha habari
head GEN news
‘headline’

 **Mdw Ntr**

- d.  / 
*tp*³
head
‘best of, head, headman, chief, top, principal, first, high priest, best quality linen’ (Vygus 2015: 13)

³ Allen (2014) transliterates this as *dp*, but it still appears as *tp* in the dictionary referenced here.

- e. $\begin{matrix} \text{tp} & \text{hsb} \\ \text{head} & \text{counting} \end{matrix}$
 ‘correct method, reckoning, norm’ (Vygyus 2015: 16)

In Akan you have *titire* literally ‘head-head’ analyzed as partial duplication and glossed as ‘an influential person, renowned [person].’ It can also be used for that which is important. Meanwhile, in Yorùbá the way to say the ‘chief of any group of people or organization’ is *olóri*; which is literally owner of the head. This comes from *oní+orí* yielding *olóri*, again translating as ‘headman, principal of a school, president, master, in-charge’ *n.k.* In Kiswahili, we finally have a case where English catches up with an Afrikan=Black language as ‘headline’ finally includes a body part in the expression just as we find in the term *kichwa cha habari* ‘headline.’ Finally, in $\mathbb{1}$ *Mdw Ntr* we find $\begin{matrix} \text{tp} \\ \text{best of, head,} \\ \text{headman, chief, top, principal, first, high priest, best quality linen.} \end{matrix}$ / $\begin{matrix} \text{hsb} \\ \text{correct method, reckoning or norm but literally as ‘head (of) counting’;} \end{matrix}$ it is used to refer to the utmost method of doing something. Therefore, we find this very clearly time and again: the exact same concept expressed in the exact same way cross-linguistically in instance after instance.

4. Significance and conclusions: Afrikan languages as manifestations of the Afrikan=Black worldview

From the initial basis for this study, Nana Kwame Gyekye’s **African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme**, it is clear that there is no way to understand worldview without first understanding language. In the book he states that:

The English language, brimful of mentalistic expressions has misled thinkers into an ontology of the mental...It can be seen that the mentalistic [English] expressions ...translated into Akan actually become physicalistic expressions. In Akan, that is, the mentalistic expressions in English actually refer to the body or some organs of the body such as the eyes, chest, stomach, heart, ears, head, etc., but the words of the original sentences in English made no reference to parts of the body (Gyekye 1987: 165-168).

Nana Gyekye gives examples of this such as *m'ani agye*, which he glosses as “my eyes are brightened,” literally ‘my eyes have received’ (Gyekye 1987: 166). The reason why the eyes are used can be seen when, for instance, one gives a gift to a child and we see the child’s eyes light up referring to pupils dilating and eyelids widening. So, indeed, the physicalistic expressions are actually expressing the part of the body that is affected by the feeling/emotion. This is not a poetic or idiomatic way of saying these expressions. This is the standard way of expressing the feeling/emotion.

Table 2: Group B mentalistic expressions translated into and out of Akan (Gyekye 1987: 166).

English . . .	into Akan . . .	and etymologically into English
1. I am happy	<i>M'ani agye</i>	My eyes are brightened
2. I am patient	<i>Me wō abotare</i> (<i>boasetō</i>).	My heart subsides
3. I am hopeful	<i>M'ani da so</i>	My eyes are on it
4. I am jealous/ covetous	<i>M'ani abere</i>	My eyes are red
5. I am humble	<i>Me wō ahobrease</i>	I have brought my body down/ low
6. I am in despair	<i>Mehome te me ho</i>	My breath is breaking/tearing apart
7. I am courageous	<i>Mewō akokoduru</i>	I have a heavy/weighty chest
8. I am generous	<i>Me yēm ye</i>	My stomach is good
9. I am arrogant	<i>Mema meho so</i>	I raise my body
10. I am aware	<i>M'ani da meho so</i>	My eyes are on/around my body

Compare this to the morphosemantically opaque English word “happy.” A native speaker cannot say something like *ha* means something to him/her and/or *ppy* means something to him/her. Similarly, in the case of “angry” a native speaker will not recognize analytical meaning of any components such that *ang* means something to him/her and *ry* means something to him/her. It is rather more like a bunch of sounds that one just hears in context and has to figure out what those sounds mean on that basis. Conversely, when one comes

across a language steeped in fundamental interrelation one develops the opinion that there is inherent profound meaning embedded in the words being mentioned as they are related to reality and being rather than simply to intangible mental abstractions divorced from reality. This is because one can actually get a sense of the part of the body that is experiencing whatever the “mentalist” emotion is. Thus, one can say *abotare* or *abotɛ* coming from *bo* chest and *tare* to lay horizontally (in Akuapem Twi) or understand it as *trɛ* ‘wide’ (in Asante Twi) depending on which dialect you are speaking. Yet if one looks at any equivalent concept in English, even native speakers do not really even know what these words mean in a deeper sense to be able to trace it to something tangible—something affirming of being and reality. Even with an etymological dictionary, oftentimes one word is simply defined by more abstract words leading to an endless web of words as exemplified below. This leads to a negation of being and reality often understood as fundamental alienation as exemplified in Figures 1 and 3.

Table 3: Explanations that fail to explain: Etymologies that are abstract, opaque, and disconnected from being/reality

English Word	Etymology
fear (n.)	Middle English <i>fere</i> , from Old English <i>fer</i> "calamity, sudden danger, peril, sudden attack," from Proto-Germanic <i>*feraz</i> "danger" (source also of Old Saxon <i>far</i> "ambush," Old Norse <i>far</i> "harm, distress, deception," Dutch <i>gevaar</i> , German <i>Gefahr</i> "danger"), from PIE <i>*pēr-</i> , a lengthened form of the verbal root <i>*per-</i> (3) "to try, risk." (Harper 2020a)
disgust (n.)	1590s, "repugnance excited by something offensive or loathsome," from Middle French <i>desgoust</i> "strong dislike, repugnance," literally "distaste" (16c., Modern French <i>dégoût</i>), from <i>desgouster</i> "have a distaste for," from <i>des-</i> "opposite of" (see dis-) + <i>gouster</i> "taste," from Latin <i>gustare</i> "to taste" (from PIE root <i>*geus-</i> "to taste; to choose"). The literal sense, "distaste, aversion to the taste of," is from 1610s in English. (Harper 2020b)
sadness (n.)	early 14c., "seriousness," from sad + -ness . Meaning "sorrowfulness" is c. 1500, perhaps c. 1400. (Harper 2020c)
surprise (n.)	also formerly <i>surprize</i> , late 14c., "unexpected attack or capture," from Old French <i>surprise</i> "a taking unawares" (13c.), from noun use of past participle of Old French <i>sorprendre</i> "to overtake, seize, invade" (12c.), from <i>sur-</i> "over" (see sur- (1)) + <i>prendre</i> "to take," from Latin <i>prendere</i> , contracted from <i>prehendere</i> "to grasp, seize" (from <i>prae-</i> "before," see pre- , + <i>-hendere</i> , from PIE root <i>*ghend-</i> "to seize,

Kambon and Songsore: A discourse pragma-stylistic analysis of invective expressions in Ghanaian politics

	take"). Meaning "something unexpected" first recorded 1590s, that of "feeling of astonishment caused by something unexpected" is c. 1600. Meaning "fancy dish" is attested from 1708. (Harper 2020d)
happy (adj.)	late 14c., "lucky, favored by fortune, being in advantageous circumstances, prosperous;" of events, "turning out well," from hap (n.) "chance, fortune" + -y (2). Sense of "very glad" first recorded late 14c. Meaning "greatly pleased and content" is from 1520s. Old English had <i>eadig</i> (from <i>ead</i> "wealth, riches") and <i>gesælig</i> , which has become silly . Old English <i>bliðe</i> "happy" survives as blithe . From Greek to Irish, a great majority of the European words for "happy" at first meant "lucky." An exception is Welsh, where the word used first meant "wise." (Harper 2020e)
anger (n.)	mid-13c., "hostile attitude, ill will, surliness" (also "distress, suffering; anguish, agony," a sense now obsolete), from Old Norse <i>anгр</i> "distress, grief, sorrow, affliction," from Proto-Germanic <i>*angaz</i> (from PIE root *angh- "tight, painfully constricted, painful"). Cognate with German <i>Angst</i> . Sense of "rage, wrath" is early 14c. (Harper 2020f)
trust (n.)	c. 1200, "reliance on the veracity, integrity, or other virtues of someone or something; religious faith," from Old Norse <i>traust</i> "help, confidence, protection, support," from Proto-Germanic abstract noun <i>*traustam</i> (source also of Old Frisian <i>trast</i> , Dutch <i>troost</i> "comfort, consolation," Old High German <i>trost</i> "trust, fidelity," German <i>Trost</i> "comfort, consolation," Gothic <i>trausti</i> "agreement, alliance"), from Proto-Germanic <i>*treuwaz</i> , source of Old English <i>treowian</i> "to believe, trust," and <i>treowe</i> "faithful, trusty," from PIE root *deru- "be firm, solid, steadfast." (Harper 2020g)
joy (n.)	c. 1200, "feeling of pleasure and delight;" c. 1300, "source of pleasure or happiness," from Old French <i>joie</i> "pleasure, delight, erotic pleasure, bliss, joyfulness" (11c.), from Latin <i>gaudia</i> "expressions of pleasure; sensual delight," plural of <i>gaudium</i> "joy, inward joy, gladness, delight; source of pleasure or delight," from <i>gaudere</i> "rejoice," from PIE root *gau- "to rejoice" (cognates: Greek <i>gaio</i> "I rejoice," Middle Irish <i>guaire</i> "noble"). (Harper 2020h)

In the examples above as well as the related etymologies, there is not a body part expression in sight. While embodiment may be said to be universal, abstract disembodiment with an endless web of words defined by nothing more than other words as evinced in Eurasian languages clearly is not universal.

As demonstrated in the Data section of this article, the body parts utilized in the languages under study are not random, haphazard or arbitrary given that we have these different four languages that are using specific parts of the body to refer to what would otherwise be relegated to disembodied abstractions. In the case of Afrikan languages, there is often no abstract disembodied word unless it was borrowed and/or imposed by a language of the West. For example, the Akan word *ɔmw* ‘foreigners (of eurasia)’ with strings of sounds and grunts that fail to tie back to reality and being.

According to Obenfowaa Nana Marimba Ani, the eurasian worldview is mired in dichotomization. In her words, dichotomization is “a mechanism which accompanies objectification. It is the splitting of phenomena into confrontational, conflicting parts. It facilitates the pursuit of power over other, and is therefore suited to the European *asili*” (Ani 1994: xxviii). Going into further detail, she argues that:

This idea of control is facilitated by first separating the human being into distinct compartments (“principles”). Plato distinguishes the compartments of “reason” and “appetite” or “emotion.” Reason is a higher principle or function of woman/man, while appetite is “more base.” They are in opposition to one another and help to constitute, what has become one of the most problematical dichotomies in European thought and behavior. This opposition results in the splitting of the human being. No longer whole, we later become Descartes’ “mind vs. body.” The superiority of the intellect over the emotional self is established as spirit is separated from matter. Even the term “spirit” takes on a cerebral, intellectualist interpretation in the Western tradition (Hegel) (Ani 1994: 32).

Basically, this is what is found throughout eurasian thought as enshrined eurasian languages and in ideas of god vs. devil, man vs. nature, man vs. woman, man vs. god, mind vs. body, sacred vs. secular/mundane, *n.k.* In each instance, pairs are conceptually imprisoned in conflicting parts and they are opposed and against each other. When we look at Afrikan languages, it becomes clear that creation and procreation are seen as analogous processes and that, therefore, the Creator necessarily has complementary masculine and feminine aspects.

This worldview is not difficult to understand as it is abundantly clear to all that in the natural order of life and reality, a woman and a man are both complementary aspects of the Afrikan whole necessary to create life. This is attested, for example, in the Akan

Tsir (rulership) and 𐌲𐌰𐌶 *Tst* (motherhood and the foundation of rulership); and 𐌺𐌴𐌹𐌸 *nbt-hwt* (care and protection) and 𐌸𐌺𐌹𐌸 *sth* (military might and strength). Thus, complementarity in this way is a manifestation of fundamental interrelation, whereby dichotomization is a manifestation of fundamental alienation whereby one part is alienated from its own complement (Kambon and Asare 2019).

In short, the reason for these mentalistic expressions is because of the eurasian/aryan worldview that necessitates dichotomization between one and its opposite and whereby the two are necessarily in conflict. Nana Jedi Shemsu Jehewty, in describing fundamental alienation and eurasian thought, articulates it thusly:

In sum the [a]ryan worldview in antiquity which includes the classical greeks is based on fundamental assumption of cosmic conflict, hostility between male and female principles, patricide and infanticide, alienation between god and man, warfare between man and nature, competition and strife among men, slavery as a natural human institution, this Eurasian orientation that is deeply embedded in the [a]ryan worldview can be called fundamental alienation (Carruthers 1999: 42).

This means that one is alienated from nature, being, reality, and all that exists only to see refuge from nature—which is seen as essentially evil—in one’s own abstract mind. Through the process of dichotomization, that which is artificial is assigned the value of good while Nature is bad. This endemically eurasian worldview is wrapped up in the notion of original sin when one’s highest goal is to escape into an imaginary place on an imaginary cloud called heaven and get away from the sinful world. But the eurasian worldview is not only not universal, it is also wrong.

This brings us back full circle to the Fundamental Interrelation/Alienation Continuum exemplified below with corresponding examples from Akan and English.

Fundamental interrelation

Fundamental alienation



“Physicalistic” conventionalized B.P.E. | Optional Idiomatic B.P.E. | “Mentalistic” etymologically opaque sounds

Interrelation between thought and body

Separation between thought and body

akomatuo ‘heart fly’

fear

ayamhyehye ‘stomach burn-burn’

apprehension

anidasoo ‘eyes-lay-on’

hope

tirimuoden ‘head-inside-hard’

cruel

asomdwoee ‘ear-inside-cool’

peace

Figure 3: Fundamental Interrelation / Alienation Continuum with Examples from Akan and English

Essentially, we readily see fundamental interrelation on the side of *Kmt(yw)* ‘Black people’ and fundamental alienation on the side of *3mw* ‘foreigners (of eurasia)’. The utility of the continuum is that it shows a gradient and not necessarily a sharp dividing line as seen in the eurasian necessary and sufficient conditions model. According to Osam (1994)

The classical theory which goes back to Aristotle, classifies entities according to necessary and sufficient conditions. This means that a certain category, for example, is defined by specific features; and each of the features is considered necessary for the definition of that category. For an entity to be said to belong to that category it must have all of the defining features of that category, otherwise it cannot be put in that category. The sufficiency of the defining features lies in the fact that an entity can be considered to belong to the category if it possesses each defining feature of the category (10).

The power of the continuum/gradient is that some languages may tend towards physicalistic conventionalized body part expressions where there is an interrelation between thought and the body—the part of the body that experiences the feeling. In the middle, there are languages that have optional idiomatic body part expressions. On the

opposite side of the continuum, we find these mentalistic etymologically opaque sounds where there is a separation between mind (itself an abstraction) and body. As shown in Table 3, for the terms given as well as the etymologies, body parts are missing from terms for feelings and emotions as there are no parts of the body or anything else tangible that exists in reality that any of those words point to. While such a language is on the far side of the fundamental interrelation/alienation continuum, so too is the latin script with which it is written. Interestingly, even the writing system of $\overline{\text{r}} \text{ n } Kmt$ ‘language of the Black nation,’ $\overline{\text{r}} \parallel Mdw Ntr$, is an affirmation of being as the written elements consist of entities that exist within nature/reality. The use of determinatives in the language is another means of reinforcing the connection between the sign and the signified. Thus, rather than an endless web of words, we find an infinite web of being. Interestingly, among the Akan, one of the *mmrane* (praise names) of *Onyame* is *Ananse Kokurokoo* ‘The Great Spider’ as it is understood that all of being is interconnected. This idea is encapsulated in the proverb which states *Wode wo nsa ka ananse ntentan a, na epusu ne nyinaa* translated as ‘If you touch the spider web it shakes the whole edifice’ as shown in Figure 4 (Kambon 2017, 2019). Essentially, this is fundamental interrelation—the understanding that touching one part affects the other and vice versa.

Along similar lines, Table 1 introduced the Fundamental Interrelation Matrix. At this point, it should be abundantly clear how each example contained within this article demonstrated conceptual, contextual, and lexical similarity with respect to other languages under study. Further, it should be clear that there is a high degree of physiological proximity, cosmological proximity, and cultural proximity as manifested in the body part expressions discussed within this article.



Figure 4: Ananse Ntentan Royal Spokesperson’s staff (africanheritagecollection.com)

In the future, other languages can be added to augment this preliminary study of correspondences between body part expressions across space and time. Wolof, in particular may be a fruitful language to look into as it has examples such as:

- *xol sēdd* ‘heart cool’ (satisfied)
- *tàng xol* ‘hot heart’ (frustrated)
- *dëgër bopp* ‘hard head’ (obstinate)
- *bët xonqee* ‘eye red’ (feel bad) (Bondéelle 2011: 17-34)

Another language to add to the comparative study could be AAA, which has expressions like:

- I got mad heart to buck a friend and go for dolo (Scientifik 1994)
- the shook-hearted kids who shouldn't have started (Bahamadia 1996)
- So remember in your heart, I'm here for you (Boys 1992)

It should be noted however, that it is not expected that every Afrikan language will deal with every body part in the same way. Nonetheless, it is expected by-and-large that Afrikan languages will exist on the Fundamental Interrelation side of the continuum and the degree to which they fail to do so may be indicative of the degree such language has been subjected to cognitive/conceptual/linguistic colonization at the hands of 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥𐾦𐾧𐾨𐾩𐾪𐾫𐾬𐾭𐾮𐾯𐾰𐾱𐾲𐾳𐾴𐾵𐾶𐾷𐾸𐾹𐾺𐾻𐾼𐾽𐾾𐾿𐿀𐿁𐿂𐿃𐿄𐿅𐿆𐿇𐿈𐿉𐿊𐿋𐿌𐿍𐿎𐿏𐿐𐿑𐿒𐿓𐿔𐿕𐿖𐿗𐿘𐿙𐿚𐿛𐿜𐿝𐿞𐿟𐿠𐿡𐿢𐿣𐿤𐿥𐿦𐿧𐿨𐿩𐿪𐿫𐿬𐿭𐿮𐿯𐿰𐿱𐿲𐿳𐿴𐿵𐿶𐿷𐿸𐿹𐿺𐿻𐿼𐿽𐿾𐿿

In this paper, we have presented a cross-linguistic study of body part expressions in Akan (a Ghanaian language), Yorùbá (a Nigerian language), Kiswahili (a Tanzanian language) and 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼

Abbreviations

1OM	Object Pronoun; Masculine; Noun Class #1
7SM	Subject Pronoun; Masculine; Noun Class #7
1SG	1 st Person Singular Pronoun
3SG	Person Singular Pronoun
GEN	Genitive Marker
INF	Infinitive
LAT	Lative
NEG	Negation Marker
<i>n.k.</i>	Na kathalika (a Kiswahili term translating to ‘and so forth and so on’)
NMLZ	Nominalizer
OBJ	Object Pronoun
PL	Plural Marker
REFL	Reflexive Marker

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.7>

IDEOLOGICAL POINTS OF VIEW AND TRANSITIVITY SELECTIONS IN A NIGERIAN PRIMARY ELECTION MEMOIR

Akin Tella

Abstract

Studies on Nigerian primary elections have examined the interface between primaries, intra-party conflicts and general election irregularities. Not many studies have exteriorised the ideological points of view determining the engagements of political actors in primary elections with reference to the narratives of political actors. Hence, this study did discourse analysis of a Nigerian election memoir- *Love Does not Win Elections*- to determine the ideological points of view that political actors index through selections from the transitivity system. 127 samples were analysed using theoretical insights from van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Stuart's model of point of view and aspects of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Political actors in Nigerian primary elections hold conflictual, patronage, pecuniary, ethnic, patriarchal, religious and welfarist points of view. Electoral consumerism, clientelism, ethnicism, patriarchy, theological determinism and welfare state variously serve as ideological backgrounds for the points of view. The points of view are linguistically indexed through material, mental, relational and verbal clauses. There is the need for a re-orientation of political actors in Nigerian primary elections to ensure the emergence of a genuinely democratic culture.

Keywords: Ideology, point of view, transitivity, election memoir, Nigeria, Aisha Osori

1. Introduction

The extant Nigerian electoral system recognises two major categories of elections- general election and primary election. General elections are interparty in nature. At regular

intervals, a democratic nation witnesses the contestation for political posts by candidates of different political parties through general elections. Political parties internally conduct primaries to select candidates that would represent them during general elections. A primary election may be direct or indirect. A direct primary election involves the selection of a party's candidates for a general election by registered members of a political party. In an indirect primary election, members of a party at the ward or zonal level elect some delegates who choose a party's candidates for general elections during the party's conventions. Most Nigerian political parties operate the indirect primary election system to determine their candidates during general elections.

There is a fairly large body of works on general election practices and their effects on democratic consolidation in the Nigerian context. However, a few studies exist on the conduct of primary elections in Nigerian political parties. These studies are divisible into three major strands- politics, peace and conflict studies and legal studies. Tenuche (2011) and Muhammad (2011) are locatable in political science. Tenuche (2011) traces the nexus between flawed party primaries and the electoral irregularities that characterised the Nigerian general elections of 1999, 2003 and 2007. It concludes that undemocratic practices during the conduct of primary elections occasion such consequences as violent post-election conflicts, ideologically vacuous defections and the engendering of unstable democratic processes. Mohammad (2011) investigates the extent of conformity of primary elections to internal democracy requirements, nature of manifested irregularities and implications of such for intra-party politics in the Kaduna State's chapter of the Peoples' Democratic Party, between 1999 and 2015. Ikechukwu (2015) explicates the effects of the phenomenon of holding parallel party primaries in Nigeria's fourth republic and its implications for democratic sustenance. It identifies some of its implications as a weak internal party democratic culture and voters' apathy during general elections.

Adekeye (2017) studies the interface between primary elections and intra-party conflict in a major Nigerian political party- the People's Democratic Party. Working within the theoretical affordances of Group Conflict Theory, the study reports that non-adherence to set internal institutional structures birthed the instances of intra-party conflicts occasioned by primary elections. Adangor (2019) carries out a legal analysis of the constitutional provisions contained in Section 87, Subsection 9 of the Electoral Act (2010) (as amended) focusing on the extent to which it ensures internal party democracy. The paper recommends, in the contexts of intra-party squabbles brought about by conflictual party primaries, that the provision contained therein be amended.

Fundamentally, not many of these studies have rigorously examined extensive narratives on primary elections by primary and secondary political participants in Nigerian primary elections to determine their points of view on primary elections, the ideological foundations of such points of view and, the discourse representation of them (the points of view). The few available studies on the discourse representations of Nigerian elections concentrate on only the general elections and their portrayals in news reports and social media discourse (see Osisanwo, 2011; Osisanwo, 2012; Oyeleye and Osisanwo, 2013a; Oyeleye and Osisanwo, 2013b; Adegaju and Oyeboade, 2015; Osisanwo, 2016a; Osisanwo, 2016b and Tella, 2018). This study examines the discourse representations of ideological points of view on Nigerian primary elections, in the narratives of primary and secondary political actors, in Ayisha Osori's *Love Does not Win Elections* (henceforth, *LDNWE*). The text is an election memoir of a new entrant into Nigerian politics who is equally a professional.

2. Ayisha Osori: A biographical sketch

Aisha Osori is a Nigerian lawyer, development consultant and communication strategist with over eighteen years of experience in the public and private sectors. She attended the University of Lagos, Nigeria, for her law degree, the Harvard Law School for her second degree in law and the Harvard Kennedy School for a master's degree in public administration. She has worked variously at Levin and Srinivasan, Ocean and Oil Holdings, British American Tobacco and the Nigerian Women Trust Fund. Presently, she is the Executive Director of OSIWA (Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA)). In the course of her career as an advocate for women's rights and social change, she has consulted for World Bank, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Department for International Development (DFID) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) on women's economic and political empowerment, gender equality and good governance. She was also once a non-executive director on the board of the Nigerian Women Trust Fund. As a public-spirited intellectual, she was a columnist with two Nigerian newspapers- *ThisDay* and *Leadership*. She is equally a socially committed radio and television commentator. In 2015, she contested in the People's Democratic Party's (PDP) primary election meant for electing the party's representative for the Abuja

Municipal Area Council (AMAC)/Bwari Constituency in the 2015 House of Representatives election. Since Nigeria operate a bicameral legislature, its House of Representatives is the lower chamber of its national legislature (<http://ayishaosori.com/about/>).

3. Synoptic review of Ayisha Osori's *Love does not win elections*

The election memoir contains thirteen chapters, an epilogue, profiles of major political actors involved in the narration whose names have already been substituted and a copy of a letter forwarded to the Nigerian president on the conduct of the primary election in which the writer contested as a candidate. The thirteen chapters making up the text are conveniently divisible into four strands- the pre-campaign period, the campaign epoch, the election-day and the post-election time. Chapters one to seven presents the events leading up to the writer's decision to contest in the primary election for selecting the PDP candidate in the 2015 House of Representatives election for the AMAC/Bwari Constituency of the Federal Capital Territory. In the first chapter, Osori discusses the characteristic apathetic stance of the Nigerian middle class to politics and politicians. Furthermore, she explains her decision for joining the metaphorically murky waters of politics. Chapter two espouses her entrance into partisan politics. She presents her choice of PDP as an accident of prevailing circumstances, downtones the importance of choosing a political party on ideological ground-based on her idea that all major Nigerian political parties lack distinct ideologies and discusses her initial fund-raising strategies. The third chapter contains her challenges with establishing contacts with would-be patrons and creating political networks.

In chapter four, Osori discusses her formation of more political networks to dislodge the pervasive stance that only the indigenes of a particular locality should contest elections. Chapter five contains her account of the processes of procuring and submitting a nomination form from her chosen party- the PDP. She also continues with accounts on the expansion of her network. Chapter six has the official and unofficial workings of delegate selection at the ward level and the consequential role that money and patronage play in the process. The last chapter on pre-campaign affairs, chapter seven, discusses the writer's strategy for winning the primary election.

The second half of the text, chapters eight to eleven, describe events during the campaign period. In chapter eight, she moves around campaigning in her constituency and meets with local party leaders and would-be delegates to the party's convention. Chapter

Nine contains Osori's attempts at wooing the women-delegates in her constituency. In chapter ten, she meets family members and political opportunists who offer to arrange prayer sessions for her successful candidature. Osori, in chapter eleven, discusses some set of actions she takes in the last minutes of the primary election. Chapter twelve focuses on the election-day itself. The distribution of cash to delegates and underground campaigning continues before the election starts. Osori describes the election ground and the process of voting in an open ballot system. In the end, the election result was announced and the writer lost it. Chapter thirteen has an account of the events of the day immediately following the election day. The epilogue reviews the writer's experience in the course of her engagement as a candidate in the primary election and the lessons therein for new entrants into the Nigerian political terrain.

Generally, the text assumes its prime placement among narratives on Nigerian electoral practices since its return to democracy in 1999 from some fronts. It is, perhaps, the first extensive primary election memoir in contemporary Nigeria. It is, arguably, the most detailed and critical accounts of the internal workings of contemporary Nigerian political parties in the context of primary elections. The accounts therein seem to be significantly unbiased since the writer is a professional who was making her debut into electoral politics and she seemed uninterested in building a political career. Apart from its topicality, the text is not found short on stylistic adequacy. There are generous doses of humour, metaphor, euphemism, Nigerianisms and code alternation in it.

4. Theoretical base

The theoretical base for the study comprises van Dijk's (1995a and 1995b) socio-cognitive model of CDA, Stuart's (1996) model of point of view and aspects of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). van Dijk's model of CDA recognises three central concepts- society, cognition and discourse. Society has embedded social structures mostly marked by institutions, groups and group relations. Discourse is a reflection and refraction of social structures, and it is a social practice itself. Interactants produce, reproduce and legitimise shared social representations through discourse. In the words of van Dijk (1995b), "among the many forms of reproduction and interaction, discourse plays a prominent role as the preferential site for the explicit, verbal formulation and the persuasive communication of ideological propositions" (p.17). But the connection between discourse and society is an indirect one that cognition mediates. Cognition embodies shared representations of social

institutions, groups and events. These mental representations that interlocutors share aid the production and interpretation of discourse in context. Aspects of social cognition which govern discourse include belief, attitude, opinion, knowledge and ideology. Ideology governs the other strands of social cognition. The preponderant positioning of ideology is emphasised in van Dijk (1995b) thus:

Through complex and usually long-term processes of socialization and other forms of social information processing, ideologies are gradually acquired by members of a group or culture. *As systems of principles that organize social cognitions, ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of the members, the social reproduction of the group.* Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources (p.18) (emphasis mine).

This model of CDA regards ideology as "...basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group" (van Dijk, 1993, p.248). The conception of ideology adopted in this study is the one advanced in this model. It is applied to determine the ideologies which stand at the background of the points of view in the analysis.

Point of view refers to the perceptive angle from which events or information are presented. It includes the implicit and explicit communication of attitudes to narratives by the narrator (Hunston and Thompson, 2000). Stuart's (1996) model of point of view builds on such other models of the concept as Stanzel (1971), Uspensky (1973), Fowler (1986), Chatman (1990) and Short (1996). Working with analytical concepts from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Stuart (1996) identifies two levels of analysis for point of view- extratextual and the intratextual level. The extratextual level accommodates the three metafunctions of SFL- textual, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. The spatio-temporal point of view realises the textual metafunction through deixis. The spatio-temporal point of view involves setting out the spatio-temporal point from which an event is narrated or felt.

The psychological point of view encompasses both the perceptual and the evaluative points of view. The perceptual point of view espouses the ideational metafunction through the transitivity system. It pertains to the representation of such aspects of consciousness as cognition, affection, perception and desire. The evaluative point of view concerns value-

judgements. It deals with how a narrator or character evaluates personalities, actions and semiotic productions of others. The evaluative point of view realises the interpersonal metafunction of language through mood, modality, evaluative lexis, adjectivals, adjuncts, negation and narratorial register. The ideological point of view deals with the social values that a narrator or character expresses and how the listener or reader is positioned to receive such values. The ideological point of view superintends on the other three sub-branches of point of view as all points of view have ideological leanings. The expression of ideological points of view and the positioning of the listener or reader towards it is carried out through discourse resources.

As stated in Stuart's model, linguistic resources encode points of view. Hence, the co-option of the transitivity system as an aspect of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) here. Specifically, the transitivity system is regarded here as the linguistic resource that indexes the ideological points of view. The transitivity system works on the clause which is a lexico-grammatical unit to realise ideational meanings. The three main components of transitivity are process, participant and circumstance. Each process type has a set of possible participants. Based on the process types, SFL differentiates among six types of clause: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential clauses. Material clauses present processes of material actions (doing). The possible participants for a material clause are actor, goal, range and beneficiary. Mental clauses encode feelings, thoughts, desires and perceptions. The two inherent participants in a mental clause are senser and phenomenon. Relational clauses represent relationships between entities based on attribution or identification. Relational clauses have carrier, attribute, token and value as the major participants. Verbal clauses express verbal actions that language users perform. The main participants in a verbal clause include sayer, verbiage and receiver. Behavioural clauses denote the human experience of physiological and psychological behaviour. The only characteristic participant in a behavioural process is behavior. Existential clauses indicate that something exists or occurs. Existential clauses have only existent as the essential participant (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, pp.168-280). Circumstance qualifies a process in temporal, spatial and causal terms.

5. Methodology

The source of data for the study is a Nigerian election memoir- *Love Does not Win Elections*. The source is selected for being, probably, the first extensive and critical

presentation of narratives on a Nigerian primary election. It is a detailed election memoir that focuses strictly on a Nigerian primary election. Using the purposive random sampling technique, 127 samples were selected from the text. The derived sample size comprises direct and indirect narrations about elections and election-related events by primary and secondary political actors. The samples were subjected to qualitative discourse analysis using the analytical model presented above. The analytical framework itself was derived from the theoretical framework made up of the concept of ideology from van Dijk's (1995a, 1995b, 2004) socio-cognitive model of CDA, the idea of ideological points of view from Stuart's (1996) model of point of view and the transitivity system in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). In terms of the analytical procedure, the points of view which the samples encoded and their ideological backgrounds were determined. Subsequently, the transitivity processes, through which the points of view are expressed, are established.

6. Data presentation and analysis

The data analysis indicates that six ideological frameworks inform seven points of view on party primary elections in the examined election autobiography. The points of view include conflictual, patronage, pecuniary, ethnic, patriarchal, religious and welfarist points of view. The conflictual point of view is driven by electoral consumerism. Clientelism informs the patronage and pecuniary viewpoints of primary elections. Ethnicism informs the ethnic point of view; patriarchy serves as the base of the patriarchal viewpoint; theological determinism drives the religious point of view and welfare state ideology stands as the background to the welfarist point of view. The transitivity selections encode the political actors' points of view on primary election events.

6.1 Electoral consumerism and conflictual point of view

The conception of electoral consumerism as an informing ideology for the conflictual point of view assumes a bidirectional manifestation. In the first instance, one regards the political actors as products packaged to be sold to the electorate. The electorate becomes consumers of political products. This strand of the ideology underlies political marketing and its related activities. In the opposite direction, the electorate is viewed as custodians of votes which are themselves scarce resources that political candidates strive to accumulate in electoral contexts. In this instance, politicians become metaphoric buyers and consumers of votes while the electorate stands as the sellers.

Foundationally, the jostling for political support, either through defined legitimate avenues or illegitimate means, suggests the inherently conflictive nature of electoral contests. The conflictual point of view holds that politicians vigorously deploy both institutionally sanctioned and illegitimate means to seek votes in electoral contexts because they conceptualise elections as contests for votes. Hence, when they frame elections as conflict, they strategise significantly towards their aggregation of the electorate's support within legally defined boundaries and practices. However, in the instances in which they frame elections as 'hard' conflict, they instigate their supporters to engage in electoral violence.

In *LDNWE*, one encounters the point of view of election as conflict more. Even where references are made to the perception of elections as 'hard' conflict, the political actors do not instigate physical conflicts but warn those in charge of intra-party elections to forestall any breach of security during primary elections. This study regards the conflictual point of view and its ideological background- electoral consumerism- as the macro-point of view and the macro-ideology respectively. The point of view governs the other points of view in that all of them are related to it and are latently informed by it.

Through the use of verbal, mental, material and relational clauses, the writer presents the political actors' view of elections as conflictual.

Excerpt 1

Jamilu had one last idea. People love humility; my frequent phone calls to delegates and chairmen to find out how they were doing and constant appeal for their support had apparently been effective. Would I be averse to kneeling down as I give them their envelopes?... People like to be begged, Jamilu argued. (*LDNWE*, p. 205)

Excerpt 1 presents the perception of primaries as conflicts. In it, the writer recounts a piece of advice she got from a member of her campaign team. The adviser recognises 'people' (in the context of primary elections, delegates) as deciding agents that should be courted so that one can gain their votes. Hence, their placement as the senser of the mental (emotive) clause, 'People love humility'. The process verb, 'love', assigns 'humility' as a phenomenon to the electorate. Humility is a positive human attribute. The assignment of such a positive quality to the electorate is indirect polite behaviour and an assertion of the speaker's recognition of their power in an electoral context.

Furthermore, the next structure underscores the rigorous campaign activities that the candidate had undertaken. The clause which succeeded “People love humility”- “my frequent phone calls to delegates and chairmen to find out how they were doing and constant appeal for their support had apparently been effective”- has a compound nominal group as its subject (“my frequent phone calls... and constant appeal...”). Two instances of nominalised verbs – ‘calls’ and ‘appeal’- serve as heads in the compound nominal group. These nominalised elements encode actions that politicians engage in to aggregate votes. They make phone calls to delegates and appeal to them (the delegates) to convince them (the delegates) to vote for them (the politicians). That the delegates and their organisers are the targets of such nominalised actions is encoded by the qualifiers to the nominalised entities- ‘to delegates and chairmen’ and ‘for their support’. The question (“Would I be averse to kneeling down as I give them their envelopes?”), spells out the particular act the speaker (a senior member of the writer’s campaign team) wanted her (the writer who was equally an election candidate) to undertake.

However, in the following sentence, “People like to be begged, Jamilu argued”, the writer indirectly presents the speech of the speaker to underscore the speaker’s legitimation of the suggested activities. The verbal clause contains the sayer, ‘Jamilu’; the process verb, ‘argued’; and the verbiage, ‘People like to be begged’. The verbiage itself is a mental (desiderative) clause that has ‘people’ as the senser, ‘like’ as the mental process verb and the non-finite clause, ‘to be begged’, as the phenomenon. The non-finite clause which acts as the phenomenon contains a material process verb- ‘begged’. Here, the speaker encourages the writer, an election contestant, to perform the material action of begging the delegates who would vote at the primary election so that they could cast their votes for her. The conflictual point of view to election underlies the recommended act. In recognition of the fact that the other candidates are also contesting for the votes of the electorate, election candidates try to woo the electorate by performing variegated forms of subservient acts for them to portray themselves as the epitome of lowliness, impress the people and ultimately win their votes. The performance of such an act of genuflection to the electorate is based on the candidate’s awareness of the existence of competitors who are also seeking the same votes. It is this supposedly inherent conflict in electoral contestation which engenders the suggestion that the candidate should kneel down to beg the primary election delegates.

6.2 Clientelism and patronage point of view

Clientelism serves as the ideological front for the patronage point of view. Clientelism operates in political systems and sub-systems dominated by patron-broker-client relationships which facilitate access to political power and authority for the client and, mostly, economic benefits for the patron. In the words of Piatonni (2001, p.4), it refers to “the trade of votes and other types of partisan support in exchange for public decisions with divisible benefits, which involves not only the distribution of jobs and goods but also the exploitation of the entire machinery of the state as ‘a token of exchange’”. Clientelism drives both the patronage and the pecuniary points of view on Nigerian primary elections. The patronage point of view underscores the establishment of asymmetrical political friendships with those perceived to be holders of political influence by intending political candidates for the sake of acquiring the machinery of power and authority. The perceived political influencers also gain economically and politically from such politically motivated relations. To represent Nigerian primary elections from the patronage point of view, the writer deploys transitivity selections such as mental clauses, verbal clauses, material clauses and relational clauses.

Excerpt 2

I soon learned that the paperwork meant little without the right backers to pass it along. This was true, it became clear, of the entire project of running for office.... The game changer, I was informed, was Ahmed Muazu, at the time the national chairman of PDP.... Be that as it may, he was the political rainmaker, the deal clincher, and if I could get his support for my candidacy, the ticket was mine. (*LDNWE*, pp. 37-38)

In the first sentence, the writer expresses the content of his discovery on the importance of patronage in Nigerian party politics. With the personal deictic item, ‘I’, the writer is the senser in the mental (cognitive) clause. ‘learned’ is the cognitive verb and the content of the learning- ‘that the paperwork meant little without the right backer....’ is the phenomenon which the writer has learned about the Nigerian party politics. She has learnt that ‘right backers’ are essential. Besides, in the same sentence, the writer represents her newly learnt general knowledge of the significant statures of political patrons in Nigerian politics by functionally nominalising them as ‘backers’. The first independent clause in the

second sentence further heightens the representation. It is a relational attributive clause that has the demonstrative pronoun, 'This', as carrier and 'true' as the attribute. 'This' anaphorically refers to 'that the paperwork meant little without the right backers to pass it along'. By ascribing truthfulness as an attribute to the idea that one needs patrons to be successful in Nigerian party politics, the writer represents the patronage point of view as an essential characteristic of politics in Nigeria.

Sentences three and four focus on the presentation of a particular patron, 'Ahmed Muazu'. Sentence three is a verbal clause that has the verb, 'informed'. The writer is the receiver of the verbiage, 'The game changer... was Ahmed Muazu, at the time the national chairman of PDP'. The verbiage in sentence three is a relational (identifying) clause with 'was' as its process verb, 'Ahmed Muazu' as the identified or token and 'the game changer' and 'national chairman of PDP' as the identifiers or values. In sentence four also, he stands as the identified and, 'the political rainmaker' and 'the deal clincher' are the identifiers or the values ascribed to him.

All the identifiers are functionalised nominalisations with conventional metaphoric implications. 'game changer' has sports as its source domain. A game-changer utilises their dexterity to determine the momentum of any contest in favour of their team. A patron also uses his accumulated social capital to win an election for the candidate he supports. The metaphor, 'rainmaker', has nature as its source domain. In the face of drought in an agrarian setting, rain becomes a scarce commodity that all yearns for. A rainmaker brings much relief to all by causing it to rain. In the struggle for votes in an electoral contest, a political rainmaker ensures that their client gets more votes and they do not metaphorically experience any drought of votes. 'deal clincher' belongs to the source domain of business. 'Clincher' itself has its etymological origin in carpentry. A clincher securely fixes a nail. Its sense as "to settle decisively" derives from its stated meaning in carpentry. 'Deal' means a transaction or bargain. Contests for votes are equally transactional in mode; election candidates bargain for the votes from the electorate. A political patron is an eminent influencer who commands much respect among the electorate and can determine their voting behaviour. They constitute themselves election candidates' agents and bargain for the electorate's votes for them (the election candidate). The process of a patron's exertion of his influence on the voters is regarded as a deal (a transaction) and they clinch it when they firmly secure an electoral victory for an election candidate. The metaphors simultaneously represent and intensify the influence of Ahmed Muazu as a patron.

6.3 Clientelism and pecuniary point of view

The economic dimension to Nigerian party politics brings about the pecuniary point of view to intra-party electoral processes in the Nigerian context. The pecuniary point of view states that the Nigerian electoral culture is heavily transactional in dimension; money exchanges hands to ensure election victory. Ibrahim (2018) describes transactional politics as “the transformation of political processes into horse trading in which political actors trade individual benefits to each other. Rather than politics being a process for using public resources for the provision of public goods, it becomes a market in which politicians help each other to steal public resources for their private gain. Politics then becomes reduced to the quid pro quo of ‘you help me steal and I will help you steal’”. Manifestations of the pecuniary point of view bifurcate into the patron-client strand and the candidate-electorate aspect. The maintenance of the patron-client relationship that clientelism projects has some financial implications for the political candidates (who are the clients) in both pre- and post-election contexts. Even when the patron has facilitated meetings between their client and the voters within their sphere of influence, the client (election candidates) still bears the financial burden of maintaining the facilitated relations between themselves and the electorate. The most present manifestation of this is extensive vote buying during both intra-party and general elections. Like the patronage point of view, clientelism informs the point of view.

In terms of the utilisation of transitivity selections to grammaticalise the point of view, mental, verbal, material and relational processes are deployed across the samples. In the excerpt presented below, the pecuniary point of view is illustrated.

Excerpt 3

Money is the lifeblood of our political process. This was a critical lesson for me to learn first-hand... There is no contesting primaries and general elections without money. I should be made to write out this nine million, four hundred and seventy-one thousand times-that’s how much, in naira, I raised in contributions in a period of two and a half months. (*LDNWE*, p.25)

In the first sentence, the writer presents a conclusion she reached in the course of her campaign. The clause has a relational (identifying) process. The identified or token is ‘Money’ and it is characterised by the ascribed value, ‘the lifeblood of our political

process'. The process verb, 'is', facilitates the identification of one term by the other. The identifier is a metaphor wherein the writer compares the Nigerian electoral process to a living being that has blood. Blood is an essential fluid in the circulatory system of living beings that regulates the body system, supplies oxygen and nutrients, removes body wastes, moves hormones and maintains homeostasis. Except for plants, human and non-human living beings cannot live without blood. Just like blood is essential to the continued existence of a living being, playing politics in Nigeria compulsorily requires money. The metaphor indirectly intensifies the role of money in Nigerian politics.

The second sentence is also a relational (attributive) one which has the process verb- 'was'. The carrier is the demonstrative referential item, 'this'. It refers backwardly to the first clause. The first clause expresses the proposition that money reigns in Nigerian politics. This idea is assigned a quality by the attribute- 'a critical lesson'. That proposition was not just a lesson the writer learnt; she intensifies the importance of that lesson by qualifying it with the epithet, 'critical'. In the next sentence, the writer issues the bare assertion: "There is no contesting primaries and general elections without money". The existential clause has the existential subject- 'There'; the verb, 'is'; and the existent, 'no contesting primaries and general elections without money'. The existent is a non-finite clause that has 'contesting' as its lexical verb and the compound-complex nominal group, 'primaries and general elections without money'. The existent which is a non-finite clause indicates that contesting elections without money is impossible.

The last sentence indirectly amplifies the proposition that one cannot contest in a Nigerian primary without possessing sufficient funds. The writer spells out a punishment regime that would entrench that realisation in her psyche. In transitivity terms, the clause is a causative construction in which the writer (represented by the pronoun, 'I') is the actor, the causative process is "should be made", the verbal action he is to be caused to undertake is "to write out this line nine million, four hundred and seventy-one thousand times" but the agent is excluded. The verbal clause itself has "to write out" as the verbal process and 'this line' as the verbiage. 'this line' is related anaphorically to the previous clause, 'There is no contesting primaries and general elections without money". This serves as an indirect means of emphasising the indispensability of money in Nigerian politics. That the writer desires that she should be made to write out the proposition underscores the proposition.

6.4 Ethnicism and ethnic point of view

As a social construct, ethnicism refers to the conscious promotion of ethnic identities or cultures mostly for ethnic determination. In the electoral contexts, political actors project their ethnic identities or frame election discourse in ethnic terms to boost their political image. Otite (1990, p.60), cited in Adadevoh (2001, p.80) describes it as follows: “the contextual discrimination by members of one group against others based on the differentiated systems of social and cultural symbols...”. Ethnicism as an ideological front informs the ethnic point of view to Nigerian primary elections as found in *LDNWE*. This point of view holds that political posts within a defined geography that is associated with an ethnic group should only be held by the members of the ethnic formation that history and other accidents of human experience privilege as being the owners of that space. This point of view especially manifests itself in electoral contests for political offices which constituencies are more local.

Verbal, mental, material and relation processes encode the point of view. Excerpt 4 below exemplifies the point of view.

Excerpt 4

But it was only when various PDP chiefs told me the president and the party were committed to keeping the FCT for the indigenes that I realised how strong the underlying tensions were between various ethnic groups who called FCT home. I followed up on Dr Ali’s advice to consult with Ambassador Ngbako, an indigene of the FCT.... “Don’t count on the support of the Gbagyis”. He said the Gbagyis had been generous and had no apologies for insisting on self-representation.... “Take a message to those whose ears you have access to: FCT indigenes want to be able to nominate ministers.... (*LDNWE*, pp. 75-76)

In the excerpt above, the writer recounts an encounter with a recognised politician who is an indigene and community leader in the FCT; he is of the Gbagyi ethnic group. The FCT refers to the Federal Capital Territory, the seat of the Nigerian federal government. The territory was traditionally deemed to belong to some minority ethnic groups. In the first sentence, the writer indirectly reports the contents of the PDP chiefs’ statements to her. The clause also exemplifies an instance of a verbal clause. The sayers are the ‘various PDP chiefs’, the process verb is ‘told’, the receiver is the writer who is designated as ‘me’ and

the verbiage is ‘the president and the party were committed to keeping the FCT for the indigenes’. The verbiage itself is a causative material clause with ‘were committed to’ as the material process and ‘the president and the party’ as the actor. But the agent does not have a surface representation. What they ‘were committed to’ is presented as the non-finite clause which also stands as a grammatical metaphor- ‘keeping the FCT’. The preposition-headed adverbial group which ends the structure specifies “the indigenes’ of FCT as the recipient of the support from the presidency. To graduate the federal government’s support for indigenising politics in the FCT, the writer chooses the verb, ‘committed’. It is not just a mere endorsement, there is a commitment to its realisation. By endorsing and indicating its total support for the contestants who are indigenes of the FCT, the federal government indirectly legitimises ethnic politics for certain political ends.

In sentence five, Ambassador Ngbako sends a message to those in authority through the writer. The message is clear: “FCT indigenes want to be able to nominate ministers....” The first sentence, ‘FCT indigenes want to be able to nominate ministers’, has a mental (desiderative) process which ‘want’ denotes. The senser is ‘FCT indigenes’ and the phenomenon, which is what they desire, is ‘to be able to nominate ministers’. The Nigerian constitution demands that the president must appoint one minister from each of the thirty-six states in the federation. Each state is governed by an elected governor. Though the constitution recognises the FCT, it does not construe it as a state of the federation. It is rather regarded as the seat of the federal government and it is managed directly by an appointed minister, not an elected governor. The speaker’s ethnic group does not just desire to control elections into the constituencies in their territories, they want to be given a ministerial slot.

6.5 Patriarchy and patriarchal point of view

Walby (1991, p.20) defines patriarchy as a “system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.... The use of the term ‘social structure’ is important here, since it clearly implies rejection both of biological determinism, and the notion that every individual man is in a dominant position and every woman in a subordinate one.... At a more abstract level, it exists as a system of social relations....”. The patriarchal point of view on Nigerian party primaries presents electoral politics and the practices surrounding it as privileging the participation of men in politics and discouraging female participants’ engagement in the political arena. Patriarchy as a social

construct ensures the constancy of the patriarchal point of view in the Nigerian electoral politics' space. Excerpt five below is an exemplification of the patriarchal point of view.

Excerpt 5

Late night meetings are one of the most often-cited challenges to women's political participation in Nigeria.... There are security concerns.... There are also concerns about sexual abuse and promiscuity. Presumably, women worry more about the former.... (*LDNWE*, pp. 91-96)

In the excerpt above, the writer discusses late night meetings as one of the discouraging features of participation in electoral politics for Nigerian women. She discusses the different inhibitory manifestations of it. In the first sentence, the writer records a general tendency in Nigerian party politics without attributing the perception directly to any speaker. The relational (attributive) clause has 'late night meetings' as the carrier, the process verb is 'are' and 'one of the most often-cited challenges to women's political participation in Nigeria' is the attribute given to the carrier. The attribute itself is a complex nominal group with 'challenges' as the headword. The lexeme, 'challenges', is an evaluative noun. It represents, in a hedged manner, 'late night meetings' as a problem. The epithet, 'often-cited', qualifies 'challenges' as an attribute. The epithet intensifies the extent to which 'late night meetings' are 'challenges' and it is boosted by 'most'. 'Challenges' is further characterised by the qualifier, 'to women's political participation in Nigeria'. The qualifier identifies late night meetings as a major challenge to women. The portrayal of women as the most immediate and major sufferers of late-night meetings in electoral politics indicates the patriarchal bend in Nigerian politics.

Both sentences two and three are existential clauses; they indicate that 'security concerns' and 'concerns about sexual abuse and promiscuity' exist as specific challenges that women who attend late-night political meetings encounter. Both 'security concerns' and 'concerns about sexual abuse and promiscuity' serve as the existent in the two clauses. The lexeme, 'concerns', is an evaluative noun; it indicates that the existents are worries to the female politicians. The fourth sentence even characterises the worry better through the qualifier, 'about sexual abuse and promiscuity'. The two nominal groups acting as completives in 'about sexual abuse and promiscuity' are even evaluative nouns; both 'sexual abuse' and 'promiscuity' generate negative affect in public discourse. The fifth sentence is closely related to the fourth one. It is a paratactic clause complex with two

independent mental (emotive) clauses. The first has ‘women’ as its senser, ‘worry’ as its process verb and ‘about the former’ as the phenomenon being sensed. ‘The former’ is in an anaphoric relation with ‘sexual abuse’ in the immediately preceding clause. This indicates women undergo much emotional tension as a result of the fear that they could experience sexual molestation in the course of attending late-night meetings. Since only women are presented as experiencing the inhibition in political circuits, men are indirectly privileged.

6.6 Theological determinism and religious point of view

The central position in theological determinism is that God superintends on both supra-individual and individual affairs. Feinberg (2001, p.504) simply defines it as the ideological stance that “God’s decree covers and controls all things”. The theological determinists ground their arguments on a tripod- God possesses future knowledge; God has an inexhaustible body of knowledge on counterfactual conditionals and, God is an absolutely independent and perfect actor. This ideology forms the background to the religious point of view on Nigerian primary elections. The point of view holds that electoral victory, like all other good things, come from God. It is based on this view that major and minor political patrons, political associates, family members and emergency political opportunists appeal to election candidates to release funds for organising prayer sessions in support of their election bids. The excerpt below exemplifies the religious point of view.

Excerpt 6

My mother and all her friends were praying. The Imam at the mosque she attended was also praying, my friends were praying, and so was I.... One evening, Adamu, one of the drivers we used regularly on our campaign tours, asked how the campaign was going as he drove me home.... Now he asked if I had commissioned any prayers. I confessed I had not given it a thought. Adamu said he knew someone who could organise almajiri prayers... The prayers of almajiris were potent, Adamu explained.... (*LDNWE*, pp.187-188)

In the excerpt above, the writer recounts how prayers were offered by family members and friends in support of her election. To further portray the preponderant posture of the religious point of view, she recollects her interaction with the driver for her campaign team on the subject of divine intercessions for electoral victory. The first two sentences are

verbal clauses with ‘were praying’, and ‘was praying’ as verbal groups denoting the verbal process. The sayers in relation to them are ‘my mother and all her friends’, ‘The Imam in the mosque she attended’, ‘my friends’ and ‘I’. All these participants prayed for her electoral victory. These discourse actors conceive prayer to God as an efficacious means for gaining an electoral victory for the writer.

The closing segment of the excerpt is a narration of the writer’s encounter with her driver on the need for prayer to win the primary election. Having introduced the driver, the writer presents him as the sayer in the two subsequent verbal clauses. In both, he performs the verbal process denoted by ‘asked’, the writer is the target and the respective verbiages are ‘how the campaign was going’ and ‘if I had commissioned any prayers’. These verbiages are indicative of the driver’s belief in God as a consequential influencer of the electoral process. Based on the question asked by the driver, the writer informed him that she had not thought of it. In the next sentence which is a verbal clause (‘Adamu said he knew someone who could organise almajiri prayers’), the driver is the sayer, the verbal action done is ‘said’, the verbiage is ‘he knew someone who could organise almajiri prayers’. The verbiage itself is a mental (cognitive) clause in which the driver, ‘Adamu’, is the senser, the performed cognitive action is ‘knew’ and the phenomenon known is ‘someone who could organise almajiri prayers’. The driver lays bare his knowledge about locating some organisers of a potent form of Islamic prayer. This implies that he believes in the force of the type of prayer for an election victory.

The penultimate sentence still presents ‘Adamu’ as the sayer in the verbal clause who undertakes the verbal action specified by the process verb, ‘explained’. The verbiage is ‘The prayers of almajiris were potent’. The verbiage is a relational (attributive intensive) clause in which ‘the prayers of almajiris’ is the carrier to which the value, ‘potent’ is ascribed. ‘were’ is the process verb. The content of the verbiage indicates that the speaker commits himself significantly to the efficacious nature of the prayer form he suggested by qualifying it with the predicative adjective, ‘potent’.

5.7 Welfare state ideology and welfarist point of view

Generally, the welfare state ideology regards the state as an embodiment of the common good; the state serves as the vanguard of its citizenry’s socio-economic well-being through its provisioning of the necessities for existence either solely or in collaboration with capitalistic formations. The welfare state ideology “promote(s) a vision of the state as the

[sole] guarantor of social rights. These states promote equality of benefits at high levels as a way of minimizing the effects of social class and income. Welfare benefits are used to equalize the ability of all citizens, regardless of income, to participate in the political community” (Weir, 2015, p.16435).

The welfare state ideology informs the welfarist point of view on primary election found across the *LDNWE*. The point of view opines that the government and its agencies primarily enhances the citizenry’s well-being through the provision of social services. Two categories of social actors hold this point of view in the context of primary elections- the party delegates who vote during primary elections and the writer who had stood as a political candidate in an election year. For the delegates, they utilise the interactions between them and the political candidate to enunciate the provisions they desire from the government which they (the candidate) could facilitate when eventually elected. For the election contestant, she enumerates the socio-economic gains she intends to facilitate for the delegates and their communities if chosen as the party’s candidate for the general election. Excerpt 7 presents an instantiation of the point of view.

Excerpt 7

When he invited me to address them, I struggled through my Hausa interspersed with English and told them a little about myself. “I have lived in Abuja since 1996,” I began. “It is home to me and my entire family..., I continued. “I am a lawyer. I studied law because I do not like injustice.... And now I want to represent you at the House of Representatives because I see a lot that is wrong that can be put right. (*LDNWE*, p.106)

The immediate context for the extract above is a meeting between the writer, who also doubled as the candidate for a primary election, and some potential delegates who were to serve as the electorate for the primary election. One of the candidate’s patrons facilitated the encounter. In the course of the meeting, the candidate is invited to address the prospective delegates. A good part of the extract contains the contents of her speech. Sentences two to five largely establish the identity of the writer as a caring and age-long resident of the FCT. In sentence two, she presents herself as the actor of the material process indexed by the verbal group- ‘have lived’. The following circumstance of location- ‘in Abuja’ - indicates her area of residence as being the FCT. Sentence three has a relational (attributive intensive) process as indexed by ‘is; ‘it’, which refers anaphorically to ‘Abuja’, is the carrier that has the attribute, ‘home’. The circumstantial element of cause, ‘to me and

my entire family', presents the writer and her family as beneficiaries of Abuja's homely nature.

In sentences four and five, the writer presents her credentials as a welfarist indirectly to the delegates. In sentence 4, the writer, through a relational (attributive intensive) clause, states her professional affiliation. 'I', which refers to the writer, is the carrier; the process verb is 'am' and 'a lawyer' is the attribute. The fifth sentence is a material clause with 'studied' as the indicated material action. The actor is the writer referenced by the pronoun, 'I', and 'law' stands as the goal. The non-finite clause, 'because I do not like injustice', is the circumstance of cause (reason) which indicates why the candidate studied law. The circumstantial element itself is a mental (emotive) clause with 'do not like' as a verbal group, 'I' as the senser and 'injustice' as the phenomenon being sensed. The negator, 'not', indicates the writer's aversion to 'injustice'. That he hates injustice implies that he sides with the victims of injustice and cares for their welfare. Her care for their welfare propelled her to become a lawyer.

In sentence six, the writer continues to project her welfarist self-portraiture. The writer lays bare her political aim and the reason for it. The clause has a mental (desiderative) process with 'want' as the process verb. The writer is the senser and the phenomenon is 'to represent you at the House of Representatives'. The phenomenon itself is a material clause with 'represent' as the intended material action of the writer. The writer is the actor and the delegates, indexed by 'you', constitute the goal. The point of representation is marked by the circumstance of location: 'at the House of Representatives'. Only one who cares about the welfare of a people seeks to represent them.

The writer desires to be elected as a member of the federal House of Representatives. The rest of the clause encodes the reason for the desire- 'because I see a lot that is wrong that can be put right'. This non-finite clause that serves as the circumstance of cause (reason) is itself a mental (perceptive) clause that has 'see' as the process verb. The writer is the senser and the phenomenon is 'a lot that is wrong that can be put right'. The phenomenon which the writer perceives is a complex nominal group headed by 'lot' and qualified by 'that is wrong' and 'that can be put right'. The writer feels that the citizenry goes through many anomalies which she underspecifies but regards such as surmountable. Her ability to perceive the challenges of the delegates who are locals and, her optimism and readiness to remedy such serve as signifiers of her welfarist posture.

7. Conclusion

This study has investigated the categories of political actors' ideology-based points of view on primary elections, their specific ideological backgrounds and their linguistic encoding of such through transitivity selections in a Nigerian election autobiography- Ayisha Osori's *Love Does not Win Elections*. Deploying an analytical model derived from a blend of insights from van Dijk's (1995a, 1995b and 2004) model of Critical Discourse Analysis, Stuart's (1996) model of point of view and the transitivity system in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the result indicates that intra-party political actors in Nigeria hold seven ideological points of view on party primaries; they are conflictual, patronage, pecuniary, ethnic, patriarchal, religious and welfarist points of view. These points of view are themselves informed by such ideologies as electoral consumerism, clientelism, ethnicism, patriarchy, theological determinism and welfare state respectively. Through transitivity selections, the points of view are linguistically encoded.

It is deducible from the identified points of view that governance issues that emphasise the welfarist obligations of the state to the populace are underrepresented in Nigerian intra-party election discourse. Rather, there is the constant re-energisation of the presence of god-like political figures and primordial divisive sentiments. This portends certain dire implications for the sustenance of democratic culture in Nigeria. On a general note, one of the major consequences is the lingering leadership challenge. It seems that, as it is presently configured, the Nigerian party structures and cultures may not possess the capacity to throw up genuine leaders. Since the citizenry observes these undemocratic internal party operations and consume news about them in the media, they have become significantly apathetic to participation in elections. Within the parties, internal democratic practices continue to diminish, unbridled intra-party conflict instigation and escalation continues and promotion of ethnicised politics reigns. All of these have inadvertently diminished governance-directed election discourse. To reverse the current negative trends, requisite laws and public policies on election matters must address the anti-democratic tendencies that characterise intra-party practices instead of its entire focus on the regulation of inter-party relations in the contexts of general elections.

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Tella: Ideological points of view and transitivity selections in a Nigerian primary election memoir

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.8>

A DISCOURSE PRAGMA-STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF INVECTIVE EXPRESSIONS IN GHANAIAN POLITICS

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Abstract

Decent use of language has been a common trademark in communication. It is such an aspect of human development that has been an important part in our societies since time immemorial. In recent times, this practice has contemptuously gone amiss due to our demanding need for democratic development. Recent development in politics in Ghana has witnessed a total change in the use of decent language to achieve the intended purposes in political communication. It is in this regard that the present study sought to examine the use of invectives in political communications in Ghana. The study adopted Fairclough's (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis theory to analyse the data gathered, which spanned from 2011 to 2016 and were taken from statements made by politicians that had been covered as major news items in the print media and online networks. In all, one hundred and fifty (150) bulletins of such invectives were identified and further categorised into descriptive, attributive and symbolic forms. Our findings showed that many of the noted politicians in Ghana made frequent use of invectives to seek political recognition that will prepare them for better political fortunes should the party they represent come to power in the future. It was further identified that all of these invectives were meant to cause emotional and psychological pains and also to lower the social status of the affected individuals so as to make them politically 'dirty' and irrelevant.

Keywords: discourse, pragma-stylistic, invectives, Ghanaian politics

1. Introduction

Politics has become just an aspect of our social lives since it deals with the sole activity of man and society in a much more civilised form. Mostly, every political activity relents itself to the growing needs of power and the exercise of control of resources as well as day-to-day role of the affairs of the entire community. Ezema (2009) admits that the idea of politics belongs to man's nature and the organisation of the affairs of a society for the common good of the society members. As a result, politics has become so relevant to human society that it is often asserted that man is a political animal (Ezema 2009:116).

In essence, the striving role of politics is hinged on ensuring that the needs of individuals and their societies are well taken care of. The entire fulcrum of politics is about ideas and how to utilise those ideas in bettering certain economic fortunes of ordinary citizens. Interestingly, the contemporary structure of human activity makes it possible for politics to be “essentially concerned with power and authority; how to obtain and appropriate it, how to make decisions and control resources within a jurisdiction, how to control and manipulate the perceptions, behavior and values of those who are governed, among other things” (Michira 2014:1) to the detrimental of the common needs of the ordinary citizens. As a result of this, people and other well-meaning citizens regard politics as dirty and the number one enemy to the survival of any nation's growth since it is often used to hinder development. Ezema (2009:116) admonishes, however, that . . . “politics in itself is not dirty. The problem is that some people play it in a dirty way. If it is played according to rules, people benefit immensely from it”. This then suggests that politics is an important venture in one's life, except that it is the people involved that make the practice of it an unhealthy enterprise.

1.1 Politics and political system in Ghana

The nature of politics, which is about people's life, is further enshrined in the political system that exists in any giving society. Such a system ensures the use of proper governance structure to run the activities of the state. Most of the time, the political system of a state is fused with the legal institutions that make it possible for every political activity to function in a much defined environment devoid of any acrimony and injustice. The following is how Ezema (2009) puts it:

Every political system in a country strives as a duty to achieve peace, prevent social strife, lay emphasis on good citizenship, uphold justice and fair play and emphasize respect for people's fundamental rights, accepting as a fact that power belongs to the people and the exercise of it must be in conformity with the people's ethnics (Ezema 2009:116).

The underlining argument here is that political space of a nation must be cradled around a particular fundamental fibre that will make political system a better option in every governance structure. Such a need is manifested by the system of proper institutions that ensures that peace, justice and respect for people's rights and liberty becomes the ultimate function.

Interestingly, Ghana is identified as a unitary state with a presidential system of government where the President solely owns an executive power after winning an election through a universal adult suffrage. The other arms of government (i.e., parliament and judiciary) are also recognised in this respect, even though their respective powers are separated, including the executive, so that each one of them can provide an oversight responsibility on the other; apart from a few skirmishes that occur often times in such process. Unlike the judiciary which has an internal mechanism for appointing its respective members into various roles and positions, the parliament and the executive often have their occupants elected in an election supervised and guided by an independent body called the 'Electoral Commission'. As a result, they are recognised with a security of tenure for four years or more upon a renewal of another mandate by the electorate.

Quite fortunately, Ghana has had a stable and a solid political system of democracy under the Fourth Republican Constitution after several years of thunderous upheaval of frequent coup d'états and unjustifiable military interventions. Ghana's journey to democracy has, thus far, been smooth and perfect. Ghana's democratic credential as a giant in Africa cannot be underestimated in this regard. This is because, being the first country in the sub-Sahara to attain independence and to champion the struggle for independence for other Africa countries, Ghana has successfully organised eight consecutive general elections under the Fourth Republic (i.e., 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2020). Even though some of these elections have been clouded with minor issues such as intimidation, victimisation, assault, vandalisation of properties and many others, yet Ghana's ability to organise free and fair elections has received global recognition and admiration from the entire world, considering the volatile nature of African elections. As a

result of this feat, the country has been the proud oasis of rule of law, respect for human right, freedom of speech and expression, free and fair election with democracy and accountability as its ideological ethos. This development has given massive credit and applause to the country, thereby giving a clear-cut credence to it as a ‘modern home’ for democracy in the sub-Sahara Africa and Africa as a whole.

The Fourth Republican Constitution has also witnessed an avalanche of political parties; there has been a proliferation of parties and this is ingrained in fairness and transparent electoral process. These political parties (such as the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC), Convention People’s Party (CPP), People’s National Convention (PNC), Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), People’s Heritage Party (PHP), People’s Convention Party (PCP), National Convention Party (NCP), National Independence Party (NIP), National Convention Party (NCP), Ghana Redevelopment Party (GRP), Democratic People’s Party (DPP), Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE Party), Ghana Freedom Party (GFP), Ghana National Party (GNP) All People’s Congress (APC), Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), Progressive People’s Party (PPP) and a few other independent candidates for the past twenty-nine years) have been contesting for the ultimate (power) under this dispensation. Although Ghana is a multi-party sectorial state, it is two parties – i.e.; the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) which are the main political parties and have therefore been alternating powers over the years. The other parties, described as minor ones of which some of them have faded out of the system for non-performance, have had the difficulties to wrestle power from the two main parties because of lack of supportive-numerical strength and the fact that they do not have enough financial muscle to monetise their campaigns with gifts and other accoutrements to enhance their chances of snatching power from the hands of NPP and NDC.

In all of these, however, Ghana’s political system is raided by the winner-takes-all syndrome. Gyampo (2015a:17) defines the winner-takes-all politics as “the partisan monopolization of state resources, facilities and opportunities, as well as the exclusion of political opponents from national governance”. The nature of this system has become a pervasive phenomenon as well as a perpetual problem that the country is struggling to nip from the shell. This practice occurs most often because the party in power is identified with the sole responsibility to appoint all its members into various positions of authority whether those appointees have the requisite expertise or not. Under this situation, the losing parties are left out of consideration. Such development often times brings “conferment of excessive powers on the president, marginalization of perceived political opponents and

the feeling of exclusion from the governance process by those who do not belong to the government/ruling party” (ibid.). According to Abotsi (2013), the idea of the winner-takes-all politics provides a great sense of security threat to the country and also serves as a form of disincentive to the growing need of Ghana’s democracy; and therefore, gives enough impetus to the opposition parties, which happen to have various forms of antithetical opinions and political ideologies, to overtly speak against the policies and programmes of the party in power without necessarily examining the core benefits that the ordinary masses are likely to derive out of the successful implementation of some of these policies and programmes initiated by the ruling government. In effect, this practice of political greediness has economically weakened Ghana’s developmental agenda over the years, resulting in tension, acrimony and rancor in the country’s body politics (Gyampo 2015b:2).

1.2 Language and politics

Naturally, humans make use of language as one of their social needs. As a result, the power of language makes humans so distinct and different from all other creatures in the world (Agu 2015:65). In this respect, language is seen as an indelible part of human activity and essentially, an inevitable component of human life. Sapir (1963:162) aptly puts it as follows:

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. . . (Sapir 1963:162).

This means that in reality, language only exists with the people and the society that they live. The scope of every language used in context helps to “demonstrate sensitivities to the vagaries of social experience, and the need to comply with the cultural rules of communication” (Yankah 1995:46). In principle, the core and normative force of a language is premised on the reality of arbitrary items that has been conceptualised by the people who use it in achieving particular communicative effects. This development provides a desirable role of language in helping human beings to build interpersonal relationships in the societies in which they live and to promote a peaceful co-existence among the people as well. As such, the use of a language has certainly become fashion for

people to communicate and to share experiences of the world together. This helps in the presentation and exchanging of ideas for various purposes. In effect then, language is seen as an undoubted natural instrument that helps in seeing and developing human experiences of the world.

In essence, our social life as people is often preoccupied by a political thought. This is because we have needs and wants to be provided with in any account by people in higher authorities. As a result, language is used as a common trademark in expressing those demands and making such demands a life driven reality. In principle, language only exists with the people and the society that they live. Sometimes too, the scope of a particular language used can promote a demonstrable need for political sensitivity. It is with this development that has made language a core fibre to every political situation as well as becoming the only means to source for power. According to Dahal (2000), language is noted as follows:

[It] is a voluntary vocal system of communication between individuals, groups and socio-cultural phenomena, politics, being a part of the entire social system, does not remain unaffected by linguistic environment. Language and politics are closely related to one another and the former is one of the determining factors of the latter (Dahal 2000:155).

This means that politics exists because there is language to be used to carry out its intended message and to make it happen in people's life. Since politics is about the development of the social needs of the people, language serves as the best medium to execute such essential needs of the people whose betterment remains paramount in this respect. In effect, language and politics are seen as two inseparable entities in human life since the two items are important ingredients for the flanking development of democracy.

Within the political space, the core function of a language is to provide information on the ideas, and the policies of the political parties, whether in power or opposition, and also to serve as a source of propagandist's tool to massage information to the people. This is because the political communicators use language as an avenue to explain and make available to the people all the important functions that the party has engaged itself with, within the context of a given political environment. Such a development always provides enough bases for a good political milieu to strive with specific relevant information for the people.

1.3 The use of invective expressions in Ghanaian politics

Even though using language is indispensable in every human activity, it is gradually becoming a very dangerous arsenal in our human relationships in Africa and other parts of the world, all because of politics. The political activities in Africa are subdued and polluted with expressions which are full of acrimonies and other irate forms of discursal indecencies meant to abuse an individual or a political opponent. Such a development, over the years, has been used as a canal for political violence in some part of the Africa; and has further threatened the “social values of communication, leading to a creeping culture of combative discourse, and the celebration of verbal abuse and invectives on decent political platforms” (Yankah (2011) as cited in Danso & Edu-Afful (2012:116)). One major blot on the continent (of Africa), when it comes to the negative effects of invective expression in the media is the sad event which occurred in Rwanda where millions of innocent people lost their lives and properties because of the preponderance use of some heavily invective-laden speeches (Agyekum 2004:345) and its subsequent misinterpretations by the general public.

Quite importantly, it needs to be established that political invectives pre-dates Ghana’s independence and its political activities (Boateng 2018). However, the Fourth Republic has unfortunately been characterised with unprecedented political invectives in public discourse. Several factors have been adduced as influencing this unfortunate development in Ghanaian politics. Some of these factors include the liberalisation of the airwaves, the repeal of the criminal libel law in 2001, socio-political recognition and rewards given to those who immerse themselves in political invectives. In this regard, politicians in Ghana have continued to use invectives to score cheap, and parochial political gain without recourse to the value of Ghanaian traditional practice in language use. This unsavory development has attracted the attention of well-meaning Ghanaians from all walks of life, who have been quick to condemn the use of invectives in our body-politics as it threatens the peace of the country. Key institutions in the country such as the National Media Commission (NMC), Ghana Journalist Association (GJA), Christian Council, Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) and the National Peace Council (NPC) have all added their voices to the call for decorous language in political discourse in the country. Mr. Jerry John Rawlings, a former president, metaphorically described a section of insulting young politicians in the NDC party as ‘*babies with sharp teeth*’ to register his

disgust with the use of abusive language against perceived political opponents and other party members, yet the phenomenon still persists.

Yiannis (1998:3) sees the use of these invective expressions as part of the political behaviour of every well-meaning politician and that these invective expressions normally occur in the form of “oral or written, direct or indirect, – and gestural or non-gestural, which is perceived, experienced, constructed and most of the time intended as slighting, humiliating, or offensive, which has the potential of psychologically affecting not only the addressee or target but his/her associates”. Interestingly, Agyekum (2004:347) also indicates that invectives have become key items in political communication and continues as follows:

[Invectives] take the form of ‘linguistic warfare’ between participants in a communicative situation. In this metaphor, the participants are to be perceived as the combatants and the weapon as the language they use to psychologically affront and hurt the feelings of one another. The abusive expressions throw quasi psychological bombs at the hearts of the opponents and intend to damage their emotions. Invectives tarnish and curb co-operation between people. It is the antagonistic nature of the verbal expressions and their effects that are considered as verbal taboos. Thus, invectives potentially serve to undermine peace in society (Agyekum 2004:347).

As has already been variously suggested, the core fibre of invectives is intended to insult, create ethnic disparity, incite, create divisive anchor, – and promote ethnocentric activity. This is because the kind of politics being practised in this era is characterised by “failure to adhere to the norms of society, a high degree of partisan fragmentation and the extent to which political antagonism is carried into individuals’ personal lives” (Frimpong (2017) as cited in Bentil & Aidoo, (2018:11)). As such, various political parties used invectives as a discursive choice they make and that the basic requirement they have to encounter in using the language in political platforms is to use them (the invective expressions) to cast slurs on their opponents or their own party members.

Unfortunately, invective expressions are found to be part of the structural development of most politicians’ diction in Ghana. Even those who happen to have been brought up from decent homes have eventually ended up being victims of these adherent practices the very day they enter into the school of partisan politics. This phenomenon has

become part of Ghana's archetypal and everyday social life situations in the political landscape even though the cultural norms consider it as atypically non-Ghanaian (Dalton 2013). Possibly, it appears that Ghana's political system is meant to breed not people of integrity, but rather individuals whose sense of appropriate communicative behaviour signals disrespect, offensive and abusive attitude, which further seek to defy the context of our socio-cultural beliefs and traditions. The development of this practice constitutes an aspect of impoliteness in the community. According to Bousfield (2008),

. . . impoliteness constitutes the issuing of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face threatening acts (FTAs) which are purposefully performed unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is required, and/or, with deliberate *aggression*, that is, with the face-threat exacerbated, 'boosted', or maximized in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted (Bousfield 2008:261).

In Ghana, a member of a political party earns praises and admirations from his/her party's supporters any time such a member engages himself/herself in the use of invective expressions against their opponents in discussions. Since some of these discussions have become fertile grounds for members of political parties to attack, provoke and dehumanise political opponents, there is always the general tendency for a negative reaction or response in the form of verbal attack or physical violence among party members (Marfo 2014:526). This is because the lives of the individuals who have been attacked are carefully reviewed so as to highlight the negative aspects and to distort as skillfully as possible the positive ones (Okpewho 1992:32). In this case, such invective expressions remind the individuals of some painful events or facts about themselves or their relatives living and/or dead that they may not want to recall them (those painful events or facts) because of their bad nature (Agyekum 2004:347). This form of 'linguistic warfare', which is seen as an affront to Ghanaian culture and social standard, carries emotional pains and psychologically hurts the feelings of the affected parties (ibid.) under the onslaught of political abuse. As a result, it has thrown a quasi-psychological bomb at the heart of many well-meaning Ghanaians and consequently affected their peaceful relationship with others as well (ibid.).

2. Theoretical framework

The present study employs the broader framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory, which was championed by Roger Fowler, Guther Kress, Norman Fairclough, Paul Chilton, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk and many others (see Agyekum (2004); Ofori (2015)). The central role of this theory is centred on human discourse from various perspectives (such as institutions, media and politics) as a social activity and examines how a language is used within a particular communicative context to reflect the generality of the speakers' intentions. By this development, the value of CDA theory is the examination of “the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation, through what medium; how different types of communication evolved, and their relationship to each other” (Cook 1992:1). In respect of this relation, the nature of the study limits itself so narrowly to Fairclough's (1995), which seeks to provide interconnectedness between language, social activity and political thought in all aspects of human lives (Ofori 2015:64).

Fairclough's theory has a three-dimensional approach to the analysis of any discourse, namely discourse-as-text (which covers the structure and the manner in which the structure of the discourse is combined and sequenced), discourse-as-discursive practice (which deals with how discourse is produced, distributed and used in a society) and discourse-as-social practice (which manifests in the form of the social and cultural goings on which the communicative event is part of) (Fairclough 1995:57; Ofori 2015:64–5). The nature of this three-dimensional approach only forms a canyon that enforces the kind of language used to create and produce social realities in order to observe possible situations in life. This study exploits all the three-dimensional approaches for its analysis since the study attempts to examine a specific socio-political activity in Ghanaian society and the wider context of institutional practice that invective expressions are embedded within (Fairclough 1995:62). Also, these three dimensions are going to provide a much more relevant development to the fact that deals with the overall linguistic analysis of textual organisation of “mediatized political-invectives” (Agyekum 2004:350) that expresses a general tendency and produces an ideological effect in the Ghanaian political environment. Since the researchers intend to examine invectives in political discourse through the media landscape, this theory is therefore seen as centrally relevant to underscore the way language is politically used to denigrate, humiliate and condemn the target individuals (*ibid.*:347–8), as well as to criticise, undermine and vilify some political actors with potentially dangerous consequences (Richardson 2007:53).

3. Methodology

The data used for the study were obtained from reports in newspapers (such as *The New Statesman*, *The Informer*, *Ghana Palaver*, *The Al-Hajj*, *Daily Searchlight*, *The Catalyst*, *Daily Post*, *The New Voice*, *The National Democrat* and *The Chronicle*) and other political commentaries from online portals (which include *ghanaweb.com*, *myjoyonline.com*, *peacefmonline.com*, *adomfmonline.com* and *myradiogoldlive.com*) and radio stations (*Adom FM* and *Asempa FM*) by members of various political parties. These outlets are privately owned enterprises with different ideological outputs (thus pro-party agenda). These ideological stands affect the type of mediatised political invectives (Agyekum 2004:357, 350) that they sell to the people. As such, most of the news items being carried out are moulded by the value systems that are ingrained in the media spectrum (Fowler 1996:14) as well as being able to carry out stories that are mediated by discourse practices of which political invectives remain their focus in order to draw attention to themselves in the public space (Agyekum 2004:352). Even though these media outlets pursue pro-party agenda to the core, they have interestingly remained fairly neutral in their reportage to the effect that they report on any news from each of the political divides without fear and favour (ibid.:357). As a result, they have been recognised by the larger Ghanaian society as official and authentic media institutions over the years, hence the choice for the selection in this respect.

In all, one hundred and fifty (150) pieces of news items were gathered which represented the use of the invective expressions in Ghana's political landscape. The data gathered spanned from 2011 to 2016 and were further analysed into their respective invective forms as categorised by Kodah (2012) which include descriptive, attributive and symbolic to reflect their core roles in the Ghanaian political discourse.

3.1 Data analysis and discussion

This section presents the practical development of the analysis and the discussion of the data collected with the various forms of invective expressions identified on the Table I below. However, the pictorial view of some key items of the data collected in respect of the current study is provided for in the appendix.

Table I: Forms of invectives

Invective type	Frequency	Percentage
Descriptive	91	60.7%
Attributive	53	35.3%
Symbolic	6	4.0%
Total	150	100%

From the Table I, it was realised that 91 (60.7%) of the invective expressions were found under the descriptive type. This form of invective is used to deal with the description of physical appearance of an addressee. Such description only seeks to vilify the physical ability of the addressee(s) in a disparaging manner. In most cases, descriptive invectives are expressed with words that are highly sensational. They further promote an emotional outburst that leads to belligerent confrontation. The use of the language in this regard provides some form of scornful descriptions which have emotional and harmful effect on the affected individual. Many politicians use the descriptive type of invective expressions as a form of vituperative discursal tool to render a certain sense of discomfiture within the space of the political environment. Some of these descriptive invectives end up creating a clear-cut enmity with its central aim of endangering and making a declarative attack on the personality of the most respected individuals in various political landscapes, thereby making those affected individuals debilitating in the eyes of many. In this respect, the study identified that Ghanaian politicians are much more enthused with the use of descriptive invectives since they use them (descriptive invectives) in an attempt to physically attack their political opponents or people they have disagreement with. Some key reported instances that were identified are given in (1)–(4) below.

1. NPP flagbearer is visionless . . . (myradiogoldlive.com; November 21, 2012)
2. Nana Addo is uncircumcised. (citifmonline.com; May 10, 2011)
3. Atta Mills is impotent. (Daily Guide; May 25, 2011)
4. Atta Mills is blind. (citifmonline.com; May 23, 2011)

The above statements are clear cases of descriptive invective expressions. In this attempt, the use of *visionless*, *blind*, *uncircumcised* and *impotent* is meant to cast a note of disrespect and functional disarmament on the addressees. The term *visionless* and *blind* are two synonymous words and are used with a common connotative reference to indicate that one has lost his or her sight of seeing things clearly. Giving such a heartrending description to

the ‘NPP flagbearer’ and ‘Atta Mills’ is meant to politically suggest that they (‘NPP flagbearer’ and ‘Atta Mills’) have lost their focus and have no sense of direction to lead and control the affairs of the country. These derogatory references have a debilitating effect on the status of the addressees (Kodah 2012:3) and also serve as an offensive tool to threaten the faces of the addressees against public sympathy (Agyekum 2004:371). In the case of *uncircumcised* and *impotent*, one sees them as a classical example of phenotype expressions that are uttered to attack the physical development of the affected persons (that is ‘Nana Addo’ and ‘Atta Mills’). Explaining further, circumcision is a near-universal custom in Ghana; so when a male child is born, the foreskin around the tip of his male organ has to be removed. This is often carried out by a specialised medical officer or a native doctor, commonly known as ‘wansam’ in the traditional setting. From a traditional perspective, when this exercise is done, the male-child is deemed ‘clean’ and he can then mingle with friends freely without any form of prohibition. So, with the expression, *Nana Addo is uncircumcised*, the pragmatic implication is that ‘Nana Addo’ as a person is ‘unclean’ or ‘impure’ and that he is not traditionally ‘fit’ to join the class of circumcised members or to engage in any social activity with those found in the circumcised group. This is because he is seen as someone who carries ‘unpleasant load’ which deforms his character and personality. Such an implicature makes ‘Nana Addo’ politically unworthy to lead and associate himself with some Ghanaians who have been ‘cleaned’ (circumcised) and to seek their mandate for his presidential bid. Also, in the Ghanaian society, a word like *impotent* is prohibitively noted as an unmentionable and a griot of unspeakable item (Kodah 2012:2) which cannot be talked about by members in their respective socio-cultural set up (Agyekum 2002:370). This is because it is traditionally surrounded with connotations and cognitive attitudes that make it impossible to be used in every speech situation (Farb 1973:91). However, when such expression is ‘foolishly’ uttered; it describes the powerless and unproductive nature of a man’s genital organ. Such a description shows that the addressee is not a ‘man’ and ‘sexually worthless’ to the core. In effect, for this cruelly descriptive item to be used on ‘Atta Mills’ clearly devalues his status as a man and further shows that he is physically weak.

Using all of these negative expressions in this political situation was meant to give a pictorial description about the exact character of the addressees. In effect, these invective expressions are structured with a direct presentation of socio-political strives and innuendoes (Kodah 2012:2) that stretches to describe the qualities and the behaviours of the addressers (Agyekum 2004:349). Under this situation, there is a clear-cut concept of

polarisation that is based on the ideological discourse strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Bell (1998:65) as cited in Agyekum (2004:365)) where the ‘Us’ group is found to have engaged in the antics of “self-justification to the chagrin” (Kodah 2012:4) of the ‘Them’ group to underscore a cheap political interest. Therefore, attempt by politicians to engage themselves in ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ phenomenon as a political culture is so disparaging and clearly shows that there is a total breakdown of the core moral values of the Ghanaian society. Interestingly, these scornful descriptions of individuals, all in the name of politics, are totally unacceptable and unnecessary. In a full aberrance to Ghanaian culture, the invective expressions used in this context were meant to promote a referential discomfiture and to further make the ‘NPP flagbearer’, ‘Nana Addo’ and ‘Atta Mills’ look politically ‘dirty’ in the minds of the general public. This is because a person’s life is sometimes pictured by what people can be associated with easier so as to draw a conclusion on the person’s character in and out of the political scene. Due to the nature of the present political situation in the country, some of these invectives have become a very common phenomenon among those who are expected to know better. As such, various politicians and party faithfuls see the use of descriptive invective expressions as a means to destroy the political fortunes of other members both within and outside their respective parties.

The other form of invective expressions that could be found on the table was attributive with its frequency rate of occurrence being 53 (35.3%). The attributive aspect of the invectives deals with all the circumstances of syntactic structures which serve as a modifying item. The attributive invectives are found to be in the form of a noun phrase construction, which could be viewed with a number of combinations just to formulate different vistas of stylistically incongruent units (see Huddleston 1988). These include ‘the noun head as the only obligatory element (\emptyset + NH)’, ‘pre-head item + the noun head (Pre-head + NH)’, ‘the noun head + the post-head dependent item (NH + Post-head)’, ‘pre-head item + the noun head + the post-head item (Pre-head + NH + Post-head)’. In practice, the data gathered gave enough recognition to the attributive invectives in the form of ‘Pre-head item + the noun head (Pre-head + NH)’ as the core remnant noun phrase construction to be realised in the rhetorics of many Ghanaian politicians. This noun phrase (Pre-head item + the noun head (Pre-head + NH)) is further developed into various forms of sub-structural patterns to include ‘Determiner + General adjective + Noun Head’, ‘Determiner + adjective + adjective + Noun Head’, ‘General adjective item + Noun Head’, ‘-ing participle + Noun Head’ and ‘Determiner + Noun Head’. All of these structures are grammatically

interspersed to form one co-operative figure in order to build one central idea. Some classical examples of this kind of invectives are identified in (5)–(17) in its various forms.

a. Determiner + General adjective + Noun Head

5. Asiedu Nketsiah is a loose talker. (Daily Guide; November 2, 2012)
6. Paul Collins Appiah-Ofori is a bed wetter. (peacefmonline.com; February 21, 2012)
7. Nana Akuffo-Addo is an untidy man . . . (Daily Guide; March 22, 2011)
8. Nana Addo is an ugly mammoth. (peacefmonline.com; September 14, 2011)
9. Nana Akuffo-Addo is a ‘wee’ smoker. (Daily Guide; February 27, 2011)
10. Nana Akuffo-Addo is a serial smoker. (Daily Guide; May 19, 2011)

b. Determiner + adjective + adjective + Noun head

11. Akuffo-Addo is a sexy old fool. (Daily Guide; March 23, 2011)
12. Elvis, a notorious loose talker . . . (Daily Guide; November 2, 2012)

c. General adjective + Noun Head

13. NDC is filthy corrupt. (The Chronicle; October 2, 2011)
14. (Watch) evil dwarfs in NDC . . . (The New Statesman; April 3, 2012)

d. –ing participle + Noun Head

15. Thieving Mahama caught. (Daily Searchlight; October 2, 2012)

e. Determiner + Noun Head

16. Wayo is a liar. (Daily Searchlight, October 2, 2012)
17. Nana Addo is . . . a fruitcake. (Daily Guide; March 22, 2011)

The use of these combinations as noun phrase constructions was meant to provide a certain form of concomitant relations to the behaviour of the persons for whom those invective expressions are being directed to. The whole pre-modifying elements and the noun heads form the base point for the construction of invective expressions in this context to remain stylistically resolute. As such, these invective expressions are used as a disparaging aspect of communication, so as to amplify the fervent desire to make these persons (*Asiedu Nketsiah, Paul Collins Appiah-Ofori, Akuffo-Addo, Elvis, Mahama, Wayo*) look so bad and politically unimportant since they are therefore not fit for purpose in the political terrain. According to Kodah (2012:3), attributive invectives provide a depreciative realism through a conscious combination of carefully chosen linguistic tools and syntactic constructions to evoke a perceptible imagery of a person in a derogatory form. This follows from the fact that the addressers' employment of the invective expressions is an obvious enactment of a polarised relationship between the 'Us' and the 'Them' group. In this process, the 'Us' group is found to be establishing a self-interested group opinion (van Dijk (1998) as cited in Ofori (2018:25)) that provides enough grounds to communicate a certain intention that allows the audience to focus their attention on the 'Them' group as a pack of politically hybrid non-entities who are useless, dirty and unreliable. This development also indicates that most of the attributive invectives are used to provide a direct personal attack and to further suggest a declaration of an open enmity between the members of 'Us' group and the 'Them' group (see Powell, (n.d.) as cited in Kodah (2012:3)). The development of these expressions is naturally unhealthy and culturally unacceptable in no uncertain terms as it brings the classical fountains of Ghanaian political activity into a serious derailment and disrepute. It certainly appears that the political climate in Ghana is so much diffused with unprintable words to such an extent that it does not give meaning to the sense of humanistic reasoning, the value of 'we-feeling' and reverence to themselves as actors in the political space. As such, our politicians seem to value invective expressions as the only logic resource for making their messages heard so as to give them recognition and popularity into the entire political landscape. The reason for this development is attributed to the fact that Ghanaian politics is characterised by low levels of trust and a high degree of partisan fragmentation. Indeed, the extent to which political antagonism is carried into individual's personal lives has become the order of the day (Frempong (2007) as cited in Bentil & Aidoo (2018:11)) and therefore makes the engagement of political activity too dangerous and also gradually becoming a zero-sum game for many well-meaning citizens to pursue in life (see Rozycka-Tran et al 2015).

The symbolic invective also came to the fore. Under this type, only 6 (4.0%) was used by the politicians in their respective discourse. The symbolic invective has a dehumanising texture which is used to carry diminutive and disparaging slur on an individual. In a broader scheme of argument, symbolic invective is a form of abusive language that is marked by metaphoric replacement of people with ill-nature animal or non-animal attributes. Such a development is “much more pugnacious, provoking and revolting because of the loaded nature of their inferences as metaphors” (Kodah 2012:7). The sort of invectives realised in this situation only allows human personality to be reduced into a pugilistic inmate and also to become an object of socially shameful abyss. The symbolic invective is also an interesting aspect in this study because the sort of technique it employs abusively associates the human personality to an animal. Thus, human beings and their attitudes have been equated to animals so as to provide a form of metaphorical reference of a sort to an affected individual. Some key examples are as in (18)–(22).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 18. Nana Addo looks like <u>a dog</u> . | (peacefmonline.com;
September 14, 2011) |
| 19. Nana Addo looks like <u>a frog</u> . | (peacefmonline.com;
September 14, 2011) |
| 20. President Mills looks like <u>a chimpanzee</u> . | (myjoyonline.com;
September 14, 2011) |
| 21. President Mills is <u>a sheep</u> . . . | (Daily Guide; May 19, 2011) |
| 22. Nana Akuffo-Addo . . . smokes like <u>a rat</u> . | (Daily Guide; May 19, 2011) |

Clearly, these animals (*cat*, *frog*, *chimpanzee* and *sheep*) belong to the class of phylum chordate (of the animal family), and they carry an unfair load of invectives in Ghanaian society. Their characteristics are often extended to describe the qualities and behaviours of human beings (Agyekum 2004:249). In this respect, people use the animals of this nature as an ideological reference point to denigrate other people and to make them look socially irrational. Describing and associating the relativity of ‘Nana Addo’ and ‘President Mills’s’ behaviour to these packs of hyenas (‘dog’, ‘frog’, ‘rat’, ‘chimpanzee’, and ‘sheep’) is meant to suggest that they are unattractive and have sobriquet attitude which make their personalities highly incompatible with human character. These animal-like descriptions paint a treading repugnance on the characters and the personalities of ‘Nana Addo’ and ‘President Mills’ respectively. According to Agyekum (2004:349), the use of animal names

as invectives in political discourse is normally meant to provide “some salient unpleasant characteristics from the folk concepts about the appearance and behaviour of an animal attributed to the target human”. This therefore stands to reason that the invective users associate the behaviour of the victims to that of animals and that those people are victimised to become so canal, even to the dictate of non-human idiosyncrasies and foibles. Over here, the reliability of these invective expressions contains the creation of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ ideology. With this, the ‘Us’ group focuses their arguments on the employment of animal categories to debase the ‘Them’ group (Agyekum 2004:360). This development is certainly meant to dehumanise the ‘Them’ group; and to further belittle them as socially defective and have no political dignity. In all, this abuse of the political characters like ‘Nana Addo’ and ‘President Mills’ is an indication of an ideological and pejorative nature of ‘Us’ group which has its animal-metaphorical inferences being loaded to provide a scandalous rendition of causing psychological discordance and torture into the lives of the ‘Them’ group, that is, ‘Nana Addo’ and ‘President Mills’. As a result, these unbecoming rhetorics are used to serve as political bile, cursive, tantrum and glibness of fanaticism to project a certain destructive agenda (Imoh 2014:2) in order to convey the imprint of a some political ideology and its value judgement on the lives of the affected persons (Richardson 2007:47). Essentially, the use of animal motifs in this relation has become so important to the core of the Ghana’s political rhetoric, and has therefore been identified as a socio-cultural reality in Ghanaian political set up where politicians and political activists see the animal motifs as the best way to undermine and destroy themselves and other political opponents.

4. Conclusion

So far, the study has carefully focused on the use of invective expressions in Ghanaian political discourse and its pragma-stylistic effect on the lives of the affected persons. In carry out this study, the pattern of arguments established has revealed that the pragma-stylistic basis for the use of these invective expressions was to serve as an antagonistic act for the ‘Us’ group to vituperatively attack, disrespect, cause emotional pains and to further make the ‘Them’ group look politically ‘dirty’, flustered and socially irrelevant. This development has become so in Ghanaian context because the system of political communication has been engulfed with a high sense of various conflictual tendencies where the ‘Us’ group sees the ‘Them’ group as an enemy in an uncompromising face-

threatening manner, thereby affecting their respective interpersonal relationship as members of a homogeneous society.

In fact, the growing need for invective expressions in Ghanaian political discourse is so alarming that they are gradually yielding a very negative impact in the country's democratic development and affecting the next generation of politicians who are expected to grow to become decent politicians. This situation is becoming quite disturbing in the sense that the practice of invective expressions has been the key item that is abundantly used by most politicians in Ghana. This is because they only use these expressions to serve as a strong social weapon to destroy others and to put those people (others) into the class of 'politically nothingness'. As a result, individual parties and their members who have resorted to the use of these demoralising and soul-wrecking expressions that are considered fundamentally 'unGhanaian' must not be allowed to continue along this path since the excessive use of these invective expressions could unfortunately spike the spew of controversies in the future and further mar the country's successful journey towards a democratic process.

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FM Stations

- Adom FM
- Asempa FM

Appendix

1. Nana Addo is uncircumcised. (*citifmonline.com*; May 10, 2011)
2. Atta Mills is impotent (*Daily Guide*; May 25, 2011)
3. Atta Mills is blind. (*citifmonline.com*; May 23, 2011)
4. Nana Akuffo-Addo is an untidy man . . . (*Daily Guide*; March 22, 2011)
5. Nana Addo is an ugly mammoth. (*peacefmonline.com*; September 14, 2011)
6. Nana Akuffo-Addo is a ‘wee’ smoker. (*Daily Guide*; February 27, 2011)
7. Nana Akuffo-Addo is a serial smoker. (*Daily Guide*; May 19, 2011)
8. Nana Addo looks like a dog. (*peacefmonline.com*; September 14, 2011)
9. Nana Addo looks like a frog. (*peacefmonline.com*; September 14, 2011)
10. President Mills looks like a chimpanzee. (*myjoyonline.com*; September 14, 2011)
11. President Mills is a sheep. . . (*Daily Guide*; May 19, 2011)
12. Nana Akuffo-Addo . . . smokes like a rat. (*Daily Guide*; May 19, 2011)
13. NDC is filthy corrupt. (*The Chronicle*; October 2, 2011)
14. Akuffo-Addo is a sexy old fool. (*Daily Guide*; March 23, 2011)
15. Nana Addo is . . . a fruitcake (mad man). (*Daily Guide*; March 22, 2011)
16. Mills is a ‘kwaseampanyin’. . . (*Daily Guide*; March 25, 2011)
17. Michael Teye Nyaunu is a ‘Dudui’ element (*citifmonline.com*; July 9, 2011)

18. Rawlings is behaving like an ‘uneducated illiterate’ *(Adom FM; April 5, 2011)*
19. Rawlings is the most agitative foot soldier . . . *(Asempa FM; September 14, 2011)*
20. Kobby Acheampong is a disgrace to governance *(citifmonline.com; May 21, 2011)*
21. Ursula Owusu is a ‘disgrace to womanhood’ *(Daily Guide, March 21, 2011)*
22. Nana Addo . . . is an ugly mammoth *(peacefmonline.com; September 14, 2011)*
23. Rawlings . . . is the ‘Suarez’ in the party. *(peacefmonline.com; April 19, 2011)*
24. President Mills is the lousiest president . . . *(myjoyonline.com; September 14, 2011)*
25. Loose-talking ‘Genocide’ MP on the loose again. *(The Catalyst, September 7, 2011)*
26. The rotten NPP judgement debt baggage. *(Ghana Palaver; July 20, 2012)*
27. Arrogant Kan-Dapaah running a ‘one man’ show. *(Ghana Palaver; July 20, 2012)*
28. Dishonest Bawumia has not been fair . . . *(myjoyonline.com; December 28, 2012)*
29. Mills is number one hypocrite. *(Daily Guide; May 28, 2012)*
30. Kuffour’s 30 constituencies senseless. *(Ghana Palaver, August 27–28, 2012)*
31. True NPP old evil Dwarfs at work. *(Ghana Palaver; July 20, 2012)*
32. There are old evil dwarfs in NDC. *(The Daily Searchlight; October 5, 2012)*
33. Elvis, a notorious loose talker . . . *(Daily Guide; November 2, 2012)*
34. (Watch) evil dwarfs in NDC . . . *(The New Statesman; April 3, 2012)*
35. Thieving Mahama caught. *(Daily Searchlight; October 2, 2012)*
36. Wayo is a liar. *(Daily Searchlight; October 2, 2012)*

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37. Greedy bastards and babies with sharp teeth. (*The New Statesman*; April 3, 2012)
38. Wayome is a crass criminal. (*Daily Guide*, June 5, 2012)
39. (General Secretary of NPP describing Mr. Yamoah Ponkoh (MCE) as) Blatant liar. The NPP is becoming a ‘comic relief’ to Ghanaians. (*Daily Guide*; November 12, 2012) (*myradiogoldlive.com*; December 19, 2012)
40. (Dr. Opuni) You’re an idiot. (*Daily Guide*, August 29, 2012)
41. NPP flagbearer is visionless . . . (*myradiogoldlive.com*; November 21, 2012)
42. Asiedu Nketsiah is a loose talker. (*Daily Guide*; November 2, 2012)
43. (To Asiedu Nketsiah) Mosquito is drunk. (*Daily Guide*; September 10, 2012)
44. A greedy, sycophantic bastard. (*Daily Searchlight*; October 2, 2012)
45. Lying minster exposed! (*Daily Searchlight*; October 2, 2012)
46. Paul Collins Appiah-Ofori is a bed wetter. (*peacefmonline.com*; February 21, 2012)
47. Acid tongues like Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa. (*Daily Guide*; August 28, 2012)
48. (Minister to a journalist) You are also sick. (*The Chronicle*; July 19, 2012)
49. Mills is Ghana’s number 1 Thief . . . He is jail-bound. (*The Daily Searchlight*; October 5, 2012)
50. ‘Barking dog’ Rawlings won’t campaign for you. (*The New Statesman*; April 3, 2012)
51. Ablokwa is stupid. (*The New Statesman*; April 3, 2012)
52. (To Mahama) ‘Tɛ Ni’ can’t govern us. (*The Al-Hajj*; August 16, 2012)
53. (To Pastor Otabil) You are evil. (*The New Statesman*; April 3, 2012)
54. Jake is ignorant about Mahama. (*The New Voice*; August 22, 2012)
55. Akuffo-Addo is wicked and not worth dying for. (*Ghana Palaver*; June 20, 2012)

56. Mpiani is suffering from amnesia. (*The National Democrat*, December 6, 2012)
57. Bawumia spills ignorance everywhere. (*Ghana Palaver*; June 20–21, 2012)
58. (Mr. Sorogho describing studio members) You're bush guys, stupid. (*Daily Guide*; September 13, 2012)
59. Nana Addo lacks character to lead a nation. (*The Al-Hajj*; February 23, 2012)
60. The NPP's hypocrisy knows no bounds. (*Ghana Palaver*; August 27–28, 2012)
61. NPP people are very stupid . . . (*peacefmonline.com*; April 13, 2013)
62. NPP people . . . are getting crazy and mad. (*peacefmonline.com*; April 13, 2013)
63. Rascal Akuffo-Addo . . . (*The Informer*, May 29–30, 2013)
64. NPP national executives are thieves. (*Daily Post*, December 3, 2013)
65. NPP is full of thieves. (*The Informer*, December 18, 2013)
66. Wereko-Brobby is a non-entity. (*myradiogoldlive.com*; May 31, 2013)
67. Any NPP member against Nana Addo as a flagbearer is stupid. (*peacefmonline.com*; December 11, 2013)
68. Afari Gyan is stupid and not indispensable. (*peacefmonline.com*; April 4, 2013)
69. Nana Addo has an Offensive Body Language. (*peacefmonline.com*; December 19, 2013)
70. Nana Nketsia is an indecent Vandal. (*ghanawebonline.com*; November 2, 2013)
71. NPP turned Ghana into cocaine country. (*radiogoldonlive.com*; June 7, 2013)
72. Your pay masters are crooks. (*Daily Post*, December 17, 2013)
73. David Annan is evil! (*ghanaweb.com*; November 2, 2013)

74. Mr. K. T. Hammond slammed Majority leader for passing Foolish, stupid and useless comments. (*peacefmonline.com*; April 4, 2013)
75. Addison's address is infantile, lacks intellectual depth. (*myradiogoldlive.com*; August 10, 2013)
76. K. T. Hammond is suffering from multiple personality disorder. (*myradiogoldlive.com*; November 30, 2013)
77. John Mahama is the worst Ghanaian President . . . his ideas are totally bankrupt and uninspiring. (*Daily Guide*; December 19, 2013)
78. President Mahama is an insensitive father of the nation. (*peacefmonline.com*; December 25, 2013)
79. Osafo Marfo is a disgrace to economics. (*The Al-Hajj*; July 17, 2013)
80. Corruption did not start with Mahama . . . Kuffour was an 'Autocratic Thief'. (*peacefmonline.com*; January 19, 2014)
81. President Mahama is a woman if he does not sack FDA Management. (*peacefmonline.com*; October 21, 2014)

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.9>

**SELF-PRAISE, OTHER-ASSAULT: REPRESENTATIONS IN SELECTED
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SONGS IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA**

Ayo Osisanwo

Abstract

Politicians in Nigeria and across the world use political campaign songs to create awareness about their personalities, intentions, and programme in order to convince the electorate to fully support their candidacy. Existing scholarly works on politics and political issues have examined aspects of political speeches, electoral discourses, media reportage of elections, electoral violence in Nigeria, among others. There is, however, a dearth of work on the use of campaign songs to Self-praise and Other-assault among political rivals. This study, therefore, examines political campaign songs in southwestern Nigeria with a view to identifying the representations in the campaign songs. For data, the YouTube Channel was visited in order to retrieve the transcript of political campaign jingles used during the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria. The selected period witnessed numerous assaulting campaign jingles in the political history of Nigeria. The data were subjected to discourse analysis, guided by the van Dijk's ideological square model of critical discourse analysis. The identified representations are both positive and negative – Self as messiah, anointed, superior, symbol of success; and Other as invalid, criminal-minded, poverty-destined, symbol of hunger, prodigal, and enemy. The representations confirm our argument that Nigerian politicians, and others like them, go to any extent to praise themselves and denigrate their political opponents to the electorate because they are mindful of doing whatever it takes to get to power at all costs. The identified structure of verbal assault in political campaign jingles creates awareness on the intention of politicians in denigrating their political rivals and applauding Self. Current kind of political campaign jingles contributes to electoral violence in Nigeria.

Keywords: political campaign songs, positive self-representation, negative other representation, assaulting jingles, discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Politicians often craft words in political jingles (a jingle, being a short song or tune used for advertisement purpose, contains one or more meanings used to hook the listener) to create awareness about their personalities and intentions. Such words are often deliberately chosen to hype their personality and defame their opponents. Hence, language choices and songs are important political tools during political campaigns. Language plays an important role in political campaign across the world. Political campaign – series of actions intended to achieve political result or political gains – is very common in the media all over the world, especially when a particular state or country, like Nigeria and other countries in Africa and the world at large, moves towards the electioneering period. The language choices used by politicians to represent self and other become more obvious during political campaigns to occupy offices as local government chairman/councillor, assembly representative of the statehouse, state governor, member of the national assembly, and president. Political candidates spice their political campaign with jingles and discourses to create awareness to the electorate. Different kinds of discourse can be said to involve such political campaign strategies, including parliamentary debates, broadcast interviews, campaign speeches, advertisements, campaign rallies, campaign jingles and manifestoes. Hence, central to the idea of politics within and outside Nigeria are issues that relate to power, persuasion and struggle for dominance. The discourses are relayed through different media. Before now, such strategies are mostly popularised via the traditional media such as radio, television and newspapers; but today, the arrival of modern technologies and the Internet has enlarged the scope to include different social media.

The argument in this paper subsists in the fact that for political jingles on different traditional and social media, politicians go to any extent to portray their opponent as bad and themselves as good to win the heart and vote of electorate. On the one hand, in promoting their good, they defend themselves and portray the image of spotlessness in their own character. On the other hand, in denigrating their opponent, they deploy diverse slanderous, libelous and verbal assaults in their political jingles. Such political jingles, fraught with Self-defence, Other-assault, often have proverbial elements, and are carefully crafted to project the evil in their political opponents and the good in themselves. The

concern in this study is to examine how political songs are used to achieve Self as Good and Other as Bad during political rallies. Such songs are often transmitted beyond the immediate spatial setting of the campaign to remote setting through the media, especially radio, television and the new media. The new media, therefore, give politicians and political contenders the opportunity to transmit their campaign messages beyond space and time.

The political landscape in Nigeria has enjoyed scholarly attention from practitioners in the social sciences and humanities-based disciplines including political scientists, linguists, sociologists, cultural anthropologists and psychologists. Evidently, linguists, discourse analysts, among others have also sufficiently examined the discourses on politics in Nigeria. Such discourse studies have examined, among others, electoral discourses in the media (Osisanwo 2011, 2012, 2013, Oyeleye and Osisanwo 2013a and 2013b), advertisement and campaign discourses among Nigerian political parties (Adegoju 2005; Opeibi 2009; Akinwale and Adegoju 2013; Ademilokun and Taiwo 2013), political interviews and debates (Odebunmi 2009), political speeches of past leaders (Awonuga 1988; Oha 1994; Ayeomoni 2007; Alo and Igwebuikwe 2009), neglecting the consideration of political jingles. Some more related works have examined the impact of music in politics. Obono (2017) examined the impact of music on political communication in post-independence Southwest Nigeria. Peterson (2018) conducted a rhetorical analysis of campaign songs in modern elections, exploring the evolving patterns and trends in campaign music, and observed that the studied political parties largely used congruity, which has increased over time in their campaign songs. Kachii (2018) examined politically motivated campaign songs and voting behaviour with a reflection on TV campaign songs in the 2015 Elections in Benue State, Nigeria. Akinola (2019) carried out a pragmatic analysis of musical rhetoric in the post-2015 elections in Nigeria, while Aririguzoh (2019) examined the impact of music and political messaging on Nigeria's 2015 presidential election; and Amoakohene, Tietaah, Normeshie and Sesenu (2019) investigated the impact of campaign songs and political advertising in Ghana. Osisanwo (2020) examines the use of political campaign songs and uncovers the vital relationship existing between the political campaign songs and the Nigerian socio-cultural spatial setting that produced them. The paper identified eight discursive strategies: allusion, propaganda, indigenous/native language usage and code alternation, reference to collective ownership, figurative/proverbial expressions, adaptation of common musical tune, and rhythmicity; and opines that politicians use different discursive and

rhetorical strategies in their political campaign songs to open the door to the heart of the electorate. However, despite the foci of the works, a dearth of work exists on political campaign songs, especially considering the use of assaulting songs among political rivals. This study, therefore, examines and analyses the use of verbal defence-assault in political songs among political opponents in southwestern Nigeria with a view to identifying the ‘Good-Bad’ representations in the songs.

2. Music, politics, and electioneering campaign

Music has been accorded a significant role in different contexts, including religious, cultural, social and political. Music, which is capable of bringing people from various backgrounds together and creating for them a collective experience (Ramet, 1994), can possess “a greater unifying power than other forms of campaigning because it has the ability to transcend language, cultural and socioeconomic barriers” (Peterson 2018: 4). Music significantly impacts humans at both the emotional and cognitive levels. Sellnow and Sellnow (2001: 398) argue that “music symbolises emotion through rhythmic patterns of intensity and release.” Music is emotive; it has emotional power. Music also impacts the cognition. At the cognitive level, music, as argued by Irvine and Kirkpatrick (1972: 272) plays “a key role in the development and maintenance of attitudes and values.” Irvine and Kirkpatrick further enumerate five assumptions on the rhetorical import of music, and these can be summarised. The artist manipulates sound, rhythm and lyrics to react to and modify dominant philosophical, political, religious and aesthetic values of both general and specific audiences. Musical form operates independently to generate rhetorical impact by getting the listener to modify his or her current judgments, such that the transformed message has a more diverse, intense appeal because the musical form “involves and stimulates the body.” Meanwhile, music and song are two interrelated terms. According to Gonzalaz & Makay (1983), a song is made up of both the lyrics and the music; yet, as it is the concern of this paper, the lyrics receive more critical attention.

Music has become an important campaign tool in politics. The first recorded deployment of campaign songs during electioneering campaign was in the USA in 1800. During the earliest use of campaign songs, partisan ditties were used in American political canvasses and more especially in presidential contests. Presidential campaigns have used theme songs to set the tone, underscore the candidate’s message and frame a candidate’s personality (Harpine, 2004). Recorded accounts show that campaign songs during the mid-1800s were politically specific and dealt with specific societal issues, including slavery,

war, freedom; hence, songs of the era either focused on the candidate or on brave men who were sacrificing their lives on the battlefield in the name of freedom (Schoening & Kasper, 2012). Meanwhile, “the 1920s would serve as the start for the fall of the popularity of the long tradition of campaign music” (Schoening & Kasper (2012: 97). Much of the literature suggested that beginning around the mid-20th century, songs in politics were not as much about the music or lyrics as they were the personas of the various campaign song artists (Cowie & Boehm, 2006; Donaldson, 2007; Schoening & Kasper, 2012). By the 1950s and 1960s, the norm for music came to be short, catchy jingles that repeated a candidate’s name approximately 30 times in 60 seconds (Peterson 2018). Rhetorical theories of music, as documented by Peterson (2018), have revealed that music can resonate with the listener both emotionally and conceptually; consequently, campaign songs should be given greater attention since the lyrics and music resonate with the electorate.

In recent times, political songs have become communicative devices engaged for stimulating warriors and for launching verbal assault in inter-personal conflicts, as evident in the political arena where political opponents see one another as conflicting to earn a position. Most often, songs of assault are accompanied by laughing and cheering; and this often infuriates the assaulted. Songs of assault, often embedded with metaphors or other linguistic devices, have been deployed by politicians and their apologists as politically effective weapons. Unfortunately, occasions subsist where lexically-dense, linguistically-provoking and repetitive verbal assaults with jeering and cheering have resulted in physical assaults accentuating combative conflict. Are such provocative words not avoidable in political campaign jingles?

3. Electoral contest and political parties in Nigeria

Nigeria has experienced three types of government from 1960 to 2015 (Osisanwo 2016b). From 1960 to 1966, it had a ceremonial government but from 1966-1979 and 1983-1999 Nigeria was ruled by military administrators. Meanwhile, the civilian government – a government voted to power by the electorate – was in control, first, from October 1, 1979 to December 31, 1983 (four years), and May 29, 1999 to date. There was also an interim government of three months in 1993 (August – November). Under the democratic government, especially since 1999, Nigeria became a federal republic with a democratically elected government comprising three separate arms: executive, legislative

and judiciary. Since the post-independence era, Nigeria has witnessed over twenty years of uninterrupted democratic dispensation.

During general elections in Nigeria, as it is now the structure, six different elections are conducted within two weeks. On the first day, three elections are conducted. Elected by Nigerian electorate for a four-year term are an individual who occupies the seat of the president, 109 senators elected across the 109 senatorial districts in the country and 360 House of Representative members. On the second day, usually a fortnight after the first set of elections, three other elections are held. Elected across the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory are state governors, members of the states' houses of assembly and local government chairmen/councilors.

Elections are conducted, using party system, and Nigeria operates a multi-party system, with two or three strong parties. At different times, different political parties have challenged one another to win a particular seat. The People's Democratic Party (PDP) won every presidential election between 1999 and 2011, and was in power from 1999 – 2015. The PDP's major challenger in 1999 was the All People's Party/ All Nigerian People's Party (APP/ANPP). It was a contest between Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (OBJ) of PDP and Chief Olu Falae (Falae) of APP. Both contestants were of southwestern extraction: PDP's OBJ was a military Head of states, while Falae was a secretary to the Federal Government. OBJ won the election with 62.8% votes. OBJ of PDP repeated the feat with 61.9% votes in 2003 after contesting with more politicians and political parties, including General Muhammadu Buhari of ANPP, Chief Chukwemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu of All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) and so forth. Upon the completion of OBJ's tenure, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (Yar'Adua) won the primary elections as PDP's flag-bearer for the 2007 elections. He won other contestants, including General Muhammadu Buhari of Congress for Progressives Change (CPC) with 54.5% of the total votes at the general presidential elections. Yar'Adua had not completed his tenure when his ill-health led to his demise. His vice, Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) took over from him. GEJ was chosen as the flag-bearer of the PDP in the 2011 election where he defeated the other major contestants like Buhari of CPC, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN).

Some of the stalwarts of the other parties who had been playing second fiddle to the PDP felt the need for collaboration in order to unseat the PDP. Hence, politicians from ACN, CPC, ANPP, a faction of APGA, and another faction of PDP, called new PDP – nPDP, came together for a merger. Finally, on 6 February 2013 in anticipation of the 2015 general elections, The All Progressives Congress (APC) emerged as a new party, and

General Muhammadu Buhari was chosen as the party's flag-bearer. Meanwhile, after the completion of his first term in office, GEJ was fielded to contest the 2015 election, which was keenly contested between him and General Muhammadu Buhari. Buhari defeated GEJ in the keenly contested election with 2.4 million votes. By 2018, Alhaji Abubakar Atiku (Atiku) had deflected from the APC to the PDP. He won the primaries of the PDP and was fielded to run against the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB). However, Atiku lost to PMB. Out of the 71 political parties that presented candidates, the other major contenders were Kingsley Moghalu of the Young Progressives Party (YPP), Omoyele Sowore of the African Action Congress (AAC), Fela Durotoye of the Alliance for a New Nigeria (ANN) and so forth.

Cross-carpeting comes with ease in the Nigerian political space. This has been criticised by many as an easy take due to lack of strong ideological orientation. The association and dissociation occasioned by political allies being in the same party today, and becoming political enemies tomorrow confirms the view that there is no permanent friend or enemy in politics. The ally today and opponent tomorrow, evident among Nigerian politicians, has gone a long way in influencing the tactical changes observed in political campaign rally songs witnessed today. Such songs have successfully moved from discussing the positives and promises about oneself to running one's political opponent down with incessant reckless abandon. At the inception of running others down, opponents had only attacked one another using indirectness. However, such verbal attacks have recently become quite direct. This study is therefore interested in examining some of the rhetoric such as altercations in order to identify the representations embedded in them.

4. Theoretical framework

The present study adopts the critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the political campaign strategies deployed in the political campaign songs and jingles by political parties and politicians. Given that there are many dimensions to CDA, the study adopts van Dijk's (2006) framework which comprises two main discursive strategies of 'positive self-presentation' (semantic macro-strategy of in-group favouritism) and 'negative other-presentation' (semantic macro-strategy of derogation of out-group). These become visible by means of some other discursive processes, otherwise termed categories of ideological discourse structure such as 'actor description', 'authority', 'burden' ('Topos'), 'categorisation', 'comparison', 'consensus', 'counterfactuals', 'disclaimer', 'euphemism',

'evidentiality', 'example'/'illustration', 'generalisation', 'hyperbole', 'implication', 'irony', 'lexicalisation', 'metaphor', 'self-glorification', 'norm expression', 'number game', 'polarisation', 'Us-Them', 'populism', 'presupposition', 'vagueness', 'victimisation. Although the intention in this paper is not to deploy all the ideological discourse structures, rather emphasis will be placed more on van Dijk's (2006) model of ideological discourse square. Van Dijk (2006) argues that ideological discourse often features the following overall strategies of what might be called the ideological square:

- emphasise our good things
- emphasise their bad things
- de-emphasise our bad things
- de-emphasise their good things

Hence, contestants associate Self – ingroup – with good things and dissociate Self from bad things. On the other hand, they identify the Other – outgroup – with bad things, while they dissociate Them from good things. Oyeleye and Osisanwo (2013a: 763) put this as “ingroups typically emphasise their own good deeds while they de-emphasise their bad deeds; on the other hand, outgroups de-emphasise or even totally deny their own bad deeds while they emphasise their good ones”. The interest in our paper is to examine how the ideological square has been deployed to make meaning in the lyrics of the campaign.

5. Methodology

Data for this study were drawn from political campaign rally songs. The YouTube Online Channel was accessed to retrieve the transcript of political jingles used in the southwestern region of Nigeria during the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria. The selected periods witnessed numerous assaulting jingles in the political history of Nigeria. Out of the over seventy campaign songs that were retrieved, only the twelve that are illustrative of the representations were purposively selected for analysis. The twelve selected songs cover the selected years. Since the songs are mainly retrieved from the southwestern part of Nigeria, they were rendered in the Yoruba language. After scripting the songs in Yoruba, Yoruba Language specialists were consulted to tone mark appropriately; and the songs were translated into English. The data, guided by van Dijk's ideological square model of CDA, were subjected to discourse analysis. The identified structure of verbal assault in political campaign jingles should make politicians become mindful of their craftiness

towards their rivals, assist the decision of electorate, add to existing literature on political discourses, and provide new insight to discourse analysts. This study will also make recommendation on how political jingles can forestall electoral violence in Nigeria.

6. Analysis and discussion

The data revealed that there are two broad ideological representations deployed in the campaign jingles: positive self-representation and negative other-representation. While the positive self-representation has four other sub-representations: Self as messiah, Self as chosen/anointed, Self as superior to Other and Self as symbol of success; the negative other-representation has six other sub-representations: Other as invalid, Other as criminal-minded, Other (and supporters) as poverty-destined, Other as symbol of hunger, Other as prodigal and Other as enemy.

6.1 Positive self-representation

In positive self-representation, a speaker tends to project the good in self, using two of the ideological square proposed by van Dijk, that is emphasise our good things and de-emphasise our bad things. A representation where a speaker, political orator or musician conveniently emphasises what is good in anyone associated with Self is perceived as positive representation. Politicians deploy this as a marketing strategy for the electorate to see what is good in them, while they background what is bad in Self. All their descriptions here show positivity about Self. We now engage the positive sub-representations.

Self/Party as Messiah: The most popular sense of the word “messiah” is its association with Christianity. The word is used to refer to Jesus Christ, who was sent to the world to save people from evil and sin. Meanwhile, that description has a correlation with the semantic extension given to the word, which means a leader who people believe will solve the problem of a group, people, country or the world. Such a leader or an individual so represented is a savior, defender, or a champion whose presence is accompanied with liberation for his people. Such a person can be seen or believed to possess the power to save his people from a devourer or an imminent disaster. The individual is also believed to be success-personified. In the discourse of the political campaign songs, representation of Self as messiah is motivated for meaning. Campaign rallies are fraught with such positive and infallible representations to persuade and

convince the electorate to support the emerging “defender of the masses and the defenseless.” Consider texts 1 and 2 below:

Text 1	Bye bye to játijàti Bí Bùhàrí bá'gorì àléfà Bye bye to játijàti	Farewell to recklessness/ineptitude when Bùhàrí takes over the governance.
Text 2	Ha! ègbé mi, È w'àsía bi tìn féléḽe Ogun Jésu, fèrè dé ná Àwa yòò sègun	Ho, my comrades, see the signal, waving in the sky! Jesus signals still, victory is near.

Texts 1 and 2 are some of the songs sung at different rallies in the 2015 election campaigns. As at this time, the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) had spent 16 years in power. The All Progressives Congress (APC) was putting its entire arsenal to task to ensure a people-receptive representation. The party identified the gap in the PDP government, which resonates with the masses. Since Nigerians had criticised the PDP government under the leadership of Dr Goodluck Jonathan of recklessness and ineptitude to the detriment of the masses, the singer used the song to present APC and President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) as the chosen messiah who can terminate the suffering meted out to the people. APC/PMB is represented as a savior, defender, liberator, and champion. The name “Jesus” was also used thus: *Ogun Jésu, fèrè dé ná* (Jesus’ angels are almost here). This sort of representation is used to correlate Self with the character of Jesus, who is believed to be an embodiment of success. The rendition also associates the defender – PMB – with promised absolute success at the poll thus: *Àwa yòò sègun* (victory is near). The direct translation of *Àwa yòò sègun* is “We will win.” Hence, the ‘will’ is a promissory note to the electorate not to waste their vote elsewhere, but cast it in favour of the APC and PMB. This representation is specifically meant to draw the masses to the party and the APC and its flag-bearer to depict the sense of cleansing and freedom from all sorts of problems and sufferings that Nigerians have been undergoing under the government of the PDP. The marketization of Self – APC/Buhari to the electorate speaks to their cognition to behold the leader whose emergence as the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is certain to terminate all troubles and sorrows.

Self/Party as anointed/chosen: This is another representation that emphasises not only the good in Self but that Self is anointed and chosen. Although the word “anoint” has

to do with a religious ceremony or ritual where oil or water is put on somebody's head for separation from others, protection from others or evil, or for higher responsibility, its use in this context is more related to being separated for leadership responsibility. This represents the infallibility of a contesting politician or political party. The sense of the contextual positioning of the term "anointed" or "chosen" hypes the potentials of a politician or party, and cognitively tasks the masses and electorate that the political party or aspirant being campaigned for, who is purportedly without blemish, has been separated and divinely chosen to lead the people. Another sense of the use of "chosen" in political parlance also relates to political blessing from party stalwarts and or godfathers. Such also demand trust from the electorate that a particular candidate has received the blessing of the political elders at the top echelon of the party, society or country. The confirmation of such blessings are sometimes extended to the doorsteps of royal fathers, former leaders, spiritual leaders, and so forth, just for the electorate to assure that the candidate or party is a good choice. This also plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 3.

Text 3	<p><i>A egbé mi ewàsiá PDP tó ñ féléle, Àlào Akálà ẹni Olórunyànkóselékeji, Egbé olòm̀bùrèl̀à egbe PDP, Egbé oníre tíde kírè wóléwà, Solo-Ẹ fibò gbedébè kó wólé, Chorus-Àlào Akálà ẹnì Olórun yàn o, Solo-Ẹni Olórun yàn làwa ñfẹ, Chorus-Àlào Akálà ẹnì Olórun yàn o, Solo-PDP, Chorus- power to the people.</i></p>	<p>Oh my comrades see the signal of PDP waving in sky, Alao Akala is the God's choice to run a second term PDP, the umbrella party! The blessed party has come, may blessing be ours Vote him to office Alao Akala is a God-chosen We desire a God-chosen Alao Akala is a God-chosen It's umbrella party, it's PDP.</p>
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In text 3, the political party and politician self-praising are PDP and Otunba Alao Akala (a former governor of Oyo State) respectively. The song begins by calling on the electorate to behold the signal of the party; and continues by hyping the potentials of the party, portraying it as a godly party. The following expressions are motivated: "The blessed party has come, may blessing be ours," "Alao Akala is a God-chosen," "We desire a God-chosen." The expressions which positively present Self are motivated to melt the heart of

the electorate and warm up to the candidacy of PDP and Otunba Alao Akala (Akala). To convince the people that God has a hand in the choice of an individual is a spiritual strategy to implicate incorruptibility and immaculateness in Self. The texts of the song intertextually relate the political space and persona to religion. The rhetoric of God-chosen underscores an anointed candidate whom if voted to power will use his position like a God-fearing person to bless the people. The use of the collective-we in “We desire a God-chosen” invites other undecided electorate to join the train and elect the God-chosen.

Self/Party as Superior to Other: “Superiority” is a prominent term in advertising, which is always used to imply that a product is better in quality than others. This positive representation is equally meant to accentuate worthy or associate good quality to Self. A fair question to ask is to know whose decision it was or how it was measured before it was arrived at that one is superior to the other. This also positively represents the supremacy of Self over Other. The logic in the representation of Self as superior to Other magnifies the capabilities of a politician or party, and cognitively demands endorsement from the electorate that the political party or aspirant being campaigned for, is a better candidate or party with possible more sagacious appraisal and understanding of governance than the Other. This also plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 4.

Text 4	A ñ sòrò àwọn tó gbayì Agbájé náà y’òjú PDP naay’òju Làì mò pé Sanwó-Olú lògá Làì mò pé APC lògá	We are speaking of celebrated/dependable people, Agbájé/PDP is trying to show his face, not knowing that Sanwó- Olú/APC is superior.
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The background to the political jingle in text 4 is the 2019 gubernatorial election campaign in Lagos. Although three out of the five lines in text 4 convey negative portrayal of Other, our interest is in the last two lines which project positive portrayal of Self. The expression, *Làì mò pé Sanwó-Olú lògá, làì mò pé APC lògá* (not knowing that Sanwó-Olú/APC is superior), evinces the superiority of Self (APC/Sanwo-Olu) over Other (PDP/Agbaje). Both parties and their flag-bearers contested the 2019 governorship elections in Lagos. However, the APC’s rendition projects to the electorate that in matters of governance which would include infrastructural development, economic buoyancy, political stability, good and acceptable policies and so forth, both APC and Sanwo-Olu are better party/candidate who the people can trust since they are superior to their opponent.

Self/Party as Symbol of Success: “Success” is a term everyone wants to identify with. It is a term often associated with an achiever. This obvious positive representation is equally meant to accentuate achievement to Self. This depicts another quality that positively positions Self over Other since the electorate prefer to be associated with success rather than failure. Hence, the logic subsists in the contextual representation of Self as a better achiever than Other to demand endorsement from the electorate and associate themselves with success by voting for success. This also plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 5.

Text 5	Fásọlá gan-gan l’àseyọrí Fásọlá gan-gan l’àseyọrí Fásọlá ti sà’seyọrí E wo ilú Èkó, ilú Èkó	Fásọlá is a symbol of success. Fásọlá has succeeded in turning Lagos around.
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The scenario in text 5 played out during the 2015 and 2019 presidential and gubernatorial election campaigns in Lagos. The connotation in the expression, *Fásọlá gan-gan l’àseyọrí* (Fásọlá is a symbol of success) is that Fasola is not just a replica or symbol of but success itself. Babatunde Raji Fasola (SAN) was the governor of Lagos State from 2007 – 2015. The accolades being showered on him by the musician is politically motivated. Since Babatunde Raji Fasola (BRF) was at the campaign rally, the onus lies in the electorate who are present at the rally or watching far away to embrace the candidate and party being supported by the success-personified BRF. The lyrics therefore implicates BRF as the *àseyọrí* who is nominating and supporting his APC proto-type: Muhammadu Buhari and Babajide Sanwo-Olu.

6.2 Negative other-representation

In negative Other-representation, a speaker tends to project the Bad in Other, using two of the ideological square proposed by van Dijk, that is emphasise their bad things and de-emphasise their good things. A representation where a speaker, political orator or musician conveniently emphasises what is bad in anyone associated with Other is perceived as negative representation. Politicians deploy this as a strategy to de-market and or possibly cast aspersion on Other for the electorate to perceive Other as bad or evil, while they background what is good in them. As pointed out in our review session, political campaign

songs have recently become communicative devices engaged for stimulating war and for launching verbal assault in inter-personal conflicts, as evident in political arena where political opponents see one another as conflicting to earn a position. This view is evidently apt based on our data. All the descriptions here show negativity about Other. We now engage the negative sub-representations.

Other/Opponent as Invalid: This representation de-emphasises Good and accentuates Bad in Other. An invalid is a sick, unwell or medically unfit person. The denigration of Other as invalid implicates Other as unfit, mentally imbalanced to rule a fit and mentally balanced people. Campaign rally songs are fraught with such negatives and scornful representations to dissuade the electorate from supporting Other, to throw their weight behind Self, believed to be valid, normal and absolutely well to paddle the canoe of governance to the seashore. No doubt, as pointed out by Peterson (2018), rhetorical theories of music have revealed that music can resonate with the listener both emotionally and conceptually, hence the denigration of Other as invalid is an emotional invitation to the electorate to invalidate the Other’s capability and consequently withdraw support from them. This description plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 6.

Text 6	<p>Ó fẹ̀ ìtójú nla Ó fẹ̀ àmójútó Èni tó n ẹ̀ se power tẹ̀lẹ̀ Tó tún wá d’agbálẹ̀ ojà Ó fẹ̀ àmójútó</p>	<p>A person who once belonged to the POWER camp but has now metamorphosed to be a sweeper at the market square needs serious (medical/spiritual) attention</p>
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The concept of àmójútó (medical or spiritual attention) as depicted in text 6 is a bit deeper than someone who is just an invalid, but more with someone with psychosis, or who is beginning to exhibit or display traces of lunacy. No doubt this description is a fall-out of cross-carpeting (as discussed earlier). In fact there are politicians in Nigeria who have cross-carpeted for countless periods. In this particular context, it was an attack from PDP to APC. The logo of PDP is the umbrella; and for them, with the umbrella, all Nigerians can be shielded from all manners of danger, lack and insolvency. On the other hand, the logo of APC is the broom. A broom is used for sweeping floors; and to the APC, the essence of the broom is to sweep away all corrupt practices and other untoward dogmas already enmeshed in the Nigerian society by the PDP. In addition, the slogan of PDP is “power to the people”, while that of APC is “change.” APC sang the need for change in

government in order to rescue power from PDP, and this, they did in 2015. When they contested again in 2019, the change mantra had to be changed to “next level” in order not to contradict and force themselves out of office with the supposed “change.” However, some members of the PDP had reasons to cross-carpet from PDP to APC. In order to show their displeasure, PDP deploys the use of attack songs to negotiate between dropping the umbrella for the broom.

The expression, *Eni tó n se power tẹlẹ tó tún wá d’agbálẹ ojà, ó fẹ àmójútó* (a person who once belonged to the POWER camp but has now metamorphosed to become a sweeper at the market square needs serious medical/spiritual attention) has a socio-cultural undertone. Culturally, when an individual is addressed as a sweeper at the market square, this is a pointer to the fact that the person is not mentally alright. PDP therefore defames and maligns the character of such politicians and supporters or voters involved in cross-carpeting from PDP to APC by equating them to people who are mentally imbalanced.

Other/Opponent as Criminal-Minded: This emphasises Bad in Other. A criminal is someone who has once been convicted of a crime or criminal offence. The condemnation of Other as criminal incriminates Other as lawless, immoral or evil. Hence, it is illegal to allow a criminal and lawless person to lead the people. The representation of Other as criminal is another musical attack rhetoric which dissuades the electorate from supporting Other, while they throw their support behind the opponent believed to be non-criminal. This vilification of Other is an emotional invitation to the electorate to nullify the Other’s suitability. This description plays out in our data as depicted in text 7.

Text 7	<i>Gbọ ohùn àwọn Akálà tó n kọrin</i> <i>Gbọ ohùn àwọn Akálà tó n kọrin</i> <i>Wọn n kọrin ìbọntìbọn</i> <i>Wọn n kọrin tọbẹtọbẹ</i> <i>Gbọ ohùn àwọn Akálà tó n kọrin</i>	Hear the sound of Akálà’s team singing and campaigning with guns and cutlass.
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It is a criminal offence to unlawfully go about with cutlasses (*tọbẹtọbẹ*) and guns (*ìbọntìbọn*) in a sane society. According to Section 3 (1) of *Robbery and Firearms Act* (2004):

Any person having a firearm in his possession or under his control in contravention of the Firearms Act or any order made thereunder shall be guilty of an offence under this Act and shall upon conviction under this Act

be sentenced to a fine of twenty thousand naira or to imprisonment for a period of not less than ten years or to both.

Section 3 (1) of *Robbery and Firearms Act* (2004) criminalises unlawful possession of firearms like gun. When individuals possess, display and brandish guns and cutlasses, they can be associated with hooligans and criminals. Text 7 was used by the APC to denigrate and cast aspersion on the PDP governorship aspirant, Chief Alao Akala. The vilification was to discredit him and implicate him as a misnomer and misfit for the government house. The musical attack rhetoric here is another negative representation which does not only castigate and relegate the Other (Akala) as morally unfit; it emotionally invites the electorate to have a change of heart about supporting the Other.

Other/Opponent as Symbol of Hunger: The projection of Other as a symbol of hunger also accentuates Bad in Other. Hunger has to do with lack of food to eat for sustenance. Undoubtedly, hunger can generate anger which has the tendency to destabilise a nation. Depicting Other as hunger-personified is another musical attack rhetoric which seeks to dissuade the electorate from supporting Other. This description is evident in text 8.

Text 8	Mérin mérin àròpò Ebi ni o (3ce)	Four plus four is equal to hunger.
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Text 8 is a verbal attack from PDP to APC. As earlier stated, APC rescued power from PDP in 2015. By 2019 when APC decided to flag President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) for another four years with the claim of consolidating the programmes and policies it had started, they came up with the slang 2015-2019 is four years, another 2019-2023 is four years (4+4) to make the maximum possible eight years of governance under the leadership of PMB. To sustain their attack of the incumbent president and his party, PDP claimed that PMB's government had not been good to Nigerians. Hence, should they be given another four years, there will be hunger or drought in the land. Therefore, the expression *Mérin mérin àròpò ebi ni o* (four plus four is equal to hunger) is a deliberate negative attack on the competence of APC and PMB. Nigerians are, therefore, cautioned about entrusting their lives and finances to them for another term.

Other/ Opponent-supporters as Failure-Destined: This negative representation is not just about emphasising Bad in Other, rather it is about a subtle curse on whoever votes the opponent. The condemnation of Other and its supporters as destined for failure not just

at the polls but also in other endeavours is a height of anger and political desperation for power. This profane altercation was first used by APC to PDP in the 2015 election campaign, as discussed in texts 9 and 10.

Text 9	Ẹní bá dì'bò PDP, òfò n'óse	Whoever votes PDP is doomed for failure (in all endeavours of life).
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Text 9 says *Ẹní bá dì'bò PDP, òfò n'óse* (Whoever votes PDP is doomed for nullity in all endeavours of life). The word *òfò* can be translated to mean *null*, *void*, *zero*, or *loss*. To be *doomed to fail* therefore means that the failure that will befall such a person is unavoidable; the individual is destined to fail and or possibly become worthless person in the future. This absolute negative vibe and display of swearword or expletive with reckless abandon in a public place is a show of shame and desperation for power which accompanied political campaign songs, especially in Nigeria.

Text 10	Ẹníbáwaditè, kònír'ówójeun Ẹníbáwaditè, kònír'ówójeun Ìrókò tó gbàbòdè gígé la ó ge	All our antagonists/conspirators/saboteurs are doomed to fail or suffer poverty.
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Similarly, text 10 says *Ẹníbáwaditè, kònír'ówójeun Ẹníbáwaditè, kònír'ówójeun* (All our saboteurs/conspirators are doomed to fail or suffer hunger), which is also another use of expletive and invective to place a curse on the opponents and their supporters. The expression *kònír'ówójeun* means to become impoverished or poverty-stricken and not be able to fend for oneself. For the electorate who are overtly conscious and scared about the power of words, this negative representation and outright spat of financial insolvency will yield a favourable reaction. .

Other/Opponent as Prodigal: A prodigal is a profligate, wasteful, extravagant person who cannot be entrusted with a public treasury. The denigration of Other as prodigal implicates Other as a spendthrift, in whose custody Nigerians must not be misled to put their investments. This is also meant to deter the electorate from supporting Other before or at the polls. The denigration of Other as profligate is an emotional invitation to

the electorate to annul the Other’s competence and subsequently withdraw support from them. This description plays out in the context of our data as depicted in texts 11 and 12.

Text 11	Pátápátá kówá máa lọ Akótilétà	The prodigal politician has to be ejected from office.
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Text 11 has the expression *Pátápátá kówá máa lọ Akótilétà* (The prodigal politician has to be ejected from office). This representation was made by APC to PDP during the 2011 campaign rally in Oyo state. Specifically, it was directed at Akala who was popularly described as a “waster.” The representation is meant to call the attention of the electorate to the danger of waste. A prodigal spends and consumes all funds and resources without thinking about the future. Hence, this is another emotional appeal to the electorate to join hands with Self to build a virile and sustainable economy. The solution, therefore, is to use their voting power to stop and eject the represented *Akótilétà* from the government house.

Other/Opponent as Enemy: This is another negative representation where Self sees Other as enemy. An enemy is a person who hates or acts against somebody. The representation of Other as enemy implicates Other as a political antagonist who will stop at nothing but ensure the downfall of Self. Hence, the designation of Other as a foe incriminates Other as somebody not trustable by Self and the supporters of Self and spits the need for a counter move to conquer Other.

Text 12	Mo le moba Mo tún gbà á padà Mo le moba Mo tún gbà á padà Mo le moba Mo tún gbà á padà Ire gbogbo t’ótà á gbà lówó mi	I ran after and retrieved my stolen mandate from the enemy.
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Text 12 with the expression, *Mo le moba, mo tún gbà á padà, ire gbogbo t’ótà á gbà lówó mi* (I ran after and retrieved my stolen mandate from the enemy) was used by Akala during the 2015 and 2019 campaign rallies. He was in office as the governor of Oyo State from 2007 to 2011. However, Senator Abiola Ajimobi (Ajimobi) defeated him and emerged the governor in 2011. To gain the trust and confidence of the masses and electorate, Akala’s

team went positive, believing he had already won the election even before the conduct at the polls, underscoring the belief that he would automatically retrieve the mandate. The use of *gbà lówó mi* (snatched my mandate) in Akala's rhetoric also incriminates Ajimobi as a rigger who rigged the 2011 election to have defeated Akala. The denigration of Ajimobi as *ótà* (enemy) conceptually invites the electorate and those not particularly impressed by the four-year tenure of Ajimobi to engage in Other-dereliction and Self-embrace so that Self can once again be in power as an actual proof of the stolen mandate.

7. Conclusion

This paper examines the use of campaign songs to Self-praise and Other-assault among political rivals in southwestern Nigeria with a view to identifying the representations in the campaign songs. The YouTube Online Channel was visited to retrieve data that dwelled on political jingles used in the southwestern part of Nigeria during the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria, while the discourse analysis was guided by the Van Dijk's discourse ideological square model of critical discourse analysis. The analysed data revealed that two broad ideological representations were deployed in the campaign jingles: positive self-representation and negative other-representation. While the positive self-representation has four other sub-representations: Self as messiah, Self as chosen/anointed, Self as superior to Other and Self as symbol of success; the negative other-representation has six other sub-representations: Other as invalid, Other as criminal-minded, Other as poverty-destined, Other as symbol of hunger, Other as prodigal and Other as enemy.

The representations (positive and negative) confirm our argument that Nigerian politicians go to any extent to paint evil of their political opponents to the electorate because they are mindful of doing whatever it takes to get to power at all costs. While the choices for the Self-representation are expected, especially when they are not particularly hyped, the Other-representations are rather too damning, condemning, denigrating, slanderous and libelous, especially with unverified and unconfirmed allegations. The political goal of such rhetoric or language choices hidden in musical rendition is based on the knowledge of the emotive and cognitive impacts of music. Such confrontational vituperations are hardly found in campaign speeches. In essence, musical rendition packed with such Other negative-representations have created a hiding place for the political contestants to negatively attack one another almost with reckless abandon. And as equally confirmed by Irvine and Kirkpatrick (1972) and Peterson (2018), conscious of the impact of rendered

musical rhetoric to the listener's cognition, politicians deploy musical rhetoric as avenue for attitude change or development and value destruction or preservation. Politicians also use it to generate rhetorical impact in order to get the listener to modify their current judgments or surreptitiously force them to modify dominant philosophical, political, religious and aesthetic values on the individuality or ideological position of Self or Other.

The identified representations of verbal assault in political campaign jingles create awareness on the intention of politicians in denigrating their political rivals and applauding Self. It is recommended that there is need for a rethink, especially on assaulting political campaign musical rhetoric that are fraught with lexically-dense, linguistically-provoking and repetitive verbal assaults. Such renditions have recently resulted in political scuffles, and others have promoted fracas, accentuating physical assaults and clashes. It is posited that the sort of current political campaign jingles today contribute to electoral violence in Nigeria and the world over. Political candidates should strive to give more information about Self, reeling out the workable plans and policies, while they minimise engagements with Other, especially such engagements that are rife to spark violence.

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DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES AND RESISTANCE IDEOLOGIES IN VICTIMS' NARRATIVES IN STELLA DIMOKO KORKUS' *DOMESTIC VIOLENCE DIARY 1-4*: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Adetutu Aragbuwa

Abstract

This paper explores victims' narratives in Stella Dimoko Korkus' *Domestic Violence Diary 1-4* by means of critical discourse analysis. The study specifically explores the discursive strategies deployed in the victims' narratives and analyses their ideological functions as resistant discourse against domestic violence (henceforth, DV). The data comprise fifteen (15) purposively selected narratives relayed by victims of DV in Stella Dimoko Korkus' weblog. The weblog was purposively selected because of its thematic global collection of narratives from victims of DV. The work employs van Dijk's ideological square approach to critical discourse analysis as theoretical framework. Findings from the analysis reveal that the victims, by means of diverse discursive strategies, advertently create polarisation structures and cognitions that represent themselves (the victims) as the dominated group, and their abusers as the dominant group. The study, therefore, foregrounds the role of Stella Dimoko Korkus' Domestic Violence Diary weblog in the instantiation of victims' resistance against DV. The significance of Stella Dimoko Korkus' Domestic Violence Diary as discourse of resistance against DV and of solidarity with women-victims of DV is thus illustrated.

Keywords: Domestic Violence, Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology, weblog, Stella Dimoko Korkus's *Domestic Violence Diary 1-4*, and victims' narratives

1. Introduction

Domestic Violence (henceforth, DV) is a global phenomenon which encapsulates the deliberate and cyclical abuse of one partner by another in intimate relationships such as dating, marriage, cohabitation or within the family (UNFPA, 2005; Aihie, 2009; Adebayo, 2014). According to Ganley (1999: 16), it is “a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviours, including physical, sexual, and psychological attacks, as well as economic coercion, that adults or adolescents use against their intimate partners.” Significantly, men, women, boys, and girls could be victims of these behaviours (United Nations, 1993). Victims of DV are often subjected to traumatic experiences such as battery, rape, emotional torture, economic abuse, linguistic violence, acid baths, threats, amongst others, which could be fatal or nonfatal. Hence, such victims can be classified as a group being discriminated against on the basis of their gender or sexuality. Inasmuch as the critical discourse analytical approach critiques all forms of discrimination, it thus serves as a suitable framework to exploring the discourses of victims of DV in this treatise.

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA), also known as Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), is a multidisciplinary and multidirectional approach to the study of the discursive subtleties that pervade the enactment, reproduction, legitimation as well as resistance of power abuse, discrimination and inequality through text and talk in diverse social and/or political contexts (van Dijk, 2001, 2015; Wodak, 2009). It is an offshoot of critical linguistics and semiotic theories, and it is keenly interested in the relations of discourse, dominance, power, and social disparities (Benke, 2000; Anthonissen, 2001; Wodak, 2001).

This approach focuses not just on the formal description of discourse structures but seeks to expose “social-power abuse and inequality” with the primary goal of challenging such (van Dijk, 2015: 466). The exposure often uncovers what appears implicit in “relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies” (van Dijk, 1995: 18). The criticalness of CDA is geared towards ensuring researcher’s objectiveness to the data, maintaining explicit political stance in the analysis of the data, and embedding the data in the appropriate socio-cognitive local and global contexts to enhance results application (van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001). CDA is thus critical due to its “problem-oriented objectives” (van Dijk, 2001: 96), and “social responsibilities” (98); hence, its viability as the theoretical base of this study.

Scholarship on critical discourse studies on gender, politics, racism, social welfare, media, etc. abound in diverse fields of research (e.g., Fairclough, 2000; Wodak & Meyer,

2001; Chilton, 2004). However, critical discourse studies on resistant discourses of oppressed groups remain largely under-researched. This dearth in CDA research is also noted by van Dijk (2015: 479) when making reference to Huspek (2009) that “discourses of resistance and dissent” by victims of domination and power abuse have been sparsely researched. The present study thus seeks to fill this gap. Although CDA is much more interested in political discourse (Chilton, 2004; van Dijk, 2015), it is not restricted to it. Therefore, this work examines the discursive strategies in the victims' narratives in Stella Dimoko Korkus' *Domestic Violence Diary 1-4* and also explores their ideological functions as women-victims' discursive resistance against overt and covert toxic masculine habits and practices being carried out daily at the domestic domain (which have resulted in Domestic Violence).

This study is motivated by the need to examine the instantiation of resistant ideologies in the victims' narratives in Stella Dimoko Korkus' DV Diary blog. The examination of resistant ideologies in the diary becomes germane because they are rooted in the personal life-experiences of women-victims of DV, a specific oppressed group in the society. Thus, the role of weblog genre in the instantiation of victims' resistance against power abuse in intimate relationships is the focus of this study. The significance of Stella Dimoko Korkus' *Domestic Violence Diary* weblog as a discourse of resistance against DV and of solidarity with women-victims of DV is therefore underscored.

2. Weblog, an Emergent Genre

Weblogs, otherwise known as “blogs” are emergent and interactive computer-mediated genre that provide avenues for online expressions of personal reflections, talents and creativities, in simple and accessible text-based format (Blood, 2000; Oravec, 2003; Wijnia, 2004; Herring, Scheidt, Bonus & Wright, 2004; Yus, 2007). Blogs have some basic generic features: they are text-based; they are dated entries chronologically organised in reverse sequence; they contain links to websites of interest; and provide commentaries on links (Blood, 2000; Herring, *et al.*, 2004; Miller & Shepherd, 2004; Ó Baoill, 2004). According to Oravec (2003: 226), developers of weblogs are called “bloggers”, their accumulation of entries are known as the “blogosphere”, and the chronological assemblage of their entries are called “posts”. Thus, Danah (2006: 1) conceptualises the act of blogging as “a diverse set of practices that result in the production of diverse content on top of a medium that we call blogs.”

Blood (2000) identifies three types of weblogs: filter blogs which provide relevant information on issues external to the personal life of the blogger; personal journals or diaries (Jurida, 2013; Arawomo, 2016) that provide personal information about the life of the blogger; and notebooks known as long essays that could either provide information about the blogger's life or matters external to the blogger. In expanding Blood's (2000) study, Herring et al. (2004) find that notebooks are rare in weblogs while personal journals or blogs are the commonest type of weblogs, followed by filter blogs. Although Greive, Biber, Friginal and Nekrasova. (2010) distinguish between personal versus thematic blog types, they also conclude that personal blogs are the most frequently used blog type. Therefore, blog type distinctions often concentrate on filter and personal blogs (Eldursi, 2013).

In the last decade, weblogs have created a wide array of veritable modes for discussing diverse issues across the globe. Topics such as politics, racism, sports, entertainment, technology, arts and culture, gender-related issues, etc. have been thematised in many blogs. Stella Dimoko Korkus, a female Nigerian blogger features diverse posts ranging from fashion, entertainment, news, gossip to women-related issues on her blog (Arawomo, 2016). Recently on her blog, she created an interactive platform, tagged "Domestic Violence Dairy (Part 1-4)", for victims of DV to anonymously share their experiences with the general public. This diary blog also opens up space (via readers' comments) to the general public to air their views on DV. Although the platform is generically labelled "Domestic Violence Dairy", most of the victims who shared their experiences are females.

Studies on DV abound in academia; most of these studies have explored its etiologies, types, effects, prevalence, and patterns (Okemgbo, Omideyi & Odimegwu, 2002; Aihie, 2009; Tilbrook, Allan & Dear, 2010; Galić, 2016). Others have investigated its health impacts on victims (Ganley, 1999; Chhabra, 2018); its impacts on children's psychological development (Volpe, 1996; UNICEF, 2006; Adebayo, 2013); as well as its legal dimensions and implications (Falana, 2013; Klein, 2015). In language-based studies, scholars have examined media representations of DV (Sutherland, McCormack, Pirkis, Easteal, Holland & Vaughan, 2015; Lloyd & Ramon, 2016); linguistic violence (Adetunji, 2010; McFarlane, 2012); the language of DV and sexual assault within the context of the criminal justice system (Easteal, Bartels & Bradford, 2012); and the reading and phonological awareness skills in children exposed to DV (Blackburn, 2008). However, victims' experiential narratives on DV have remained largely underexplored in linguistic theories and computer-mediated contexts. Although Arawomo (2016) investigates the

linguistic choices of DV victims in encoding their personal experiences in Stella Dimoko Korkus' blog, her analytical approach (feminist critical discourse analysis) is feminist and thus gender-centric. This thus necessitates the need to explore victims' narratives on DV using critical discourse analysis, a non-feminist and non-gender-centric approach. Auspiciously, Stella Dimoko Korkus' *Domestic Violence Diary 1-4* provides suitable language data on DV victims' personal experiences. In sum, this study seeks to explore discursive strategies in the victims' narratives and their ideological functions as resistant discourse to DV.

3. Ideology in Discourse, Cognition and Society

The term "ideology" has been popularly seen as a highly flexible notion with definitional diversities, which Gerring (1997: 957) labels "semantic promiscuity". Scholars have made distinctions between ideologies characterised by shared social belief systems (Eagleton, 1991; Freedon, 1996; van Dijk 2006), "social polarisation between ingroup and outgroup" usually viewed as pejorative or negative ideologies (van Dijk, 2000: 7), and "positive or oppositional ideologies" commonly viewed as ideologies of resistance against domination (van Dijk, 2006: 729; van Dijk, 2000: 8). Despite the innumerable debates on ideology and the immense scholarly books written on its relevance in diverse fields, the notion remains controversial (van Dijk, 2000). In view of its semantic promiscuity, the ideological paradigm in this study has been narrowed down to van Dijk's (2000) multidisciplinary approach as it relates to discourse, social cognitions and society. To link ideologies with discourses and social cognitions at the levels of groups, group relations, social situations and interactions, van Dijk provides this multidisciplinary socio-cognitive working definition of ideology:

... ideologies are the fundamental beliefs that form the basis of the social representations of a group. They are represented in social memory as some kind of 'group schema' that defines the identity of a group. The fundamental propositions that fill this schema monitor the acquisition of group knowledge and attitudes, as hence indirectly the personal models group members form about social events. These mental models are the representations that control social practices, including the production and comprehension of discourse (van Dijk, 2000: 86).

Inasmuch as ideology is a function of the relation between the actual uses of language and their socio-cognitive contexts to produce certain rhetorical effects, then ideology is discursive (comprising discursive and non-discursive features), cognitive and social (Eagleton, 1991; Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk 2000; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Ideologies “derive not so much from the intentions of the ideologists (their values and beliefs), but rather from the linguistic norms in which they are embedded” (Gerring, 1997: 967); and Eagleton (1991: 11) posits that they are the means through “which men and women fight out their social and political battles at the level of signs, meanings and representations”. By implication, ideologies control the day-to-day texts, talks, and verbal interactions of members of any group and also influence their social cognitions (van Dijk, 2001; Chilwa, 2012).

These three conceptual categories of ideology – discourse, social cognitions and society are – to a large extent, intertwined. Discourse serves as the socio-cognitive groundwork in the daily expression and reproduction of ideologies in the society in that ideologies are discursively expressed and formulated in discourse. That is, discourses convey ideologies and make them noticeable. Hence, discourse is the kernel that links social cognitions and social representations with ideologies. On the other hand, ideological mental models control discourse which influences social representations (van Dijk, 1995, 2000, 2006; Ajiboye, 2013). In the words of van Dijk (2000: 88), a “theory of ideology without a theory of discourse is therefore fundamentally incomplete” since the cognitive and social properties of ideologies are controlled at the level of discourse.

Critical studies of ideologies in discourse thus enhance evaluations on the socio-cognitive influences of discourse structures in the expression, reproduction and legitimisation of domination and power abuse by dominant groups (van Dijk, 2006), as well as in the acceptance of or resistance against domination by dominated groups. Both dominant and dominated groups could be controlled by ideologies. The intertwining of all these concepts have led to van Dijk’s multidisciplinary socio-cognitive model of CDA.

4. The Socio-cognitive Model of CDA

This theory is founded on the postulation that ideology is not just social, it is also cognitive. The theory thus integrates the cognitive and social properties cum functions of ideology. Since ideologies are socially shared, a theory of ideology that lacks a socio-cognitive paradigm about “the nature and functions of socially shared ideas” is theoretically inadequate (van Dijk, 2006: 731). The socio-cognitive properties and functions of

ideologies are usually studied in terms of discourse structures and context structures that relate language use to specific discourse situations (van Dijk, 2006). Ideological variations of fundamental context models are usually found in discourses at the levels of meaning (semantics), form or structure (rhetoric), style, argumentation, and interaction (van Dijk 2000: 43-75).

Ideologies are often found in discourse polarisation that reflects conflicting group categorisations into ingroups and outgroups usually found in the typical pronoun pair *us* and *them* (van Dijk, 2000, 2006). Ideological discourse often embodies discourse strategies, outlined below:

- Emphasize Our good things
- Emphasize Their bad things
- De-emphasize Our bad things
- De-emphasize Their good things (van Dijk, 2006: 734).

van Dijk labels these discourse strategies the “ideological square” (van Dijk, 2000: 44). These general “positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation” characterise the ways we represent not only ingroups and outgroups in situations of group conflicts, but also how we portray ourselves and others (van Dijk, 2000: 44).

Van Dijk further splits the above discursive strategies into twenty-seven (27) to show diverse ways the ideological square could be expressed in discourse (van Dijk, 2000, 2006; Ajiboye, 2013). Due to space constraint, only eighteen (18) of these discursive strategies were elicited from the data in this study. These are: *topicalisation* (embodies the essential information of any given piece of discourse); *actor description* (refers to the ways discourse actors are portrayed – individually, collectively, negatively, positively or neutrally); *situation description* (refers to the description of actions, situations and experiences surrounding events in order to understand the causes and consequences pertaining to such events); *level or degree of description* (refers to language user's choice to describe an event abstractly, generally, specifically); *synonymy* (refers to a semantic relation of total or partial sameness in meaning of propositions); *example and illustration* (these functionally seek to provide proofs or concrete evidence in support of an argument).

Other discursive strategies are: *lexicalisation* (the expression of concepts and beliefs using specialised lexical items); *polarisation* (the categorical division of people into ingroup (US) and outgroup (THEM)); *positive self-presentation and negative other-*

presentation (these depict the overall strategies of portraying ingroup members positively and outgroup members negatively); *victimisation* (refers to the semantic strategy of systematically representing real victims in situation descriptions of events); *argumentation* (a situation in which a participant tries to make his or her standpoint more credible and acceptable); *evidentiality* (consists of a written or spoken evidence for establishing the validity of an argument); *topoi* (refers to the use of self-evident premises in support of an argument); *authority* (refers to the mentioning of morally superior authorities to support an argument or a proposition); *euphemism* (refers to “a semantic move of mitigation” van Dijk (2000: 68)); *metaphor* (refers to the invocation of a direct similarity between two objects); and *number games* (a semantic strategy where number and statistics are deployed to enhance credibility and objectivity in argumentation).

Since the ideological square is applicable to all texts, talks and verbal interactions, as well as all levels and variations of discourse structures (van Dijk, 2000: 44), the above theoretical discussion provides suitable analytical categories that will enhance a detailed analysis on how resistance against DV is expressed by discourse. Ideology covers the legitimisation of domination as well as the resistance against it. This shows that power is not only used negatively, but also positively. To resist power abuse, the dominated must also exert some power. The study therefore examines the discursive strategies deployed in the victims’ narratives and explores their ideological functions as resistant discourse against DV.

5. Methodology

The data for this study comprise victims’ narratives of their experiences on DV. The data were retrieved from Stella Dimoko Korkus’ blog’s archives (www.stelladimokorkus.com), titled *Domestic Violence Diary 1-4*. The diary has over one hundred stories shared by victims and witnesses of DV, with a large number of readers’ comments, which indicates that the topic is of a global concern. However, only fifteen (15) narratives from the victims were purposively selected for analysis in this paper. This selection was based on those victims that anonymously relayed their experiences themselves. The consent of the blogger was sought before the data were retrieved.

To enhance smooth data reference and analysis, the anonymous names used by the selected victims in the blogs were retained, and their narratives were grouped into Narrative 1-15 as highlighted below:

Narrative 1 MSKay TEXT 1
Narrative 2 Ayi
Narrative 3 TRUST NO MAN
Narrative 4 Depressed wife
Narrative 5 BL
Narrative 6 Egotamobus
Narrative 7 MSPEE
Narrative 8 Eva
Narrative 9 HYBunny
Narrative 10 Jummy

Narrative 11 ADA
Narrative 12 YOYO
Narrative 13 Dee
Narrative 14 NERO
Narrative 15 BABINO

The data were qualitatively analysed using critical discourse analysis as espoused in van Dijk's (2006) ideological square. Since CDA primarily focuses on domination, power abuse and resistance, the theoretical framework presents suitable analytical paradigms to investigate the ideological discursive strategies deployed by the victims in their narratives.

6. Data Analysis

A detailed and systematic analysis of discursive strategies in the victims' narratives and their ideological functions as resistant discourse is presented in this section. Eighteen ideological discursive strategies proposed by van Dijk (2000, 2006) have been adopted for the analysis. The strategies are grouped for explanation by relation, and in the order of importance (with appropriate examples cited from the data) to illustrate the ideological-based functions of discursive strategies in the narratives.

6.1 Topicalisation and Number Games

Topicalisation entails the discursive strategy of projecting the most important information in a discourse. The topic of a discourse could take the form of a title or a descriptive heading; it could also be in the form of abstract themes that characterise the purpose of a whole discourse. On the other hand, number game is a discursive strategy in which numbers and statistics are deployed to enhance credibility and objectivity in topicalisation or argumentation.

Although the diary is tagged Domestic Violence, a close reading of the data shows that all the narrations of the victims could be rendered in just a single thematic proposition: “Domestic Violence/Abuse is Cyclic”. The women-victims’ narratives depict cycles of abuses; hence, the narratives are experiences resulting from repetitive improper treatments of women from their intimate partners. This presupposes that an abuse that occurred just once in an intimate relationship would not be concretely classified as DV; the repetitiveness of the abuses thus marks them as such. Instances of the cyclical nature of DV are replete in the discourse structures of the data; three of these are cited in excerpts 1-3:

Excerpt 1: In 19 Years of marriage I have been abused more than I have been loved.....I have been beaten and slapped so many times, I feel like that very stubborn child whose mother is determined to flog him into his senses...I consistently go through various forms of disciplinary actions... I'm punished for every "wrong word", "wrong smile, wrong action" to the extent that everything I do now is WRONG. (Narrative 1)

Excerpt 2: I tried to put the whole thing in concise because this is what started over 19 years ago but I kept believing God that he's gonna change for good but rather the worst happened...Once it starts, it never gets better (Narrative 7)

Excerpt 3: I can't even begin to talk about my experience in the hands of my killer husband. married him for 12 years. lost one of my kids when he was trying to defend me from my husband. he wanted to hit me with an iron rod, my son tried to shield me, the iron landed on his head, he slumped and died. did my husband change? No! (Narrative 8)

In excerpts 1, 2 and 3, the victims have been subjected to DV for 19, 19 and 12 years, respectively. The numbers of years the victims have been subjected to domestic abuse are projected in the victims’ narratives primarily to foreground the fact that DV is cyclic, and thus real. As spelt out in the excerpts, once domestic abuse starts, it never stops. Findings from the data also show that two other abstract themes that implicitly characterise the narratives can be expressed by these words: change and resistance. The cyclical nature of

DV as topicalised in the narratives depict that abusers do not change; hence, the urgent need for victims to put up resistance against it.

Topicalisation in the victims' narratives is thus achieved via abstract themes and number games that foreground the persistent nature of domestic abuse women-victims are subjected to. The ideological thrust of this is that the women-victims share the social cognitions that DV is both cyclic and advertent, and must therefore be resisted.

6.2 Actor Description, Polarisation, Positive Self-Presentation and Negative Other-Presentation

These four ideological discursive strategies are intertwined. Actor description depicts the manner discourse actors are represented – individually, collectively, negatively or positively. The representation of discourse actors in ideological discourse is usually about US and THEM. Hence, actor description usually dovetails into discourse actors' polarisation into ingroup (US) and outgroup (THEM), a polarisation that embodies positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Findings from the data reveal that actors are described as individuals and groups, and also by their role to other people. Thus, the descriptions have resulted in a divisional polarisation strategy of “I/me versus he”; “us/we versus our husband” as seen in excerpts 4, 5 and 6:

Excerpt 4: ... And nija is full of "us". We married but single ladies... Who pretend that our husbands are "busy" making money... We r single and pretending ... We look sound walk and talk married... WE ARE NOT ... (Narrative 1)

Excerpt 5: ... he punched me all over and kicked me in the stomach. I almost died. I couldn't shout, I couldn't call for help... (Narrative 4)

Excerpt 6: ... I don't remember what led to the first fight but it was shortly after the wedding/pregnancy during the fight, he kicked me in the stomach and I ended up in the emergency. I was so scared... (Narrative 6)

The actor descriptions are evident via the pronominal distinctions and nominal group identified above. The women-victims identify and describe themselves individually in each

narrative via the use of the first-person pronouns in the subjective and objective cases, *I* and *me*. By using *I* and *me* repetitively in their narratives (excerpts 5 and 6), the victims lend credence to their stories. Their abusers are described using the third person pronoun “he” to show that they are male. Also, actor descriptions are further elaborated via the use of “us/we versus our husband” (excerpt 4) in which by implication, the actors are described as groups – wives and husbands. Thus, the victims are categorised as “I/me/we/us ingroup” while their offenders are classified as “he/our husband outgroup”.

Apparently, with the above actor descriptions coupled with the thematisation of resistant ideologies in the diary, there is a reversal of the typical ingroup-outgroup polarisation. The oppressed (the victims) now constitute the ingroup members while their oppressors (the abusers) are now the outgroup members. This reversal is done to undo positive self-presentation and negative other presentation which largely control all discourses of power abuse. Thus in a bid to resist male oppression, these women-victims create polarisation cognitions that describe their own people as victims and their male-abusers as oppressors. This polarisation is rhetorically enhanced in a clear contrast in which opposing behavioural traits are attributed to ingroups and outgroups as seen in excerpts 7 to 12:

Excerpt 7: ... I'm tired of alluding to a 'mr' that no longer exists... A 'mr' that has gone his own way and has not looked at my side.... As in.... U know ... NO Sex for more than 10 years... So today I become who I am.... I'm a being a lovely... Bubbly Beautiful mum, girl, babe... (Narrative 1)

Excerpt 8: ... I Grew up in a decent home ... As a very beautiful young girl (as people said) ...When this guy came my way, I thought i had eventually gotten ... We dated for 11 months before getting engaged traditionally...One day, whilst we were talking about me furthering my studies... he picked offense and gave me the worst beating of my life... (Narrative 7)

Excerpt 9: ... i can easily be described as confident, easy going, intelligent, i was pretty, a lawyer and no one could take away wit and charm from describing me...i went ahead and started the long distance relationship... Then the mental torture and abuse started for real....

He would call me all sorts of horrible names, call me and my single friends old women who dont want to settle down. sometimes call us prostitutes... (Narrative 13)

Excerpt 10: ... Na wa oh! Was with my ex for 8 years and I still remember the beating like yesterday. This oloshi oloriburuku guy (excuse my language) turned himself into a lion for no reason!!! Went from name calling to pushing then slapping and finally blows. (Narrative 3)

Excerpt 11: ... I can't even begin to talk about my experience in the hands of my killer husband. (Narrative 8)

Excerpt 12: ... there's no woman who can tell me she has never encountered one of these beasts before, they may not do it physically, but abuse u emotionally, psychologically even financially, they are beasts of no nation! d guy i wanted to marry was a serial beater...wife beaters are destiny destroyers! (Narrative 9)

The above excerpts (Excerpts 7-12) reveal that the polarisations of the actors in ingroup and outgroup binary are imbued with ideologically inclined attributions of positive self-presentations and negative other presentations. The women-victims describe themselves as ingroup members in positive terms (see excerpts 7, 8 and 9), while their abusers are extensively described in absolutely negative terms in all the excerpts. The ingroup members describe themselves using adjectival expressions that denote endearment, confidence, integrity, peace and goodness such as “lovely... Beautiful mum”, “decent”, intelligent, “easy going”, and “confident”, and describe their abusers using negative terms, demeaning adjectives such as “killer husband”, “beasts”, “serial beater”, “oloshi oloriburuku guy” (derogatory Yoruba terms). Thus, ingroup representation is influenced by positive self-presentation, and outgroup representation, influenced by negative other-presentation.

Ideologically, the victims' narratives are characterised by collective resistance against domestic violence against women (DVAW), in which the victims (the oppressed) emphasise the positive characteristics of their own group and simultaneously emphasise

the offensive traits of their abusers, the outgroup. By emphasising the stark malevolence of their abusers (the outgroup), the polarisation makes the victims' narratives confrontational. Hence, the Diary could be seen as a confrontational discourse imbued with resistant ideologies against DVAW.

6.3 Situation Description, Degree of Description and Examples/Illustrations

The victims' narratives are characterised by stories that describe the situations surrounding their experiences, how they met their partners and the gradual translation of their love affairs from bliss to abuse. To show the degree and intensity of abuses experienced, the victims use specific and detailed examples or illustrations. Below are three characteristic instances:

Excerpt 13: ... I'll have slept for an hour then ill feel his heavy body on min trying to force his way in. Can I sleep, I'm tired, I'm not even wet ure going to hurt me. He wldnt listen he will force his way ask me to enjoy it and roll off after coming. Sleep for abt 30 mins. This time my back is turned to him crying he will lift up my nightie, if I'm wearing pant he will tear it and penetrate doggy, if he doesn't hear me moan in pain he will push harder till I start screaming and crying. I'll be hitting him and trying to run he will go after me and always overpowers me... (Narrative 2)

Excerpt 14: ... One day we went for his friend's party and when one of his friends talked to me all of 10 mins, he went into a jealous rage, poured the drink on the guy's head and stormed off, i apologised, chased after him and i jumped into the car, he sped off, going over speed bumps, screaming and shouting, abusing me, punching his windscreen, banging on the steering... (Narrative 13)

Excerpt 15: ... mine was that I was even beaten by him n his sisters. He will use his words to run me down. he hits me even not minding tht I was holding my baby, de pains was just too much for me... (Narrative 10)

The excerpts (13-15) above show specific instances of abuses experienced by the victims, and thus present the situation descriptions in detailed and coherent “episodic event models” (van Dijk, 2000: 70). These episodic models achieved via concrete examples/illustrations are ideological in that they provide empirical evidence of male oppression against women, contribute more to negative other presentation of the abusers, and further enhance resistant ideologies against DVAW.

6.4 Argumentation, Evidentiality and Authority

The victims' narratives subtly have argumentative structures in which the victims are seen trying to make their stories or standpoints more credible and acceptable with a view to provoking empathy and solidarity. By using substantial evidence, the victims prove the authenticity of their experiences. Some evidence used could be seen in the concrete examples provided in excerpts 13-15. Other pieces of evidence are provided through references to authority institutions, specifically the police force and lawyers, as seen in excerpts 17-19:

Excerpt 16: ... On that note I decided to take my case to the Nigeria police... I had my Lawyer with me taking notes ... And then the DPO reluctantly asked me to speak....and I spoke... then I proceeded to slowly take out my FALSE TOOTH....the one that fell out....the one I must wear everyday before my make upbefore my mask.....and I told them.....no....ordered them to LOOK...(Narrative 1)

Excerpt 17: ... I went straight to the police station, filed a report, went to court and got a restraining order. That was how my abuse ended... (Narrative 3)

Excerpt 18: ... I called the cops and he was arrested... (Narrative 6)

References to the involvement of authority institutions in excerpts 16 to 18 further convey the reliability and credibility of the victims' narratives. Also in excerpt 16, the victim's display of her “toothless state” validates the authenticity of her abuse and helps in shaping the value judgements of the audience. More importantly, the evidence cited emphasise

more negative other-presentation with a view to amplifying the ideology of resistance of victims against DVAW.

6.5 Victimisation

The polarised structure of the victims' narratives into the binary I-he or us/we-them pair of ingroup and outgroup seeks to represent ingroup members as the real victims of DV. That is, by representing outgroup members negatively as abusers, ingroup members are implicitly portrayed as the abused, the victimised. This is the dichotomy the victims' narratives seek to create. In excerpts 19 and 20 below:

Excerpt 19: ... he punched me all over and kicked me in the stomach. I almost died. I couldn't shout, I couldn't call for help...My husband has stripped me off the little confidence I had left, he refuses me working saying the kids are still small, he refused me having a house help saying they are all witches. he doesn't give me pocket money or anything... Now, to outsiders he is that calm, quiet, loved by all man... (Narrative 4)

Excerpt 20: ...My uncle and brother called him the "husband" type when they met him. He was (and still is) quiet around others. Another one of my uncles refers to him as a "the pastor" because of his demeanor. We got married a year after we met and I became pregnant immediately... he kicked me in the stomach and I ended up in the emergency... He wanted to sleep with my friends, and he wanted me to procure them for him. Stupid me so he wouldn't leave me, I made one such arrangement. In our house, in our guest room, while I was taking care of the babies...The saddest part is everyone thinks he's just the best person ever... (Narrative 6)

The narrators subtly use antithesis to underscore the contrast in the appealing, pleasant demeanours of their abusers and their abusive traits at the domestic scene; that is, abusers' behavioural traits at the domestic level contrast with their outward look to the extent that their victims are often disbelieved whenever they attempt to speak about the abuses they

are being subjected to. It would be so hard for a woman-victim of DV to convince outsiders that her husband, who appears so calm and quiet to the public, is indeed an abuser at home.

The antithetical posture taken in the two excerpts emphasises negative other presentation by subtly presupposing that abusers are crafty. And their craftiness masks their true characters or abusive traits thereby discrediting any claims of unfair treatment the abused may want to lay against them. Thus, the victims' narratives are replete with these antithetical instances to show that they are in fact being victimised by their supposedly "calm, quiet, loved by all..." male partners (Narrative 4).

6.6 Lexicalisation and Synonymy

Lexicalisation denotes the expression of concepts and beliefs via deliberate choice of lexical items. Findings from the data reveal that the victims in their narrations variably express similar meanings via different words. By implication, the victims' narratives are replete with the semantic relation of synonymy (sameness of meanings of words), both partial and absolute. The confrontational nature of the victims' discourse has typically resulted in stark negative expressions denoting male abusers and positive expressions characterising the abused. This has therefore foregrounded further the overall ideological strategies of negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation at the level of lexicalisation.

Thus, there are positive adjectival expressions such as "lovely, beautiful mum, very intelligent, loveable lady, loving, fun loving, trusting (Narrative 1); "very beautiful" (Narrative 7); "very beautiful lady" (Narrative 8); "confident, easy going intelligent" (Narrative 13) characterising the victims. Significantly, the adverb of degree "very" in some of the highlighted expressions is an intensifying device used by the victims to amplify positive self-presentation. On the other hand, negative nominal and adjectival expressions such as: "an abuser", "a kolomental" (Nigerian Pidgin word that denotes an insane person) (Narrative 15); "a beast" (Narrative 14); "wife beaters" (Narratives 3 and 9); "killer husband", "a very jealous and insecure man" (Narrative 8); "serial beater" (Narrative 10); "moron, bastard, idiot, fool", "this *oloshi oloriburuku* guy" (this evil man) (Narrative 3) characterise the abusers with a view to amplifying their negative presentation.

The lexical contrasts portrayed above primarily set an ideological dichotomy between the good nature of women-victims of DV and the wicked character of their abusers. This ideological dichotomy creates the consensus in the victims' narratives that

the harsh treatments meted out to them by their abusers are unwarranted; and thus, reinforces the heinousness of male hegemony. The ideological dichotomy created at the lexical domain is not only confrontational, it is also militant.

6.7 Metaphor

The victims' narratives are replete with many metaphorical expressions that are representative or symbolic of resistant ideologies. Few instances are cited in excerpts 21–24:

Excerpt 21: ... Today I choose to come out... I choose to come out of that cupboard today... I,m tired of stigmas... And nija is full of "us". We look sound walk and talk married... WE ARE NOT ... (Narrative 1)

Excerpt 22: ... Was with my ex for 8 years ... I am waiting for the day I will hear that the bastard is in Lagos!!! I will pay correct money to abokis to strip him waist down wherever they see him and use koboko to flog the hell out of him. Abeg nobody should insult me, I just want the idiot to have a dose of his own medicine... (Narrative 3)

Excerpt 23: It's very interesting coming across this wonderful blog of yours exposing what I call a killer disease that kills most women and they die untimely in the name of being submissive in marriage. I'm a victim and I have been seeking how to express what I went through for 19 years until I came across your blog... (Narrative 7)

Excerpt 24: My first bfy could be described as beast or sometimes he calls himself that... (Narrative 15)

The use of “cupboard” in excerpt 21 symbolises “prison”. In the excerpt, an implied comparison between marriage and a cupboard (a prison) is invoked. By saying that she has chosen to “come out of that prison”, the victim expresses her determination to set herself free from the prison cell of marriage to which she has been confined. Her determination for freedom depicts her resistant against DV. Also, the co-text in the excerpt further presupposes that married women experiencing DV are trapped in the prison cell of

marriage from which they must escape. Likewise, the nominal group “a dose of his own medicine” in excerpt 22 is also metaphoric in that DV is compared to doses of bad medicine. The comparison further strengthens the cyclic nature of domestic abuse and presupposes the victim's resistance to and militancy against it. The victim's earnest desire to become combative with her former husband implies that women-victims of DV are often vindictive, thereby making DV a complex phenomenon that often ends in mutual combats. The nominal expressions “a killer husband” and “beast” in excerpts 23 and 24, respectively, invoke and amplify the gravity of male oppression against women. The two metaphorical expressions draw comparison between the abusers and a threatening or dangerous person/animal. The direct comparison ideologically enhances negative other presentation of the victims' abusers and projects the abusers as threats to women, and to the larger society. This presupposes that DV is beastly and must be resisted. Thus, the metaphors used in the victims' narratives are mostly negative, resistant and militant, and thus categorised as ideological discursive strategies of negative other description.

6.8 Euphemism

Euphemism, a semantic strategy of mitigation is less dominant in the victims' narratives. Very few instances of the strategy can be elicited from the victims' narratives; one of such is cited in excerpt 25:

Excerpt 25: ... I'll have slept for an hour then ill feel his heavy body on min
trying to force his way in ... I'm not even wet ure going to hurt me.
He wldnt listen he will force his way ask me to enjoy it and roll off
after coming... (Narrative 2)

The to-infinitive “to force his way in” in excerpt 25 is an attempt to mitigate the act of rape the abuser persistently subjected the victim to. The mitigation is however ideologically constructive in that it positions the rapist and the victim in an unequal power relation. The rapist is represented as more powerful and domineering while the victim is positioned as weak and slavish. This unequal polarised power relation enhances further the broader discursive framework of the strategies of positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation and victimisation. The enhancement amplifies the resistance ideologies.

6.9 Abuse (Topos)

In the victims' narratives, the main topos is that of domestic abuse of women. This topos is dominant in the narratives; however, the abuses experienced by the victims are of different types. Hence, the abuse topos is diverse in the victims' discourse as spelt out in excerpts 26 to 32:

Excerpt 26: ... A 'mr' that has gone his own way and has not looked at my side....
As in.... U know ... NO Sex for more than 10 years... (Narrative 1)

Excerpt 27: ... My husband has stripped me off the little confidence I had left,
he refuses me working saying the kids are still small... he doesn't
give me pocket money or anything. (Narrative 4)

Excerpt 28: ... he's so stingy to a fault (Narrative 5)

Excerpt 29: ... He stopped making love to me for 3yrs and used to cook his own
food... he gave me beating that I will never forget (Narrative 7)

Excerpt 30: ... He would plug electric iron and burn my buttocks and any part
of my body... lots of bruises, burns all over me. (Narrative 8)

Excerpt 31: ... mine was that I was even beaten by him n his sisters. He will use
his words to run me down. he hits me even not minding tht I was
holding my baby (Narrative 10)

Excerpt 32: ... Then the mental torture and abuse started for real. i He would call
me all sorts of horrible names... i found myself feeling inadequate
and my confidence waning. (Narrative 13)

As seen in the excerpts above, the victims were subjected to domestic abuse that ranges from sexual deprivation (excerpts 26 and 29), physical abuse and battery (excerpts 29, 30 and 31); rape (excerpt 25), emotional and psychological abuse (excerpt 27, 29 and 32), verbal abuse (excerpts 31 and 32) to financial abuse (excerpt 27 and 28). The diversity of

the abuse topos in the victims' narratives strengthens victims' negative other-presentation and victims' resistance ideologies against DVAW.

7. Conclusion

The discursive strategies and their ideological functions analysed above show the reality of DVAW and women's growing resistance to it. They portray the ways in which the victims' narrative discourse portrays resistance ideologies to DVAW through the polarisation of "I/me and he; Us/we vs. Them" and the strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. The analyses have provided insights on the various ideological discursive strategies and structures deployed by the victims to reverse the typical ingroup-outgroup polarisation. The women-victims now project themselves as the ingroup members while their abusers are categorised as the outgroup members in order to undo positive self-presentations and negative other presentations that are mostly dominant in discourses of power abuse.

Thus, in their bid to emphasise and resist male oppression, the women-victims create polarisation structures and cognitions that represent their own people as the dominated group, and their abusers as the dominant group. In sum, Stella Dimoko Korkus' *Domestic Violence Diary 1-4* is not just discursive, but also ideological. It can be construed as a positive, oppositional, and resistant discourse against DV.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.11>

DISCOURSE STRUCTURES OF HATE DISCOURSES IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

By adopting the semantic and syntactic-related structures of van Dijk's (1997) political discourse analysis, this research paper examines twenty-one (21) hate discourses by selected political actors in Nigeria. The hate discourses were obtained from the Nigerian online newspapers as well as from the Twitter handle of political actors. The first set of analyses examines the semantic-related structures of hate discourses and discovers that they contain implicit and explicit structures where hate speakers make propositions with positive predicates about the hate speakers' own group rather explicit than implicit. The finding also reveals that the selected hate discourses manifest the semantic structure of local discourse coherence where the negative actions of in-group members are treated as an exception whereas those of out-group are overgeneralised. The findings obtained from the syntactic-related structures of hate discourses reveal that hate speakers use pronouns to emphasise *their* bad deeds and emphasise *our* good deeds. The research also discovers that in hate discourses, stereotypical words are topicalised as a way of showing emphasis. These findings suggest that hate discourses in Nigeria conform to the syntactic and semantic aspects of discourse structures as enunciated in van Dijk's (1997) political discourse analysis. The study also discovers that hate speech hinders Nigeria's national development because of inter-ethnic tensions caused by doubt, lack of trust and suspicion. Together, these findings provide important insights in the way political actors use hateful tags on each other in order to secure political power.

Keywords: Semantics, Syntax, Hate discourses, Nigeria, Political discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Language is ubiquitous. One of the areas where language is employed is politics. Politics is concerned with the State or political society and ways which a body of people is clearly organised as a unit for the aim of governance (Appadorai, 1975). Aristotle in his *Politics* establishes a link between language and politics when he refers to man as a political animal. As cited in Fairclough and Fairclough (2012:18-9), he avers:

But obviously man is a political animal in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech. Speech is something different from voice, which is possessed by other animals also and used by them to express pain or pleasure.... Speech, on the other hand, serves to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust. For the real difference between man and other animals is that humans alone have the perception of good and evil, just and unjust, etc. It is the sharing of a common view in these matters that makes a household and a state.

From the above excerpt, it can be deduced that one of the things that characterise a state is the ability to discern what is good and evil. In an attempt to hold on to this philosophy, politics was created and leaders who will ensure that there is a just world were appointed or elected. Their decrees and proclamations were then communicated through ‘speech’ (language). The role of language in politics is further buttressed by Waya and Nneji (2013) when they opine that most political activities like manifesto, campaign, rally, election, victory/inauguration, policy formulation and implementation are attainable because of language. The language used in these political activities qualifies as political discourse (Chilton, 2004). Gee (1999) asserts that politics and language are intertwined. He further remarks that an interest in politics demands that one should undertake empirical details of language and interaction.

Language has been used in different ways by politicians and public office holders. One of the ways in which Nigerian politicians utilise language is to incite violence. The form of language, which they often employ can be described as hate speech or hate discourse. Hate discourse has been prevalent in Nigeria since Independence. Osaghae and Suberu (2005) observe that the principal factor that led to the Nigerian-Biafran war of

1967-1970 can be traced to hate discourse between Igbo and Hausa/Fulani traders in Northern Nigeria. This war took the lives of over three million Igbo people (Madiebo, 1980). In the present dispensation, hate discourse appears to be the order of the day as it manifests between the ruling party and the opposition party even among ethnic groups.

Hate discourse has received critical attention by researchers from different perspectives: feminism (Lilian, 2007); racism (Hernandez, 2011); hate discourse in media (Iroka, 2013; UNESCO, 2015; Ayegba, 2017); electoral violence (Ezeibe, 2015; Chidozie, 2016; Waya, 2017; Okafor & Olanrewaju, 2017; International Foundation of Electoral Systems, 2018). From a political perspective, Okafor and Olanrewaju (2017) conceive hate discourse as a sum total of all negative speeches, which incites violence against individuals or group of persons because of their race, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, language ability and moral or political views. International Foundation for Electoral Systems (2018) avers that electoral violence is sparked by hate discourse with elected officials, political parties, candidates, other opinion makers, and members of the 'civil' society as perpetrators. Among the researches on hate discourses in Nigeria, an analysis of the structures of hate discourses appears to be relatively unexplored. This is the research problem that this study seeks to address. Deriving from the research problem, the objectives of the study are to: examine the discourse structure of hate speeches; identify and describe the discourse devices employed in constructing hate discourses; and describe the implications of hate discourses to Nigeria's national development.

Studying the whole hate discourses in Nigeria will be a herculean task to undertake. As a result, the researcher selects some politically-based hate discourses in Nigeria that will be of relevance to the objectives of the study. Although there are many approaches or models, which can be used to analyse the topic under study, the researcher adopts political discourse analysis which, according to van Dijk (1997), is the analysis of political discourse from a critical viewpoint. Hate discourse data can be elicited from different online sources but online newspapers and Twitter were chosen for this study. The choice of online newspapers is because of their availability whereas Twitter was chosen because political actors use such medium to make statements and comments they believe will reach a wide range of audience. The data for this study were collected between April and October 2018.

The findings from this research will help scholars in political science and other related fields in humanities and the social sciences as it adopts an interdisciplinary study of politics, language, and society in the study of hate discourses. From this research, students of political science will come to a better understanding of the discourse devices

used by political actors. Also, this research work will add to empirical works on political discourse analysis. It will also add to the knowledge in the discourse structures of hate discourses.

2. Hate discourses¹

The concept of hate discourse has been viewed from different angles. Generally, hate discourse is seen as any form of language, mostly in the form of text and talk that is defaming, abusive and provoking, which is directed to an individual or group of people due to differences in race, sex, gender, religion etc. The aftermath of hate speeches could be violence, insecurity and hatred.

The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) (2017) conceives hate discourse as every means of expression, which expands, stimulates, propagates, or justifies racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination, and hostility towards minorities, migrants, and people of immigrant origin. From this definition, it could be seen that hate speech is often uttered by a ‘highly placed group’ to ‘a lowly placed group or individuals.’

For Tsesis (2002:211), hate discourse is an “...antisocial oratory that is intended to incite persecution against people because of their race, color, religion, ethnic group, or nationality, and has a substantial likelihood of causing . . . harm.” Jidefor (2012) remarks that hate discourse is a terminology for speech aimed at degrading a person or group of people based on their race, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, language ability, ideology, social class, occupation, appearance, mental capacity, and any other distinction that might be considered by some as a liability. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (2015), hate discourse can be conveyed through text, images, or sound for the purposes of dehumanising and diminishing of members of a group to which the hate speeches are addressed.

From an electoral perspective, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) (2018) contends that the hate directed at women during election is hate discourse. IFES further remarks that the purveyors of hate discourse during electioneering period are elected officials, political parties, party candidates, other opinion makers, the media and the masses. The reason for the use of hate discourse in election, according to Denton (2000), is that campaigns provide fecund ground for hate speeches and incitement to hatred.

¹ Hate discourse as used in this paper is synonymous with hate speeches.

Another phenomenon attributed to hate discourse is the debate on whether or not hate discourse should be legislated against. Joel (2013) avers that there has been no official reaction or guiding principle to ban hate discourse in Nigeria, although there are laws against slander and perjury. The reason for this absence might not be far-fetched because the enactors of the law against hate discourse might be the first to flout it. In recent times, the Vice President of Nigeria, Yemi Osinbajo, regarded hate discourse as a crime at a National Security Conference in Aso Villa, Abuja thus: “The Federal Government has drawn a line on hate speech. Hate speech is a species of terrorism; terrorism, as it is defined popularly, is the unlawful use of violence or intimidation against individuals or groups, especially for political ends” (Adetayo, 2017)².

Some scholars have examined the consequences of legislating against hate discourses (Mills 1978; Sunstein 2003; Mendel 2006; and Schelffler 2015). Mills (1978) argues that if hate discourse is legislated against, true views about certain phenomenon will be masked and left unspoken because of the fear to face the law as a result of the embargo placed on free discourse. Sunstein’s (2003) argument hinges on the opinion that legislating against hate discourses will be conceived as a social loss because political disagreements counteract conformity and false conventional wisdom. On the other hand, Mendel (2006) remarks that free discourse is one of the principal ways of discovering the truth. He further opines that to restrict freedom of expression diminishes man’s dignity. Schelffler (2015:8) observes:

...in Rwanda, hate speech legislation provides a tool for the government to suppress the opposition, media representatives, civil society actors, and the general public for legitimate speech and dissent. And in Kenya, high-level hate-mongers escape with impunity. Clearly, something has gone wrong in both cases.

Schelffler’s view entails that in legislating against hate discourses, efforts must be made to avoid impeding freedom of speech and allowing derogatory comments. For Iroka (2013), hate discourse is a precursor to serious harmful acts; most violent attacks on any group have their foundation in hate discourse.

Levin (2010) adopts the middle of the road approach in the debate as to whether hate discourses should be legislated against or not. She mediates between Mill’s *On Liberty* and

² The hate speech bill in the Nigerian Senate for considerations.

his harm principle to posit that in some cases, government should allow individuals to exercise their freedom of speech as well as maintain neutrality because it is a catalyst to equality. On the other hand, when individuals go beyond their freedom to violate the rights or vital interests of others, government should intervene. This then means that the state must interfere to avert actions of its own or of others, which violate fundamental human rights.

Therefore, as Scheffler (2015) submits, words are poisonous and they are catalyst of wars. In some countries like Nigeria, hate speeches are seen as acts of terrorism although no law has been signed in that regard. Koestler (1978) as cited by Richter (2010:1) avers, “Wars are not fought for territory, but for words. Man’s deadliest weapon is language. He is susceptible to being hypnotized by slogans as he is to infectious diseases. And where there is an epidemic, the group mind takes over.” Levin (2010) enunciates that harming people through words and actions retards the development of the country. For this study, hate speeches are implicit or explicit defamatory words directed to individuals through face to face or electronic-mediated discourses, which incite violence between people from different social background.

3. Previous studies

Quite a number of researches have been carried out on hate speeches, verbal abuse or foul language. Most of these works are recent, which shows that hate speech has been an important issue that requires studying. Iroka (2013) explored the level of prominence in the use of abusive language in four Nigerian national dailies namely: *The Nation*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust* and *Guardian*. She adopted content analysis as the research design and uses Dell Hymes’ (1962) ethnography of speaking and face threatening acts of Brown and Levinson (1987) as her theoretical framework. The research discovered that when individuals are confronted by unfavourable and unpleasant situations, most resort to sentimental abusive language as an escape or reprisal route. The findings of the research further revealed that media reports on government attitudes towards insecurity attracted more abusive comments than the reports on corruption. The research concluded that most people spent time on abusing others instead of addressing issues. It recommended that individuals should use constructive criticisms aimed at correcting wrongs than words that only destroy people’s reputations. The point of convergence between Iroka (2013) and the present research lies in the fact that both look at abusive/hate use of language in Nigeria. But the perspectives are different. The former looked at abusive language in the media and

adopted ethnography of speaking and face threatening acts theories while the current study examines hate speeches in political context by adopting the theory of political discourse analysis.

Scheffler (2015) examined hate speech legislation in Rwanda and Kenya. The research aimed at ascertaining the positive and negative effects of legislating against hate speeches in Rwanda and Kenya. Based on the analyses of Rwandan and Kenyan cases, hate speech legislation is not an appropriate tool to prevent harm emanating from hate speech. The researcher observed that the empirically verifiable costs of the legislation by far outweigh its putative benefits. The research found out that in Rwanda, for instance, opposition politicians are convicted for criticising government policies, while journalists are sentenced to decades of imprisonment for covering sensitive issues. These journalists were held in pre-trial detention for years and they are finally acquitted, they are driven into exile and are forced to practise self-censorship. More so, whole news media are suspended or completely closed down for providing platforms for anti-government stances. Scheffler (2015) showed that persecution of individual politicians and journalists have a great negative impact on society because access to unbiased information is impeded and the 'Marketplace of Ideas' destroyed. All these inhibit Freedom of Expression (FoE). The present research does not engage in the debate of legislation on hate speech, rather, it looks at, among others, the discourse structures of hate speeches and the factors motivating hate speeches in Nigeria.

Ezeibe (2015) conducted a research on the role of hate speech in electoral violence in Nigeria. In the study, emphasis was laid on the effects of hate speech on pre, during and post-election violence in Nigeria from 2010-2015. The data for his analysis were elicited from interviews of religious leaders, youth leaders, traditional leaders and leaders of civil society groups selected from the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. He adopted content and discourse analyses. From the study, it was discovered that hate speeches, used mostly by politicians, have become a campaign strategy in Nigeria. The paper further revealed that both the print and electronic media in Nigeria also played an antidemocratic role during the election period because they documented and reported these hate speeches and campaign for individuals, ethnic groups, political parties and geopolitical zones. The paper recommended that the Independent National Electoral Commission should prosecute any person that incites violence through the use of hate speeches. Whereas Ezeibe (2015) was interested only on the effects of hate speeches on electoral behaviour, the present study is primarily concerned with the discourse structures of hate speeches.

Alkali, Faga and Mbursa (2017) investigated audience perception of hate speech and foul language and their moral and legal implications. The researchers adopted both quantitative and qualitative methodology in the study. Alkali, Faga and Mbursa (2017) employed the survey research methodology to sample 384 respondents using questionnaire and focus group discussion as instruments for data collection. The quantitative method was used to analyse the respondents' responses while the qualitative method was used to analyse the moral and legal implications of hate speeches. The findings of the paper revealed that the respondents understand that hate speech and foul language attract legal consequences and they do not know what obligations are created by law against perpetrators of hate speech and foul language in Nigeria. It recommended for a legislation against hate speech by executing monitoring projects like the UMATI (a nonpolitical organisation that caters for the wellbeing of citizens) in Kenya. The area of divergence between Alkali, Faga and Mbursa's (2017) research and the present study is that the latter's tool for analysis is PDA.

From these empirical works, it was discovered that none of them adopted PDA in its analysis and none of the reviewed researches done on hate speeches in Nigeria has employed data beyond 2015 (at the time of writing). These form the gaps, which this present research seeks to fill.

4. Political discourse analysis (PDA)

Political discourse analysis (hereafter PDA) is the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). It focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power through political discourse. "PDA should answer genuine and relevant political questions and deal with issues that are discussed in political science" (van Dijk 1997:12). In discussing PDA, three major scholars have contributed to PDA in terms of theory and method. These scholars include: van Dijk (1997), Chilton (2004), and Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). Van Dijk's approach will be centered on.

van Dijk (1997) gives an adequate explanation on the theory and application of PDA. According to him, PDA is about political discourse as well as a critical enterprise. It is a critical enterprise because it is an offshoot of CDA. He further contends that the relationship between CDA and PDA lies in the fact that CDA is interested in how power, power abuse and dominance are reproduced and that one cannot isolate power when discussing politics.

For van Dijk (1997), political discourse simply means 'doing politics.' He notes that not all discourses that mention 'politics' is qualified to be called political discourse. He

identifies certain factors that determine if a discourse is actually a political discourse. These factors include; *actors* or *authors*, viz., *politicians*; *activities* or *practices*; and *context*. Aside politicians who are both the actors and authors of political discourses, “we therefore should also include the various recipients in political communicative events, such as the public, the people, citizens, the masses, and other groups or categories” (van Dijk, 1997:13).

On the other hand, it is not all the actions performed by politicians and other participants that can fit in as political discourse. Thus, van Dijk (1997) contends that it is not enough to conclude that a discourse is political because a politician partakes in it; rather, the *activities* and *practices* of the participants constitute factors that will determine if a discourse is political or not. Political discourses must have political *implications* and *functions*. van Dijk (1997) highlights that political activities or practices of participants could be participating in political actions, such as governing, ruling, legislating, protesting, dissenting, or voting.

In addition to activities and practices, van Dijk recognises *context* as another important factor in determining a political discourse. Just like in any other model of discourse analysis, context is an indispensable tool for arriving at an unbiased and objective result. van Dijk (1997:14) opines thus,

Participants and actions are the core of such contexts, but we may further analyse such contexts broadly in terms of political and communicative events and encounters, with their own settings (time, place, circumstances), occasions, intentions, functions, goals, and legal or political implications. That is, politicians talk politically also (or only) if they and their talk are contextualized in such communicative events such as cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies, interviews with the media, bureaucratic practices, protest demonstrations, and so on.

In addition, the outcome of such contexts must be political in nature such as enactment of laws and norms, distribution of social resources etc. van Dijk (1997) remarks that gender, medical, corporate and educational discourses, even though the outcomes affect people, do not fall under political discourse.

As it concerns the structures of political discourse, which is the thrust of this study, van Dijk (1997:29) posits local semantics and syntax are some of the structures of political discourse. One of the semantic strategies, which a political party can employ in political

discourses is making in-group rather explicit than implicit, rather direct than indirect, and stated rather than presupposed. On the aspect of syntax, pronouns are carefully chosen, good deeds are repeated and bad deeds deleted. The syntactic structure of political discourse has elements of ‘Emphasis/De-Emphasis of Our/Their Good/Bad Actions’ which are often possible through pronoun manipulation. He further contends that sometimes, “relevant categories are altogether deleted if the information in that category is dispreferred for political reasons.”

In this study, the aspects of local semantics that are explored include local coherence, implicit and explicit meaning and disclaimer. The syntactic components that are examined include pronouns and word fronting, which is a component of variations of word order. The choice of PDA for the analysis of hate discourse data is because PDA is a model or perspective of discourse analysis, which is concerned with analysing politically related discourses. It is more appropriate because since the study is on hate speeches used in the Nigerian political domain, it then became imperative to adopt PDA to enable us highlight the political discourse structures of hate speeches and achieve other objectives of the paper. More so, PDA is an approach that seems to be minimally applied to the study of hate discourses. The hate discourses that form the data for this study qualify as political discourse because they were uttered by political actors, in a political context and about a political activity.

5. Methods

The research design employed in this work is the emergent research design. Emergent research design is based on grounded theory, which bases its arguments on data and reaches a conclusion based on the data. According to Pailthorp (2017), emergent design refers to the ability to adapt to new ideas, concepts, of findings that arise while conducting qualitative research. However, this research design is adopted in this research because of the nature of data employed. Hate discourses are not static as they emerge every day.

The population of the study are one hundred (100) hate discourses drawn from online newspapers and Twitter. Twenty-one (21) politically-based hate discourses form the research sample. These discourses are selected using the purposive sampling technique. These selected hate discourses are believed to help in providing answers to the research questions. The data used in this research were elicited from the internet. The researchers surfed the internet and gathered hate discourses from these online media: *premiumtimesng.com*, *vanguardngr.com*, *punchng.com*, *saharareporters.com*, *the*

nationonline.net, *dailypost.com*, *dailytrust.com*, and *opera.pulse.ng*. Data are also obtained from Twitter. The choice for these online platforms is because of their accessibility.

The data used in this research work are analysed qualitatively. This implies that no form of statistical analysis is used. This qualitative analysis makes use of the basic tenets of van Dijk's discourse structure especially with regards to syntax and semantics.

6. Data analysis

In this section, twenty-one (21) hate discourses, which form the data for this research will be presented and analysed simultaneously. The hate discourses have been numbered from one to twenty-one in the appendix and for ease of reference, the abbreviations HD1, HD2 etc. represent Hate Discourse 1, Hate Discourse 2 respectively. The data will be analysed in line with the objectives of this research. The structures will be analysed alongside the devices.

6.1 Semantic-related structure of hate discourses in Nigeria

Semantics is the study of meaning. In PDA, one of the discourse structures is local semantics. Under local semantics, indirect or implicit versus explicit messages, local discursive coherence and disclaimer *inter alia* are examined. The hate discourses used in this research will be subjected to these parameters.

6.1.1 Implicit versus explicit structures

One main semantic strategy employed by hate speakers is to make propositions with positive predicates about the hate speakers' own group rather explicit than implicit. In HD1, this attribute manifested in the sense that Omokri did not make known the state of PDP when Modu Sheriff has not been ejected as the Chairman of the Party but was explicit about the current state of APC now that they are unable to eject Oshiomole by saying that APC now resembles Oshiomole's physical appearance. By so doing, Omokri made APC's current state explicit/direct and made PDP's state implicit/indirect.

In HD2, Olusegun Agbaje through his statement that slicing someone's head does not mean that Osun rerun was not peaceful made implicit the claim that the election was characterised by malpractices. More so, in HS4, Sam Onwumedo made it explicit that the owners of the party have upper hand over "ordinary" members. On the other hand,

Onwumedo was explicit and direct in his statement that the “food-is-ready” politicians’ aim is to destroy the party; but he failed to make explicit the reason these politicians want to “destroy” the Party.

Continuing, in HD7, Nnamdi Kanu was explicit about the personalities of the Yoruba ethnic group and was implicit about the personalities of Igbo people. He purported:

No Igbo man should attend any Church where the pastor is a Yoruba man, they are criminals and fools.

From the above hate discourse, Yoruba pastors were described explicitly as “criminals” and “fools.” In HD8 also, the Arewa Youths Forum was explicit in describing the North as a “critical player in the Nigerian project” while nothing was explicitly said about the Igbo people. In HD9, the speaker explicitly accused the Federal Government of bringing shame in Nigeria, and those in the entertainment industry were explicitly regarded as those who cover the shame brought by the Federal Government.

In HD10, the Buhari Media Support Group (BMSG) was direct and explicit in referring to Fayose as a “serial liar,” “born agent of confusion” and someone who thrives in “hate speeches and campaigns of calumny.” On the other hand, BMSG was silent on briefing Nigerians on the health status of Mr. President. In HD11 as well, Nnamdi Kanu was explicit about the killings of Igbo people. He also was direct in referring to Buhari as being mad. The statement below illuminates this explicitness:

They are **killing** my people in public, after killing my people they want to try me in private? That person is **mad**. I won’t allow it. Tell Buhari that’s what I said; that he is **mad**. He cannot jail me. He cannot jail me. He is a **mad** man.

Similarly, in HD13, Femi Fani-Kayode was direct in saying that his opponents are not proficient in the English language that he (Kayode) and his supporters are willing to invite a translator and interpreter for easier understanding of the proceedings. In the same vein, Buhari in HD14, instead of making explicit whether cabals have taken over his government as claimed by his wife, Aisha Buhari, rather made it explicit that he does not know which party his wife belongs to. In essence, he understood that providing a direct answer to the question might not be the best option for him. In HD16, Femi Fani-Kayode made explicit what he thinks of herdsmen in the statement below:

These herdsmen have become the **pests** of our nation. They are like the **East African tse-tse fly**; wherever they go they suck the life blood out of their hosts and like the **locust**, they destroy everything in their path. They are **leeches**: they indulge in a **parasitic mode of nutrition** and they **suck** the blood of the carcass until their victim is left for dead.

From the above statement, it was made explicit that the herdsmen in question are pests of the nation who bring nothing good to those they come in contact with. The speaker alluded to these herdsmen as tse-tse fly, leeches, and locusts who indulge in a parasitic mode of nutrition.

In addition, HD17 provides an example where Patience Jonathan was explicit about the meticulousness employed by her people in childbearing. She opined, “Our people no dey born shildren wey dem no fit count” (Our people do not give birth to children they cannot quantify). In HD18, Oba Akiolu made it explicit that everybody listens to him and that those who are not indigenes of Lagos has no right to vote for any other candidate aside the person chosen by him. Similarly, in HD21, Afikuyomi made it explicit that Obanikoro is the Lord’s chosen and his political opponents are agents sent by the devil.

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that in most of the hate discourses, speakers make explicit their group’s good deeds and/or make explicit their opponent’s bad deeds. On the other hand, they make explicit their opponent’s bad policies while making their own group’s bad policies implicit. All these are for the purposes of scoring political or ethnic points.

6.1.2 Local discourse coherence

Local discourse coherence in PDA is of two types: conditional and functional. Conditional relations are often of the causal or temporal kind and crucial in various types of explanation. Explanations may depend on one’s ideological conception of the world in general and may be a function of politically based explanation of events or state of affairs. On the other hand, functional relation of generalisation and specification allow the expression of biased mental models of political events and states of affairs. Thus, if political in-group (we) have done something bad, we may be expected to be treated as an exception and as an incident so that such description will hardly be followed by generalisation. In contrast, the opponent’s bad acts tend to be seen as typical and hence will be described in detail and also

be generalised or a general statement will be made about them, which will then be backed up with detailed specifications or examples/stories (van Dijk, 1997).

In the hate speeches used in this research, there are instances of conditional relations or local discourse coherence. The explanation of Omokri in HD1 is conditional due to the fact that he opined that what differentiates APC from PDP is that the former had no time to remove their Party Chairman whereas the latter had that opportunity. In essence, APC's ability to excel in the 2019 general elections is dependent on their Party Chairman not just on the Party's flag bearer. In HD2, the statement made by Agbaje is based on his efforts to defend the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), because he is an INEC commissioner in Osun state. In attempt to defend INEC from news circulating that the Osun rerun was rigged, he alleged that the murder of a person during the electoral process does not make the rerun not to be peaceful. One begins to wonder what "peaceful" means for Agbaje. In HD5, Dukku's defence of the killings by alleged herdsmen was based on her politically biased explanation of social factors where she declared that the life of a cow is more important than the life of a human being.

From the functional local discourse coherence perspective, in HD1, a general statement was made about APC's inability to remove Oshiomole in time just as PDP did with Sheriff. This general statement made Omokri to liken the state of APC to Oshiomole's physical appearance. Similarly, the expression of biased mental models of state of affairs is seen in HD4 where Buhari charged the army to be ruthless as possible to cattle rustlers and criminals without including herdsmen who kidnap and massacre people in their communities. In this case, the activities of bandits and criminals were generalised whereas those of herdsmen were treated as an exception. In the same vein, in HD5, the speaker also exhibited the feature of functional local discourse coherence in that the killings by herdsmen were treated as an exception. Dukku said:

Yes, the herdsman values even the life of the cow more than his own life. That is how God has created him.

The killings by herdsmen were defended with the claim that God created them to value the life of a cow more than the life of a human being. This supports van Dijk's (1997) assertion that if political/ethnic in-group (we), have done something bad, they may be expected to be treated as an exception and as an incident so that such description will hardly be followed by generalisation.

In HD9, a generalised statement was made by Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of IPOB, about Yoruba pastors. According to him, they are “criminals and fools.” This is in line with the generalisation aspect of functional local discourse. It seems quite impossible that Nnamdi Kanu have had dealings with all Yoruba pastors. He might have come in contact with one or two Yoruba pastors but not all of them. Due to the fact that Yoruba people belong to the ethnic out-group, Nnamdi Kanu generalised that all Yoruba pastors are “criminals” and “fools.” Another instance of generalisation based on political out-group (THEM) occurred in HD10 where BMSG concluded that Fayose is “a serial liar and born agent of confusion over the years who thrives in hate speeches and campaigns of calumny.” In this case, Fayose’s bad acts tend to be seen as typical and hence were described with specific details. More so, in HD11, Nnamdi adopted the generalisation technique when he remarked that Buhari is a mad man for killing his people in public and wanting to try him in private. In HD13 as well, Fani-Kayode generalised that his opponents have few challenges with the English language.

6.1.3 Disclaimer

Another aspect that is taken into consideration under local semantics of PDA discourse structures framework is disclaimer. Disclaimer is a semantic move that aims at avoiding a bad impression when saying negative things about others. In the discourse of racism, as illustrated by van Dijk (1997), such disclaimers are well known as cases of apparent negation (I have nothing against Blacks, but...) and/or apparent concession (There are also smart blacks, but...). From the data gathered, a direct (with the word, but) apparent negation is seen in HD14 where Buhari said:

I don’t know which party my wife belongs to, but she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room.

In the above statement, Buhari said that he does not know the party (political) his wife belongs to but that she belongs to his kitchen, living and other rooms. Through this statement, Buhari used to avoid saying negative things about his wife. Inasmuch as he tried avoiding saying negative things about his wife about her statement on cabals hijacking Buhari’s government, Buhari ended up saying negative things about his wife, which are that his wife has no say in political events and she is meant to be his cook, a thing to be admired and a sex object (cf. Krisagbedo and Agbedo, 2018).

6.2 Syntactic-related structure of hate discourses in Nigeria

For van Dijk, the use of the political plural *we* (or possessive *our*) has many implications for the political position, alliances, solidarity, and other socio-political position of the speaker, depending on the relevant in-group being constructed in the present context. The principle of exclusion, which is at play here, replicates the partisan strategies of power in the political process. Here, the analysis will be based on how political actors manipulate the use of pronouns and word order for polarisation.

6.2.1 Manipulation of pronouns for polarisation

Polarisation comes in the forms of evaluations, descriptions, and references. The polarity appears in the forms of positive self-representation and negative other-representation, where one emphasises one's good deeds and de-emphasises 'their' good deeds or emphasises 'their' bad deeds. PDA theorists claim that descriptions and references to politicians, public figures and organisations and their actions are a function of politically and ideologically based opinions. Whereas 'we' are democratic, 'they' are not. Through this, one positively evaluates oneself and negatively evaluates others. This feature of polarisation appears frequently in hate discourses through pronoun manipulation.

In HD1, the polarisation or evaluation is between PDP and APC as described by Omokri. Omokri accepted the fact that one thing common with PDP and APC is the incompetence of their party chairmen: Modu Sheriff and Adams Oshiomole respectively. But Omokri being a member of PDP emphasised his party's capability of ejecting Modu Sheriff and emphasised APC's inability to eject Oshiomole. In essence, PDP has the time to come out of the mess they have found themselves before the election whereas APC does not have such time because the 2019 general election is few months away.

Suffice it to note that hate speeches do not only occur at the inter-party level. It can also be seen at the intra-party level. This is evident in HD4 where two factions of a party are at loggerheads over the choice of the party's flag bearer in the gubernatorial election that will take place in Imo State in 2019. A faction of the party supports Nwosu, an in-law to the incumbent Governor of the State, Rochas Okorochoa whereas the other rejects the arrangement. The former, in reaction to the latter's refusal to endorse Nwosu, made a statement that shows polarity. This statement has the 'we/us/our' and *they/them/their* polarity. The speech reads:

Their target is to destroy APC but **they** must be resisted by owners of the Party of the state. **They** are food-is-ready politicians. Otherwise, why won't **they** look for a virgin Party and file behind one of them as candidate and let **us** see how far **they** can go (emphasis, mine).

From the above statement, 'we' are those that started the party and the decision lies in 'our' hands whereas 'they' are 'food-is-ready politicians' who came into the party after 'we' have toiled day and night to place the party where it is today.

Similarly, the 'us' versus 'them' polarity appeared in HD6 where Nnamdi Kanu presented Biafra and Biafrans in good light and presented Buhari and his followers in a bad light. He remarked:

I'm a Biafran and **we** are going to crumble the zoo. Some idiots who are not educated said that **they**'ll arrest **me**, and **I** ask **them** to come. **I** am in Biafra land. If any of **them** leaves Biafra land alive know that this is not IPOB. Tell **them** that's what **I** said.

In the above excerpt, Biafrans were presented as educated and literate set of people who have all it takes to defeat non-Biafrans. On the other hand, non-Biafrans were presented as uneducated and barbaric. Nnamdi Kanu also in HD7 and HD11 made a polarisation between Igbo people and the Yoruba people on the one hand and himself and Buhari on the other hand. He opined in HD7 and HD11 respectively thus:

No **Igbo man** should attend any Church where the pastor is a **Yoruba man**, **they** are criminals and fools.

They are killing **my** people in public, after killing **my** people **they** want to try **me** in private? That person is mad. **I** won't allow it. Tell Buhari that's what **I** said; that **he** is mad. **He** cannot jail **me**. **He** cannot jail **me**. **He** is a mad man.

In HD7, the Yoruba people, using a Yoruba pastor as a reference point were described by Nnamdi Kanu as 'criminals' and 'fools' and as such, no Igbo man should attend any Church headed by a Yoruba pastor. Implicitly, he referred to Igbo people as non-criminals and wise people while tagging Yoruba people 'criminals' and 'fools' In HD11, Kanu employed the positive self-representation and the negative other-representation evaluation. He referred to Buhari as 'mad' and speaks against the killing of 'his people,' the freedom fighters.

More so, the feature of polarisation appeared in HD9 between the Federal Government and Peter Okoye, a Nigerian artiste. The artiste remarked:

Dear FG, for *your* information. All the shame way *una* dey bring for dis our country na *we* dey entertainers dey cover *una* Nash! Ndi ala (Dear FG, for your information. All the shame you bring in this country are being covered by those of us in the entertainment industry. Mad people!)

The positive self-representation and negative other-representation ideologies also manifested in the statement above. From the statement, the government officials were seen as those who bring shame to the country while those in the entertainment industry took it upon themselves to be effacing the shame. Here, one can see the polarity of “‘they’ bring shame vs. ‘we’ cover the shame.” This is typical of emphasising their bad deeds on the hand and emphasising our good deeds on the other hand.

In addition, another instance where polarisation occurred is in HD12 between Timi Frank, an acting publicity secretary of APC (when he made the statement) and some persons in the party. In the statement made by Timi Frank, he describes his position as the acting publicity secretary as something worth retaining whereas APC probe panel was described as a ‘Kangaroo committee.’ The statement is presented hereunder:

I will do everything possible to defend **my** position as acting publicity secretary of this party. I won’t appear before *APC probe panel*, it is a *Kangaroo committee*.

The polarisation of negative other-representation and positive self-representation manifests also in HD13 below:

We know that *they* may have a few challenges with the English language. So if *they* like, *they* can even conduct the debate in the vernacular: **we** would be prepared to pay for a translator or an interpreter so that *they* could understand the proceedings.

From the above statement, ‘we’ were presented as literates and rich people who can afford to pay for an interpreter or translator whereas ‘they’ were presented as illiterates who cannot understand the English language.

In HD15, the polarisation did not appear in the form of pronouns or nouns, rather, it appeared as figures presented in percentage. This 95% versus 5% polarity or evaluation denotes that the former will be seen in good light while the latter will be seen in bad light. The case is still the same in HS18 where all manner of parasitic features were attributed to herdsman by Femi Fani-Kayode below:

These herdsmen have become the pests of **our** nation. **They** are like the East African tse-tse fly; wherever **they** go **they** suck the life blood out of **their** hosts and like the locust, **they** destroy everything in **their** path. **They** are leeches: **they** indulge in a parasitic mode of nutrition and **they** suck the blood of the carcass until **their** victim is left for dead.

In the same vein, in HD17, the former First Lady of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Dame Patience Jonathan, in a statement said, “**Our** people no dey born shildren wey **dem** no fit count.” From this statement, the polarity that can be seen is: ‘OUR’ people are calculative while ‘THEIR’ people are not. In HD20, Dame Patience also referred to Buhari as an old man without brain while indirectly referring to Goodluck Jonathan as a young and intelligent man. She opined:

Wetin **him** dey find? **Him** dey drag with **him** pikin mate. Old man wey no get brain, **him** brain don die pata pata.

Oba Rilwan Akiolu in his statement mandating the Igbo people and other ethnic groups in Lagos State to vote for Ambode in the 2015 gubernatorial elections exhibited the polarity of landlord versus tenant relationship where the landlord decides what the tenant does: house rent, when to serve quit notice, and among others. The Oba of Lagos saw himself and his Yoruba brothers as rightful owners of Lagos whereas other ethnic groups are strangers. This made him to emphasise his indigenious status and also emphasise their stranger/visitor status. This he made clear in the statement below:

On Saturday, if anyone, **I** swear in the name of God, goes against **my** wish that Ambode will be next Governor of Lagos state, the person is going to die inside this water... For the Igbos and others in Lagos, **they** should go where the Oba of Lagos heads to. When **they** were coming to the state, **they** didn’t come with

all *their* houses. But now *they* have properties in the state. So *they* must do **my** bidding.

In HD19, Governor Shema of Kastina State charged his followers to crush the opponents because they are cockroaches. Here, Shema emphasised that the opponents should be killed and at the same time emphasised the agility and strength of his supporters. Finally in HD21, the polarisation appeared in the form of God’s child versus Devil’s children as highlighted hereunder:

...Next Step. To become the popularly elected Governor of Lagos state in 2007, by the grace of God and the will of the people. Because **he** whom God favours, no amount of *witches and wizards with broomsticks* can prevent against! Musiliu Obanikoro For Lagos state Governor 2007.

In the above excerpt, Musliu Obanikoro was described as the God favoured one whereas the opponents were described as witches and wizards, which invariably tags them as children of the devil.

6.2.2 Word fronting

Word fronting simply implies the choice of using a word first before the others. This technique is often used either as a sign of importance, issue at hand or emphasis. In HD1, Omokri fronted the name of Adams Oshiomole before that of Modu Sheriff because his emphasis is on Oshiomole. If the statement, “Adams Oshiomole is to @OfficialAPCNg, what Modu Sheriff was to @OfficialPDPNg” made by Omokri was to be made by an APC member, the statement will take a new form: “Modu Sheriff was to @OfficialPDPNg what Adams Oshiomole is to @OfficialAPCNg.” Word fronting observed in HD5 also reflects the importance of “the life of the cow” over “his (herdsman) own life.” More so, Buhari in HD14 demonstrated that food comes first for him, followed by relaxation and then sex. This is the syntactic implication of his statement:

I don’t know which party my wife belongs to, but she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and other room.

In addition, the placement of 97% before 5% in HD15 shows that the constituencies that gave Buhari 95% of the vote in the election will be treated better than those who gave 5%. In essence, the words speakers use first reveal the level of importance they accord to a particular entity or individual.

7. Implication of hate discourses to Nigeria's national development

Hate discourse, as has been generally defined, is harmful to the addressee. It is borne out of hate for an individual, group, race, tribe, ethnic or religious affiliations. Since individuals make up a nation and since the growth of a nation depends on the nature of relationship that exists among its citizens, hate speeches among citizens result in national underdevelopment. The challenges hate speeches pose to the development of Nigeria made the Vice President, Yemi Osinbajo at a National Security Conference in Aso Villa, Abuja in 2017 to proclaim, "The Federal Government has drawn a line on hate speech. Hate speech is one of the species of terrorism; terrorism, as it is defined popularly, is the unlawful use of violence or intimidation against individuals or groups, especially for political ends" (Adetayo, 2017). Hate discourses in Nigeria are increasing exponentially to the extent that Nigerians feel indifferent when talks on how to tackle injustice, poverty, sickness, corruption and underdevelopment are raised but are proactive in laying ethnic foundations that easily beset the unity of the country (Ogwuonu, 2017). The reason behind this is that many Nigerians see other ethnic groups as competitors or the reasons why they are not getting what is due to them, as such, they resort to hate discourses to unleash their frustrations on the out-group (Adibe, n.d).

The Vice President of Nigeria, Yemi Osinbajo, remarked that derogatory and aggressive words can lead to genocide while the former Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, averred that hate discourses can set the country on fire just as it happened between the Tutsi and Hutu of Rwanda. Based on these statements, it is evident that hate discourse is a potent weapon of inter-communal and inter-ethnic tension, conflicts, civil unrest and underdevelopment. From the data obtained in this research, political discourse actors spend the time that should be used in implementing policies that will boost the nation's economy to exchange hate discourses. It has become a norm in the Nigerian political terrain that hate speeches are used during electoral periods. Different political parties speak ill of one another so as to score cheap points in the voting process. In his article on the architects of hate speeches, Femi Fani-Kayode implied that hate discourse should not be legislated

against because those who want to legislate against it came into power through hate discourse. Femi Fani-Kayode remarked:

When they called the opposition People’s Democratic Party (PDP) “a bunch of criminals and looters” it was not described as hate speech. When they called President Goodluck Jonathan “incompetent,” “weak”, “gutless” and “clueless” it was not described as hate speech. When they described him as a “drunken sailor”, a “drunken fisherman”, “a kindergarten President” and insulted members of his family it was not described as hate speech.”

The statement above shows that the affairs of Nigeria have been politicised where political opponents destructively criticise an out-group’s policies. It is worthy of note here that when an individual or group commits a crime or makes a mistake and one speaks against the religion, gender, or political party of the offender, one is also in the process of being faulted for hate discourse.

Hate discourses hinder Nigeria’s national development because of inter-ethnic tensions caused by doubt, lack of trust, and suspicion. No country can grow where hate discourses thrive and the best way to reduce hate discourse and its consequences are to ensure that the rights of citizens from all parts of the country are respected, and the wealth due to them given.

8. Conclusions

The semantic structure of hate discourses in Nigeria have features of implicit statement about the bad policies of the in-group and explicit statement about the bad policies of the out-group. The finding also reveals that the selected hate discourses manifest the semantic structure of local discourse coherence where the negative actions of in-group members are treated as an exception whereas those of out-group are overgeneralised. The research also revealed that negative terms are used to describe the opponents (HS1, HS7, HS9, HS12, HS18, and HS21).

The findings obtained from the syntactic structures of hate discourses reveal that hate speakers use pronouns to emphasise *their* bad deeds and emphasise *our* good deeds. The research also discovers that in hate discourses, stereotypical words are topicalised as a way of showing emphasis. This study has discovered that hate discourses have the structure of polarisation where ‘they’ are destroyers and ‘we’ are restorers (HS4), ‘they’ bring shame

and ‘we’ efface the shame (HS11). This is a clear instance of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

This research has shown that political discourse analysis, as an aspect of discourse analysis, can be used to account for hate speeches by political actors in Nigeria. PDA is apt in accounting for the discourse structures of political discourses. Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that hate speeches in Nigerian political context exhibit, to a great extent, the semantic and syntactic discourse structures highlighted under PDA. In the Nigerian political arena, members of the in-group use negative terms to describe the members of the out-group as well as de-emphasising ‘our’ bad deeds and emphasising ‘their’ bad deeds. PDA, therefore, is a good approach for analysing politically based hate discourses in Nigeria and beyond because since the study is on hate speeches used in the Nigerian political domain, it then became imperative to adopt PDA to enable us highlight the political discourse structures of hate speeches.

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Appendix

1. “Adams Oshiomole is to @OfficialAPCNg, what Modu Sheriff was to @OfficialPDPNig. The only difference is that PDP had enough time before the election to eject Modu Sheriff, while the APC has no such luxury. Alas, today APC now resembles Oshiomole’s physical appearance” – Reno Omokri on his Twitter handle (October 22, 2018).
2. “That someone’s head was sliced with a machete does not mean that the rerun was not peaceful” – Olusegun Agbaje, Osun State REC on Channels TV (September 28, 2018).
3. “Nigerians are looking up to you [the Army] and us to secure the country. What is happening in the areas of operations are disgraceful. I’m very pleased with the way officers and men are firmly putting it down and I want you to be as ruthless as humanly possible. Nigerians deserve some peace.” Buhari in reaction to operations Sharan Daji and Diran Mikiya against bandits, criminals in Zamfara and neighbouring states (August 25, 2018).
Source: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/new/top-news/281336/>
4. “Their target is to destroy APC but they must be resisted by owners of the Party of the state. They are food-is-ready politicians. Otherwise, why won’t they look for a virgin Party and file behind one of them as candidate and let us see how far they can go.” - Sam Onwumedo, Chief Press Secretary to the Governor of Imo State, Rochas Okorochoa in reaction to those who criticised the Governor during the APC ward congress (May 12, 2018).
Source: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/05/988400/>
5. “Yes, the herdsman values even the life of the cow more than his own life. That is how God has created him.” – Aishatu Dukku; January 27, 2018.

Source: punchng.com/benue-killings-knocks-over-lawmakers-comparison-of-cow-with-human-life/

6. “I’m a Biafran and we are going to crumble the zoo. Some idiots who are not educated said that they’ll arrest me, and I ask them to come. I am in Biafra land. If any of them leaves Biafra land alive know that this is not IPOB. Tell them that’s what I said.” – Nnamdi Kanu; August 27, 2017.

Source: saharareporters.com/2017/08/27/nnamdi-kanu-anyone-who-tries-arrest-me-biafraland-will-die-the-cable/

7. “No Igbo man should attend any Church where the pastor is a Yoruba man, they are criminals and fools.” – Nnamdi Kanu; September 29, 2017.

Source: dailypost/2017/09/29/biafra-nnamdi-kanu-terrorist-asked-ipob-members-kill-yorubas-group/

8. “From today, June 6, 2017, when this proclamation is signed, the North, a critical player in the Nigerian project, hereby declares that it will no longer be disposed to coexisting with the Igbos and shall take definite steps to end the partnership by pulling out of the current federal arrangement.” – Arewa youths on June 6, 2017.

Source: saharareporters.com/2017/06/06/northern-youths-declare-war-Igbos/

9. “Dear FG, for your information. All the shame way una dey bring for dis our country na we dey entertainers dey cover una Nash! Ndi ala.” – Peter Okoye in response to FG’s step on discouraging the production of Nigerian movies and music outside the country on July 18, 2017.

Source: www.premiumtimes.com/news/more-news/237359-peter-okoye-p-square-mocks-group-calling-arrest.html/

10. “The comments of Fayose did not come as a surprise because of his penchant for exhibiting the characteristics of a serial liar and born agent of confusion over the years who thrives in hate speeches and campaigns of calumny.” – Buhari Media Support Group on Fayose’s statement that Buhari has been on life support in the last 20 days, on June 29, 2017.

Source: dailypost.ng/2017/06/29/buhari-fayose-serial-liar-enjoys-hate-speeches-bmsg/

11. “They are killing my people in public, after killing my people they want to try me in private? That person is mad. I won’t allow it. Tell Buhari that’s what I said; that he is mad. He cannot jail me. He cannot jail me. He is a mad man.” – Nnamdi Kanu on December 14, 2016.

Source: opera.pulse.ng/news/local/nnamdi-kanu-tell-buhari-he-is-mad-ipob-leader-says-video-id5894478.html/

12. “I will do everything possible to defend my position as acting publicity secretary of this party. I won’t appear before APC probe panel, it is a Kangaroo committee.” – Timi Frank on October 28, 2016.

Source: <http://www.dialytrust.com.ng/news/politics/i-won-t-appear-before-apc-probe-panel-frank/169052.html>

13. “We know that they may have a few challenges with the English language. So if they like, they can even conduct the debate in the vernacular: we would be prepared to pay for a translator or an interpreter so that they could understand the proceedings.” – Femi Fani Kayode on May 29, 2016.

Source: www.dailypost.ng/2016/05/29/

14. “I don’t know which party my wife belongs to, but she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room.” – President Muhammadu Buhari on October 14, 2016.

Source: punchng.com/wife-belongs-kitchen-buhari/

15. “I hope you have a copy of the election results. The constituents, for example, who gave me 97% [of the vote] cannot, in all honesty, be treated on some issues with constituencies that gave me 5%” – President Muhammadu Buhari on July 23, 2015.

Source: punchng.com/buharis-presidential-salvos-from-foreign-lands/

16. “These herdsmen have become the pests of our nation. They are like the East African tse-tse fly; wherever they go they suck the life blood out of their hosts and like the locust, they destroy everything in their path. They are leeches: they indulge in a parasitic mode of nutrition and they suck the blood of the carcass until their victim is left for dead.” – Femi Fani-Kayode on September 29, 2015.

Source: vanguardngr.com/2015/09/the-herdsmen-from-hell-by-femi-kayode/

17. “Our people no dey born shildren wey dem no fit count” – Patience Jonathan on March 3, 2015.

Source: www.vanguardonlinenews.com/

18. “On Saturday, if anyone, I swear in the name of God, goes against my wish that Ambode will be next Governor of Lagos state, the person is going to die inside this water... For the Igbos and others in Lagos, they should go where the Oba of Lagos heads to. When they were coming to the state, they didn’t come with all their houses. But now they have properties in the state. So they must do my bidding.” – Oba Rilwan Akiolu of Lagos on April 3, 2015.

Source: www.premiumtimesng.com/news/180657-oba-of-lagos-rilwan-akiolu-relunctant-to-clarify-anti-igbo-comments.html/

19. “They are cockroaches, crush and kill anyone on your way.” – Kastina State Governor, Shema on February 2, 2015.

Source: www.premiumtimes.com

20. “Wetin him dey find? Him dey drag with him pikin mate. Old man wey no get brain, him brain don die pata pata.” – Dame Patience Jonathan on February 24, 2015.

Source: www.vanguardngr.com/2015/03/now-buharis-brain-is-bracing-up/

21. “...Next Step. To become the popularly elected Governor of Lagos state in 2007, by the grace of God and the will of the people. Because he whom God favours, no amount of witches and wizards with broomsticks can prevent against! Musiliu Obanikoro For Lagos state Governor 2007” – Senator Afikuyomi (Punch, Friday March 16, 2007: 36) (Culled from Omuzuwa & Ezejideaku, 2008).

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.12>

THE COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF 'YAANI' ON TANZANIA WHATSAPP PLATFORMS

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Abstract

The word *yaani* is one of the conjunctions used in Kiswahili. *Yaani* by its common and dictionary meaning is used to give further explanations to thoughts or ideas and it means 'that is'. In recent years, the word has obtained an interesting usage in the language both in the spoken and written communication thereby extending its meaning and usage from the dictionary meaning. This paper therefore seeks to widen the discussion on Kiswahili conjunctions with emphasis on **yaani** both in terms of providing a characterization of the word as well as placing its discourse usages in the appropriate social context. We try to explore the various discourse usages of **yaani** on Tanzania WhatsApp platforms. The data collection took into considerations one on one chats and communications on group pages among Tanzanians. From our analysis, we observed that **yaani** is used to express emotions, regret, surprise, emphasis and can be used as an interrogative word among others. In other contexts, it is observed that **yaani** is used in sentence initial and final positions as opposed to the usual usage as explained in the dictionary. We recommend in this paper that **yaani** be given a critical look at its current stage of development in the language.

Keywords: *yaani*, pragmatic markers, WhatsApp communication, Computer Mediated Discourse.

1. Introduction

Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) is the use of social media and other electronic gadgets for communication worldwide. WhatsApp messaging, one of the social media

platforms, has increased in recent years. WhatsApp messaging is amongst the most used platforms for communication in the world and Tanzania is not an exception. A survey by Bucher (2020) pegs WhatsApp users at 2.0 billion. It has been argued that language on WhatsApp is informal, usually, a deviation from the standard language to other levels such as writing style-spelling, grammar, and punctuation (Verheijen 2017; Indrajith and Varghese 2018). While some communications on CMC are very formal and could be used for references, others are informal in that users use a lot of abbreviations, short words and emojis. Communicators on such platforms including WhatsApp have been advantaged with other multimedia forms such as text, audio, images, animations, or video, which make writing on such platforms luxurious or more flexible. WhatsApp can be used for individual as well as group communication. Our study, aimed at analyzing the use of **yaani**, draws data from such WhatsApp chats among speakers of Kiswahili in Tanzania.

WhatsApp messaging is context-related and members of each group may have peculiar ways of writing in terms of vocabulary and word use and members in a group are likely to understand what is written or discussed than those outside of the group. Our data is taken from WhatsApp platforms used by both individual and group members. The language used on WhatsApp has many linguistic forms such as major grammatical units (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc) as well as the minutest linguistic particle (conjunctions, interjections, etc). **Yaani**, our focus in this paper is a word and has been used in various ways on WhatsApp platforms. The paper argues from the discussion above that the liberty of WhatsApp messaging affords chatters the opportunity to write with flexibility. This is possible with the use of non-verbal features such as emojis (both animated and non- animated) in writing.

Yaani has been used extensively and in different forms on WhatsApp chats of some speakers of Kiswahili in Tanzania as captured in our data. In this paper, we try to explore the various discourse usages of **yaani** on the selected WhatsApp platforms. In the TUKI dictionary, **yaani**, is listed as a conjunction in the general language usage of Kiswahili (Niger-Congo, Bantu). In its function as a conjunction, it binds units of speech together. Thus, in the third edition of TUKI dictionary (2015), this conjunctive function is expounded to mean *‘that is’*.

The example below reflects its core meaning:

1. Mtu mwenyewe ni mrefu sana, **yaani**, anafikia futi sita au zaidi.
‘The person is very tall, **that is**, he is about six feet or more’.

Thus, as in the example above, it is obvious that the common usage of **yaani** is a conjunction that links two clauses, where the second clause throws more light on the first. However, in recent years, **yaani** has obtained an extended usage in the language both in spoken and written communication, so that it has taken on other functions such as acting as an interjection, among others. Thus, it has changed in meaning and usage from the dictionary meaning shown in the example above. Linguistic features that function as conjunctions such as ‘that is,’ ‘you know,’ ‘I mean,’ ‘meaning,’ ‘mehn,’ ‘so to say,’ and ‘well’, used to be regarded as empty and redundant in discourses likewise **yaani**. However, Goddard and Mean Patterson (2000: 98) argue that such linguistic features which used to be seen as not so important in conversations are now considered to be very critical in terms of usage in interpersonal communication. Bolden (2008) also adds that these linguistic features help to define discourses as well as categorize social relationships. The focus of this study is to determine the important uses of **yaani** with regards to how it may give coherence to units of speech as well as other functions that it may play depending on where it occurs in sentences. We observe that when **yaani** is used in its basic sense as a connector, it has additional roles that it plays. This is because beyond its function as a connector at the level of sentences/clauses, its meaning has wider distribution at the level of discourse. This is related to the meaning extensions that it holds from connector scope sentence/clause level to pragmatic usage in context. This paper therefore seeks to widen the discussions on this Kiswahili conjunction, **yaani** both in terms of providing a characterization of the word as well as placing its discourse usages in WhatsApp chats.

Our investigation consists of a corpus of written data purposively obtained from the WhatsApp communication of group and individual chats among speakers of Kiswahili in Tanzania. Our data comprise exchanges of messages within a naturally occurring environment. The data was purposively collected from five (5) groups and five (5) individual WhatsApp communications of Kiswahili speakers in Tanzania with about 20 conversations consisting of 60 sentences featuring the use of the word **yaani**. The data was collected from June 2019– December 2019. The collection was done by asking respondents to forward WhatsApp chats from friends and families through a WhatsApp platform, which was purposively created. After these messages were sent, they were either downloaded from Microsoft Word, electronic notepads and or snap shots and categorized under various themes to facilitate the analysis. In the sections that follow, we analyze the various ways in which the word **yaani** featured in the selected conversations and what it implied.

2. ‘Yaani’ as a pragmatic marker

Linguistic features that bind units of talk together are termed in different ways in the literature. The terminologies include ‘pragmatic markers’ (Brinton 1996; Fraser 1996), discourse markers (Schiffrin 1987), discourse connectives (Blakemore 1989), discourse operators (Redeker 1991), discourse particles (Abraham 1991), pragmatic particles (Ostman 1983), and pragmatic expressions (Erman 1987). Alami (2015) agrees that the different terminologies used to illustrate these features show the diversity of functions that pragmatic or discourse markers perform. Also noting that there are various labels for the same linguistic features (Driesen 2019). Alami (2015) further argues that there is an overarching definition that binds them together be it as pragmatic markers or discourse markers. In relation to this, Fraser (1996) comments that discourse markers are a subcategory of pragmatic markers and or vice versa. They are also used interchangeably in the literature (Redeker 1991; Schiffrin 1987; Abraham 1991; Alami 2015; Kibiki 2019 and Driesen 2019). We will adopt the term pragmatic marker as the cover term for all related terminologies used elsewhere in this study.

By their definitions, pragmatic markers and or discourse markers are those little words/ linguistic elements or expressions, such as ‘*oh*’, ‘*well*’, ‘*and*’, ‘*now*’, ‘*right*’, ‘*you know*’, ‘*but*’, ‘*so*’, ‘*that is*’ and ‘*because*’; that connect and organise units of talk together (Schiffrin 1987:31; Eastman 1992; Kibiki 2019). They express discourse coherence or relations. These units of talk could be conjunctions, interjections, interrogatives etc. (Eastman 1983 and 1992; Ameka 1991; Amfo 2007; Norrick 2009). Redeker (1990) posits conjunctions and interjections as pragmatic markers. The TUKI dictionary defines **yaani** as a conjunction as well as an element that binds units of talk together. However, we observed that it is also used as an interjection in addition to playing other functions. Dunn (1990) and Eastman (1992) mention that apart from **yaani**, there are other words that function as pragmatic markers in Kiswahili. Eastman (1992) believes that interjections such as **ehee** ‘*I understand*’, **shabashi** ‘*bravo*’, ‘*well done*’ and even conjunctions are pragmatic markers. Other scholars, however, believe that that is not the case. Norrick (2009) argues that the complex and multifunctional nature of interjections are such that they cannot be listed among the specific classes of pragmatic markers. However, Eastman (1983) and Eastman (1992), Driesen (2019), and Kibiki (2019) have argued that interjections in Kiswahili be considered as a subcategory of pragmatic markers although they use the term pragmatic particles.

Kibiki (2019) and Driesen (2019) revealed that the multi-functionality of pragmatic markers performs various functions depending on the context of use and specific conversational experiences. The explanations of Kibiki (2019) and Driesen (2019) imply that pragmatic markers can act as conjunctions, or interjections and more depending on the context. This means that context is of great relevance when discussing pragmatic markers. This claim has been supported by Nasir (2017: 15) who agrees that pragmatic markers have specific meanings depending on the context (thus becoming pragmatic meanings) and explained further that they have one core meaning which is procedural rather than conceptual. Fraser (1999) states that discourse or pragmatic markers are lexically drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. They are linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative intentions (Fraser 1996: 168). Thus, they give more clues to interlocutors on how to interpret the relation between the current utterance and the previous utterance, or the other way round. This premise has also been echoed by Maschler (2009) and O'Neal (2013) who emphasize that pragmatic markers give meta-lingual interpretation depending on the context. This means that pragmatic markers can have different meanings in different contexts. Meanings also depend on the text as well as the interpersonal relations between the participants of the conversation.

In addition to having different meanings due to context, it has also been argued that pragmatic markers can be understood with the use of certain non-verbal communication features such as tone, pitch, facial expression, hand movements etc. (Jyh-Her et al. 2006 and Barsk 2009). This stance appears to corroborate the divergence in Eastman (1992) and Dunn (1990)'s ideas. Eastman believed that gestures could also play critical roles in interpreting utterances that accompany the interjections. Therefore, she did not restrict herself to the text but rather focused on the link with the extra-verbal reality. We refer to these gestures as paralinguistic or extra-linguistic features which occur more in written communication, especially on WhatsApp platforms as found in our data. The WhatsApp platforms have afforded chatters the opportunity to supplement their emotions with emojis which are almost not recognized in written communication. We agree with Eastman that such nonverbal cues are very important in explaining certain contexts when it comes to written communication. Eastman (1992) also argued that it is good to consider the sociocultural contexts of discourses. This is because age, gender, class, ethnicity, status, etc, could determine the type of interjections that are associated with communities to express thoughts and feelings. It is our opinion that a conjunction such as **yaani** be

considered a pragmatic marker because it can also play the role of an interjection as found in our data.

3. Theoretical background

This research adopts the contextualization theory which deals with natural language or natural interaction. As propounded by Gumperz (1982: 131), contextualization is defined as a relationship between a speaker, a context (a cognitive construct like a frame, a schema), an utterance and a (non-referential) contextualization cue. This notion developed by Gumperz explains that language depends on context. The ensuing debate around this concept over the past years has been centered on the question of how much in language and which parts of it are context-dependent. It also, and perhaps more substantially, includes the question of how the relationship between language and context should be conceptualized in more theoretical terms. Gumperz (1982) categorized contextualization along three dimensions. The first is according to the aspects of context believed to be relevant for a pragmatic analysis of language (henceforth called the indexed features). The second is according to the aspects of language considered to be subject to a context-bound interpretation or meaning assignment (henceforth called indexicals). Finally, the third is according to the type of relationship which is believed to hold between the first and the second. Our research demonstrates that **yaani**, as shown in the analyses below, explores the context, interpretative usage, and, in other instances, blends both features.

One underlying point that formed the basis of our analysis is the argument that people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction. It is this categorization that we referred to above as indexed features. It explains how utterances are anchored in contexts, which in turn make the interpretation of these utterances possible. **Yaani**, in this instance, is a conjunction, but the context in which it is found may cause it to be interpreted as an interjection, a question marker, or bearing some other function. Driesen (2019) argues that aspects of a context that may be considered very critical are the larger activity participants are engaged in (the speech genre), the small-scale activity (or speech act), the mood (or key) in which this activity is performed. He continues that it is vital to also consider topic as well as the participants' roles (comprising "speaker", "recipient", "by-stander", etc.), the social relationship between participants, the information conveyed and or status in analyzing the pragmatic marker, which, for our study, is **yaani**. Therefore, we can infer from Driesen's argument that a context is the outcome of collaboration and efforts of

participants. Driesen (2019) further explains that a context is about what is relevant for the interaction at any given point in time. The context can be revised, i.e. assumptions can be removed or added to it. According to Gumperz (1982), language is considered an activity, emphasizing that although we are dealing with the structured ordering of message elements that represents the speakers' expectations about what will happen next, it is not a static structure. It rather reflects a dynamic process which develops and changes as participants interact. Further justification of our analyses using the contextualization theory has to do with meanings associated with **yaani**. In this regard, the meanings assigned to **yaani** as used in the units of communication cannot only be adequately described by the glosses of the lexical items used, but also by an attentive analysis of the whole communicative experience in which they occur as part of routinized interactive exchange. **Yaani** as a pragmatic marker in Kiswahili is rich in meanings and it is used to show speakers' attitudes and emotions, therefore manifesting a deep and meaningful interconnection between the language and its contextualized experience.

4. Communicative functions of 'yaani'

In this paper, we considered, from our data, all linguistic instances in which **yaani** lexically connects a relationship between two phrases, clauses, and/ or sentences as a pragmatic marker. Thus, we identified that **yaani** keeps the smooth flow as well as functions as a marker of the coherence of discourses. We also noted that **yaani** can be used in addition to other paralinguistic gestures to bring differences in meaning as per what the WhatsApp platformers used. We now look at the various communicative functions of the Kiswahili **yaani**.

4.1 'Yaani' used as a connector

It is evident that Tanzanian WhatsApp chatters are aware of the dictionary definition of **yaani** as 'that is' as well as its usage as a connector of phrases/clauses. **Yaani**, in this context acts as a coordinating connective which conjoins at least two clauses/propositions, as shown in the examples from the conversation below.

(2)

- a. MT: Kabisa, **yaani**, ukiwa na elimu kubwa halafu huna elimu ni aibu sana. Ukitaka kuandika kitabu mada ni muhimu sana.
'Exactly, **that is**, it is a shame if you have a good education yet not sensible. If you want to write a book, titles are very important'.
- b. GP: Ni kweli, tittle hiyo haina mvuto kabisa, **yaani** haishawishi mtu kusoma 😊
'Truly, this title has no attraction at all, **that is**, it does not persuade one to read'.
- c. MG: Mtu huyu amejaribu kuandika kitabu, we unasema hakivutii, **yaani** ungekuwa wewe ungeweza? nakumbuka tuliyoko shule hata insha ndefu ulishindwa kuandika 😊 😊
'Someone has tried to write a book and you are saying it is not convincing enough, **I mean** would you have been able? I remember back in school you even could not finish writing a long essay'.
- d. MLK: Naomba usaidizi huyu mdudu anaitwaje kwa Kiswahili?
'I need help with the name of this insect in Kiswahili'
- e. NN: Anaitwa fukufuku, Nakumbuka tulipokuwa watoto tulikuwa tunamwimbia ili atoke nje, Waswahili mnajua wimbo wowote unaohusiana na mdudu huyu? **yaani** my people please help me with this song? Wanaofanya tafiti kuhusu Fasihi ya watoto..**yaani** hamjawahi kukumbana na wimbo unaohusu mdudu huu?
'It is called fukufuku, I remember when we were kids, we used to sing to it, so that it would go outside, Swahili people do you know any song concerning this insect? I mean my people please help me with this song? Those who do research in children's literature ... **I mean** have you ever come across any song concerning this insect?'

From the above sets of conversation, the use of **yaani** appears to be closely related to the dictionary meaning, 'that is' or 'I mean'. In the terms of contextualization, its use here can be perceived as an indexed feature which provides more context to enable a fuller understanding of the conversation. Thus, in each of the instances, we find that apart from

functioning as a conjunction connecting two ideas or units of expression, **yaani** also provides further meaning to the first unit of expression by extending the idea into a statement of opinion or into an invitation for the opinion of others.

4.2 ‘Yaani’ used for clause switching

The examples in (2) above show chatters using the dictionary usage of **yaani** as a coordinating conjunction. In other instances, we also noticed that **yaani**, as a connector, links two clauses in which one clause could be in Kiswahili and the other in English, a typical example of ‘clause switching’ and also an example of language alternation¹. We define clause switching as switching from one language to another language in inter-clausal positions. Instances of such switches are usually from Kiswahili in the first clause then English in the second clause. This is illustrated in the conversation below of Kiswahili-English inter-clausal switching.

(3)

- a. NN: Naomba unitafutie neno **yaani** *please help me with the word*
‘Please look for the word for me, **I mean** please help me with the word’.
- b. SV: Kuna wimbo tulikuwa tunamwimbia, ngoja niutafute.
‘There is a song we used to sing for it, wait and let me look for it’.
- c. TS: Nangoja kwa hamu na ghamu jamaani, **yaani** tafadhali *just look for it*.
‘I am eagerly waiting people, **I mean** please just look for it’.
- d. IE: Nyimbo kama huo zifundishwe shuleni! Panda meli baba yako anakwita ukale Ugali na Maharage. Mfunze mtoto akauimbe tafadhali. Tena, kuna mnyama **yaani**, *it is in the family of cats and it lives in the bush!*
‘Songs like these should be taught in schools! Climb the ship your father is calling you to sit and eat Ugali and beans . Teach the child to sing please.

¹ Language alternation is defined as switching from one language to another such as codeswitching and or codemixing (Myers-Scotton 2006, Marjie, 2010)

Also, there is an animal **I think**, it is in a family of cats and it lives in the bush’.

- e. WW: Naam. Fuko ni mole **yaani**, *it is called mole*.
Yes. Fuko is a mole, **that is**, it is called mole’.
- f. SN: Ohhhhh, nilikuwa nafahamu ile mole ya mtu akisema **yaani**, we have some *moles among us*. Lakini *seriously I think we have a mole in this house*. ‘Ohhh, I remember that human mole which goes by the saying, **that is**, we have a mole among us. But seriously I think we have a mole in this house’.

These switches are usually islands in nature where there is no matrix language² that sets the syntactic base for other language inputs. Each clause has its syntactic structure meaning that morphemes from the same language conforms to the grammatical structure of that language. In these instances, we have each clause in either Kiswahili and or English and both have syntactic relations dependent on each other. This can be explained by the fact that **yaani** is functioning in these instances as an indexical that connects the units of speech through context-bound interpretations or assigned meanings as understood through the contextualization theory. This is evident in examples (3a), (3c), (3d), (3e) and (3f) where we have sentences with a mixture of Kiswahili and English. It is noticed that apart from examples (3c) and (3f) which begin with Kiswahili words after **yaani** and (3b)³, all the examples (3a), (3d) and (3e) have the second clauses in English after **yaani**. We argue that although (3c) and (3f) have **tafadhali** ‘*please*’ and **lakini** ‘*but*’ after **yaani** in the second clauses, the sentence structures are still that of English. This is because **tafadhali** and **lakini** in ‘**yaani tafadhali** *just look for it*’ and ‘**lakini** *seriously I think we have a mole in this house*’ are found in the same syntactic positions where the words ‘*please*’ and ‘*but*’ would be found in English, respectively. These do not necessarily make them Kiswahili structures. We also noticed as Gumperz (1982) stipulated, **yaani** in context is dynamic and

² Myers-Scotton (2002)-The Matrix Language Frame Model explains that two languages participate in a language alternation discourse. There is the matrix language or otherwise the host language which determines the morpheme order and contributes the syntactically relevant system morphemes within which lexical items from the embedded language may occur.

³ We noticed that there are some examples without **yaani**, however their presence make communication meaningful since they are part of the whole communicative event.

may change or develop as participants interact; hence the different meanings of **yaani** in examples (3a)-(3f) that at once create emphasis as they consolidate the expressed notions.

4.3 'Yaani' used to express an emotional state

We also found examples of messages where chatters used **yaani** to express one emotion or the other. In such instances, **yaani** then expresses something along the lines of '*I mean, well, really*' etc. in line with Gumperz's third dimension of contextualization. Gumperz (1982) states that people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction. These can be coupled with some other features be it verbal or non-verbal cues. We argue that, used with other paralinguistic features, **yaani** may be interpreted as encompassing all the various emotions that one is able to convey. Thus, we found that chatters have used **yaani** such that it has gained other meanings apart from and beyond the dictionary meaning. We realized that chatters use **yaani** as an interjection as well as using it as a means to express their emotional states such as, anger, surprise and regret.

4.3.1 'Yaani' used as an interjection

It was observed that **yaani** can be used as an interjection to express content or contempt etc. Ameka (1992: 113–114) distinguishes three categories of interjections namely expressive, conative and phatic. He explains expressive interjections as those that show the mental state of the speaker with respect to the emotions or thoughts they are having at the time of utterance such as 'wow' to express surprise and 'ugh' to express disgust. An expression such as 'sh!' is an example of a conative interjection used to ask for silence or to seek the hearer's attention. He also explains phatic interjections as those that are used to establish and maintain communication, such as 'mhm,' 'uh-huh' or 'yeah'. Our examples show a blend of expressive and phatic interjections in the conversation below.

(4)

- a. BB: ...**yaani**, tunaweza tukaungana na tukasajili wanafunzi ambao ni watoto wa Wakuu na wako zaidi ya wastani wa watu 500 ili tupate watu wengi chuoni.

‘..**yeah**, we can add and register the students who are the leaders’ children and are averagely more than 500’ so that we get many people in the university’.

- b. CC: Mie, nafikiri ni sawa, **yaani**, ni hivyo tu.
‘I think its ok, **ohhh**, its ok’.
- c. TT:Dah, Chuo kitajaa, **yaani**, we acha tu.
‘.....no, the university will be full, **ohh** you just leave it’.
- d. BB: Nilitarajia wangeongeza watoto wa wakuu hata kama ni mia moja wangepaa zaidi. Kumbuka kwamba ni mara ya kwanza tunaofanya shughuli hii, lazima tuwe waangalifu sana.
‘I was expecting they would add the children of the leaders even if they are 100 they would have been enough. Remember this is the first time we are organizing such a program so we must be careful’.
- e. CC: Jamaani, nilisema tuache tu **yaani**, bwana BB ache tu...**yaani**.
‘People, I said we should leave that **yeah**, Mr BB just leave it...**ugh**’.

Here, the chatter in example 4b uses **yaani** as an expressive interjection to reject a suggestion made by the chatter in example 4a. We notice that the chatter in example 4c also shows a sign of frustrated contempt, (‘ohh you just leave it’), with the decision being taken and appears to be in disagreement with the chatter in example 4a, thus confirming what Ameka (1992) stipulates. The **yaani** used in this example as a contextualization cue shows the chatter is not in agreement with whatever decision s/he took or has taken prior to the suggestion and thus marks the closure to the conversation. The same chatter in example 4e tells off the chatter in example 4d with the same use of **yaani** in an expressive mode and with another interjection of tiredness/disgust at the tail end of the sentence. Thus, it is used as an interjection to express the attitude of one chatter towards another in a given discourse.

4.3.2 'Yaani' used to express surprise, regret, anger

In other contexts, **yaani** is used to express other emotional states of the WhatsApp chatters. These are not normally interjections as found in section 4.3.1. They are used with emojis. In relation to this usage it helps to remember that **yaani** has its core meaning as a conjunction; however, Dunn (1990:38) argues that although a pragmatic marker has its basic meaning, the meaning may change depending on the context in which it is used. The conversation below has examples of **yaani** with emojis used to express the chatters' emotions:

(5)

- a. TM: Kama aliniambia mapema ningechukua tu. Kwa kweli sijui, nisingempa...**yaaniiiii** (emoji with face of regret)
'If he/she had told me, I would have taken it. Truly, I don't know, I wouldn't have given (it) to him **you see** (expression of regret)'.
- b. MA: Ala!, alikuwa mwalimu wakati huo?... aise **yaani** 🤔!(emoji with face of surprise)
'Seriously!, he was a teacher all this while... I see wow !(**expression of surprise**)'
- c. FA: Wakubwa wa nchi wanakula pesa na wanalala..., hata siku hizi kupata kuona mke ni shida. **Yaani**, *it's so unfair*. (emoji with face of anger)
'The leaders in this country are spending money and sleeping...even to get your wife these days is a problem. You see (**expression of anger**) it's so unfair'.

The examples above of the usage of **yaani** with paralinguistic features such as the emojis of facial expressions of the chatters, coupled with contextualization cues used in the sentences show the various emotions the chatters are expressing. In this context, the chatter uses **yaani** to express the idea that a particular proposition has violated the expectations of the group members or chatter. Drawing on Gumperz's theory of contextualization to analyze these examples, **yaani** can be said to be functioning as an indexical as its interpretation or assigned meaning is context-bound. We noticed that, in line with the

context of the discourse, chatters, being aware of the communicative mode and desiring that their communicative partners understand their moods, use **yaani** with specific emojis to express their peculiar emotions. We also observed that when **yaani** is used with emojis to express regret as in example 5a, it appears to imply ‘you see’. The chatter in example 5b also expresses surprise by using the emoji with a surprised face with **yaani**, while in example 5c the emoji with a face of regret with **yaani** is used to show anger.

4.3.3 ‘Yaani’ used to express emphasis

As a connector that binds clauses together, we have shown as discussed in example 3 above that **yaani** can bind two clauses from different languages. As a pragmatic marker, **yaani** can also be used as a linking word to introduce an emphatic clause. In this function, it serves as a connector for elaboration in that it is used to create the possibility for one to express emphasis in the next clause. The examples in the conversation below illustrate this function:

(6)

- a. LK: Mbona nilikuuliza kama umepata hicho kitu na umeninyamazia? **Yaani**, Upo kweli?
‘Why have you kept quiet when I asked if you got the thing? **Really**, Are you there?’.
- b. ARS: Alishikwa na hofu alipopata habari **Yaani** kama ingekuwa kweli lazima angezimia kwa woga 😊 😊
‘He was afraid when he heard the news, **indeed** he would have been scared if it were true’.
- c. FA: Inabidi ofisi iwafikirie. Hiyo saa 5 usiku mnarudiaje nyumbani? Daladala zinakuwa zimesharudi kwa matajiri, **yaani** hapa kuna mdada mmoja anatembea hadi Mbagala kwa miguu. Tuombe jicho la rohani....
‘The office must consider them. At that 11pm how do you return home? Public transports would have been returned to their owners, **indeed** here there was a woman who walks to Mbagala by foot. We should ask for a spiritual eye.’

- d. FA: **Yaani** kweli mungu atupe jicho la 3. Ooo jmn! na kamkatiza maisha na watu wake jmn..**yaani** mtoto wake bado mchanga.
'In fact, truly God should give us a third eye. Oh my! And to shorten someone's life, **truly** her child is still young.'
- e. CS: Very powerfull 🙏**yaani** machozi yalinilenga!
'very powerful **honestly**, I shed tears'.

In these examples, we find that **yaani** is used to lend emphasis to portions of the dialogue for the effect of making a strong point. In example 6e above, we even find that there is the double effect of using the emoji of a solemn face with **yaani**, as previously seen in 4.3.2 above, to emphasize the chatter's deep emotion stirred by whatever s/he is talking about. Thus, although we find in these examples that **yaani** plays its primary role of connecting two clauses/ sentences, we also observe that it can equally function as a connector for elaboration, in which it will imply '*honestly*', '*indeed*' or '*truly*,' etc in English. Our data shows examples where chatters use **yaani** to connect clauses/ phrases together where the second clause/phrase is an emphasized /elaborated form of the first. For instance, the chatters in examples 6a-6e use **yaani**, which is translated as '*really*', '*indeed*', '*truly*' and '*honestly*' in English, to introduce the clauses that are emphasized forms of the first ones. When **yaani** is used in this manner, it occurs mostly in the clause-final position. In such usage, the chatter pays extra attention to the clause that was written immediately prior to the introduction of **yaani**. Within the context of its usage, the connector **yaani** does not emphasize one particular word, but the entire clause preceding it. In these examples, we argue that the use of **yaani** conforms to the third category of the contextualization theory where it functions both as an indexed feature and as an indexical. Thus, it is at once an aspect of context that is relevant for a pragmatic analysis of the discourse unit while it also takes on an assigned meaning that is context-bound.

4.3.4 '*Yaani*' used as an interrogative term

There are other instances where **yaani** is used as a question marker. In such instances, it is used by chatters to show the type of sentences or tone they are expressing since they cannot use sounds to show these. In Kiswahili, asking a question does not usually change the sentence structure without the use of an interrogative word like declarative questions in English. Besides, it is sometimes difficult to know if a sentence is a statement or question

when one is speaking without using intonation, although there are some interrogative words such as **lini**, ‘when’; **wapi**, ‘where’; **je**, ‘question marker’; etc. These interrogative words are usually found at the end of the sentences, though **je** may occur at both the initial and final positions (Mohammed 2001). In the instance where the speeches do not have interrogative words or question tags, a statement is made into a question by raising the pitch of one’s voice at the end of the sentence in speaking. Thus, when the communicator is not actively speaking, it will be difficult to know if the sentence is a question or a statement. Therefore, in writing, to know if a sentence is a question, the communicator will be required to use a question mark or an interrogative word. In our study, we found that the chatters on the WhatsApp platforms resorted to using **yaani** with a question mark to denote questions. This use of **yaani** with question marks appears to have been developed by chatters to give the other communicative partner the clue that what they had written was intended to be a question. Examples of this usage are elaborated in the conversation below:

(7)

- a. LK: Nzuri hali yako na nadharia ya ufungwa ilivyokubana.
‘It is good for you and your theory of bankruptcy’.
- b. LK: Mimi nimefungiwa hasa, nakuambia ni zaidi ya ufungwa..**yaani?**
‘I have been locked up, I tell you it is even more than bankruptcy ...
question marker’. (isn’t it?)
- c. KO: Bado unahitaji **yaani??** Uchawi **yaani?**
‘Do you still **really** need it?’ **is it** whichcraft?
- d. A: 😊😊😊 **yaani?** hata sijui umewaza nini.
‘**really?** I don’t even know what you are thinking.’
- 7e. C: Ulafi tu, **Yaani??**
‘It is just gluttony, **isn’t it?**’
- f. GP: Lakini kuna wengine uwezo wanao ila hawaoni kama ni priority.
‘But there are others who can claim that they don’t know it’s a priority’.
- g. W: Kabisa priority ina maana yake ..sijui kama unaona hivyo, **yaani??**

‘Exactly, priority has its meaning. I don’t know if you see that, **do you?**’

In examples 7a-7g above, chatters use **yaani** to ask questions. Drawing on the contextualization theory, this sets the context of the dialogue – question – while it also adds to its meaning. In this regard, we observe that sometimes **yaani** itself expresses the question marker. Now, the question markers used with **yaani** give the other interlocutors the clue that these units of dialogue are intended as questions and not as statements. This usage also demonstrates the fact that chatters are aware that they are using written communicative platforms which restrict their ability to indicate questioning through the use of intonation. Therefore, these chatters have managed to use **yaani** with question marks to confirm that their sentences are intended to ask questions. We noticed through our study that this usage of **yaani** conforms to other such instances of language use as posited by Kibiki (2019) where **sawa** ‘ok’, for instance, is used with question markers to denote question sentences. In our study, we noticed that the chatter in example 7c asked a question about a statement made and a question asked by the chatter in examples 7a and 7b. Our observations reveal that when **yaani** is used to ask questions, it could mean ‘*really?*’, ‘*is it?*’ or ‘*isn’t it?*’ as shown in examples 7b, c, and e. These cues in 7b and c appear to prompt the chatter in example 7d to ask, *really?* and then answer with laughter emojis before responding, ‘*I don’t even know what you are thinking*’. In another example, the chatter in 7e asks a question with **yaani**: *It is just gluttony? Isn’t it?* Besides, the statement in 7f also generates the response in 7g where the chatter, after stating an opinion, uses **yaani** translated as ‘*do you*’ to invite a further response. Thus, we observed from these instances that **yaani**, used with question markers, would take on different meanings as well as impact on the context of the dialogue.

4.3.5 ‘*Yaani*’ used to introduce received information

During this study, we also noted that **yaani** can be used to introduce received information. In this regard, we realized that whenever chatters wanted to report information that they have acquired or received from other people they usually topicalized such information with **yaani**. This usage is very similar to how **yaani** is used in its spoken version. Here are a few examples in the conversation below:

(8)

- a. HB: Lazima tuwaulize sasa. Ukiwa na viongozi wanakalia vitu, matokeo yatakuwa hivyo. Nishaona grp lingine imetumwa jana na **yaani** wakasema imetokea leo.
'We should ask them now. If you have leaders who withhold information, things will be the way they are. I have seen the other group was sent yesterday and **I hear** they said it came today'.
- b. LT: Kweli nashangaa, mpaka sasa hatujaona. Kwani uliona lini?.
'Truly I am surprised, we have not seen it until now, when did you see it'.
- c. HB: **Yaani**, jamaa akaniambia. **Yaani**, akasema ndivyo inafanyika. Yeye alikuwa kwenye grp.
'**I hear**, someone told me, **I hear**, he said that is how it is done. He was in the group'.
- d. UM: Sidhani ni kweli lakini mwulize tena. Mbona sisi bado.... pia nikasikia **yaani** wakasema *police will investigate that* na wote watakamatwa.
I don't think it is true but ask again. Why is ours not yet ready.... also I heard **that** they said the police will investigate that and all of them will be arrested'.

From the above examples 8a – 8d, we observed that **yaani** is used to signal that chatters were reporting information that they had heard from or had been told by someone else. This can be deduced from example 8a where the chatter states that s/he had seen that another group had successfully been sent something and that s/he had heard that whatever had been sent was also expected to be received by their group. The dialogue suggests that this information was acquired from someone else. We also observed that **yaani** prefixed the part of the interlocution that refers to the acquired information. In example 8c, a further reference is made to the fact that the information has been acquired: 'someone told me'. Thus, it is evident that **yaani** is used to introduce facts stated as received information, as exemplified in the WhatsApp chats collected for our study. Here again, as per the contextualization theory, we found that the use of **yaani** to report acquired information helped to define the context of the information being given out. Thus, it functioned as an indexed feature that served the purpose of clarifying the source of the knowledge or information being shared.

4.3.6 The syntactic position of *yaani*

Further examples of the use of **yaani** from the WhatsApp chats of some speakers of Kiswahili in Tanzania also revealed that **yaani** can be used in sentence initial, sentence final and sentence medial positions. It must be noted that the sentence medial position of **yaani** appears to reflect its usual position and primary usage as a connector of two phrases/clauses. We, however, realized that when it is shifted around, the position in which it is placed designates a particular meaning. This is illustrated in the examples below:

(9)

- a. LK: **Yaani**, kila kona dear. Sijakuona kwa siku nyingi.
'**Maybe**, every corner my dear. I have not seen you in ages.'
- b. L K: **Yaani**, wanaona kama unajitolea zaidi kwao...**yaani** kuwasaidia tu.
'**Actually**, they see that you avail yourself to them.. **I mean**, just to help them'.
- c. CI: Ndio, kufika kwenye karamu unaona chakula tele ukishalewa **yaani**
'Yes, arriving at a feast and you see a lot of food when you are drunk... **you see**'
- d. WW: Ni nini? Ulifikiri nini? Nakuambia anakula kama anaconda... **yaani**,
hahahaha
'What is it? What do you think? he eats like [an] anaconda.... **I tell you**,
hahahaha'.

From the examples above, it is evident that the position of **yaani** is not restricted in sentences. Although **yaani** is usually used in the middle of phrases as a connector, evidence from the data revealed that **yaani** can also be used at sentence initial, as well as sentence final positions. Besides, it can be used in two or more positions within one sentence as in example 9b. We also realized that when **yaani** is used in different positions, it takes on different meanings as seen in the examples 9a- 9d above. Thus, in its discourse-related usage, there appears to be the tendency for **yaani** to affect overall meaning while it is itself susceptible to a variation of interpretations based on where it may be positioned.

4.3.7 *Yaani* in the sentence initial position

Following from the discussion in section 4.3.6 above on the position of **yaani**, we highlight a few observations on the use of **yaani** to begin utterances as in the conversation below.

(10)

- a. RGH: **Yaani** ni mashetani nakuambia... hata hataki kuongea nami maana akiwa na akili angeweza kujua ana mtoto mchanga. **Yaani**, nilipata chakula tele...kmf: maziwa yanatokaaaa...na hata yeye hataki kula. Kwa chakula sina wasiwasi namnyonyesha tu mara kwa mara. *God blesssss u.*
'**I mean**, it is the devil I tell you.. even he doesn't want to talk to me meaning he doesn't have sense to know that he has a child. **You see**, I got a lot of food for instance: I had a lot of breast milk and even the baby didn't want to feed. So, with food I don't have a problem. I am breastfeeding the baby from time to time. God bless you'.
- b. RGH: **Yaani**, pesa aliyotuma, tukarefill gas, umeme na maji... Balance tutakomaa ivoivo mpka aamue kutuma. **Yaani** *yesterday I learnt something* ulipokuwa unaniambia kwenye gari, nikasema *I won't beg him for money again*. Nitapambana na hali yangu na mwanangu, akituma sawa asipotuma sawa.
'**I mean**, the money he sent I used it to refill gas, bought credit for electricity and water. **You see**, I learnt a lot yesterday when you were advising me when we were in the car, I told myself I will not beg him for money again. I will manage my situation with my child with what is left, whether he sends or not, that's fine.

We highlight these examples of the use of **yaani** in sentence initial positions because we found that even though it may appear in this position in different instances, its meaning could still change due to the context of the discourse. Therefore, just as in other positions, **yaani** does not always retain the same communicative meaning each time it appears in the sentence initial position. Thus, we argue that sometimes the position can pinpoint or assign a role/ meaning that is drawn from the context within which it is used. Analyzing this from the standpoint of the contextualization theory, we make similar arguments as we have made earlier that **yaani**, in the sentence initial position, functions both as an indexed feature and

as an indexical. That is to say that it acts or affects the meaning of a unit of dialogue as it is itself acted upon or affected by the context of that dialogue. Evidence from examples 10a and 10b above show **yaani** used in sentence initial positions in the utterances. However, it is revealed that in one instance its usage implies '*I mean*' whereas in the other instance it means '*you see*' despite its occurrence in the initial position of the second sentences of the same utterances.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, we have argued that the informal nature of WhatsApp messaging platforms has afforded chatters the opportunity to use language in a non-standard way. WhatsApp messaging can be in groups and or individual chats. Communicators on such platforms have the advantage of other multimedia forms, which makes writing on such platforms luxurious or more flexible; and this study has shown how some WhatsApp communicators in Tanzania assign several communicative functions to **yaani**, a conjunction in Kiswahili, aside from the basic role that it plays as a connector. This is because people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of the interaction.

In our analysis, we have revealed that **yaani** is a pragmatic marker and that it plays very important communicative roles in the chats of the selected WhatsApp users where the word has obtained an interesting usage. The implications of this are that the word has gained in meaning and usage extending beyond its dictionary meaning. In effect, other communicative partners within the context of a dialogue in which **yaani** is used have had the opportunity to decode as well as interpret other meanings of the term from its core meaning in discourses. The variety of distinctive uses of **yaani** by the selected Tanzanian WhatsApp users range from its dictionary usage as a connector and interjection to expressing emotions such as regret, surprise, emphasis. We also found it being used as an interrogative word as well as to introduce received information. Syntactically, we found that **yaani** can occur at initial, medial, and final positions in sentences and that each position designated a particular meaning.

We concluded that these distinctive uses of **yaani** confirm Gumperz's arguments that any utterance can be understood in numerous ways. This means that meanings could be analyzed based on context as well as by the participants involved. We also argue that this assertion is especially true for WhatsApp platforms which are context-related,

therefore giving chatters room to invent and negotiate their creativity and relationships to assign additional meanings to **yaani** based on the context of their conversations. Such platforms have also afforded the WhatsApp users the additional advantage of simulating extra-linguistic features such as pitch, tone, stress, and emotion by adequately using non-verbal cues such as animated and non-animated emojis.

From this analysis, we conclude that the many meanings of **yaani** in usage depend on the context and topics discussed and it is up to the communicators to decide on its meaning in any given discourse. We also recommend that as more meanings evolve for the word **yaani**, it would be necessary that the variety of meanings that it yields be captured in the dictionary (to make these other meanings formal) since language is dynamic and evolves. We believe that this will make people better aware of and better able to decipher the varied meaning of the word so as to avoid miscommunication.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.13>

A PRAGMATIC VIEW ON CLAUSE LINKAGES IN TOPOSA, AN EASTERN NILOTIC LANGUAGE OF SOUTH SUDAN

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Abstract

Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan, has been identified as a clause-chaining language (Schröder 2013, Schröder 2020), because it does not allow two independent clauses following each other, but the fundamental sentence structure is that an independent clause is followed by a chained clause. The current paper claims that this clause-chaining constraint creates new syntactic and semantic functions of independent and subordinative clauses, whereby one syntactic function is clause-skipping that caters for adverbial clauses in the model. The structure of independent clause and chained clause yields semantically a distinction of foreground and background information. The foreground information is carried by the finite and the background information by the non-finite clauses. The interpretation of the foreground and background information is explained as cognitive pragmatic routines that guide the hearer to understand the foreground information as main events and the background information as explanations to the foreground information. The background information captured in the adverbial clauses provide explanations for time, reason-result, means-result, purpose, conditions and contrast. The pragmatic analysis is based on the insights of Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995).

Keywords: clause-chaining, clause-chaining model, procedural information, foreground information, background information, pragmatic routines

1. Introduction

Relevance Theory, a cognitive-pragmatic theory, distinguishes between conceptual and procedural meaning and identified pragmatic connectors and conjunctions as carrying procedural instructions for interpretation (Wilson 2011). Toposa, an Eastern-Nilotic

language of South Sudan, has been classified as a clause-chaining language (Schröder 2013, in more details Schröder 2020).

Toposa has a limited number of conjunctions and connectors for clause linkages. This paper will demonstrate that one reason for the limited number of conjunctions and connectors is the fact that Toposa follows a clause-chaining discourse model with the underlying syntactic constraint that too independent clauses are disallowed (Schröder 2020). This model creates a novel division between independent and subordinative clauses and the semantic interpretation of conjunctions and connectors.

The paper will demonstrate that the interplay of the chaining effect and the usage of various multifunctional conjunctions and pragmatic connectors are best explained as procedural constraints that guide the interpretation of utterances in relation to the principles of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995).

In the different subsections the following ideas are discussed: basic assumptions of Relevance Theory, the clause-chaining model, the chained-subordinative clause-linkage, clause-skipping, the pragmatic interpretation of the foreground and background distinction and the procedural interpretation of the clause-chaining model.

2. Basic Assumptions of Relevance Theory

Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995) offers a pragmatic cognitive view on the interpretation of utterances. Relevance theory relies on two principles, the *Cognitive Principle of Relevance* and the *Communicative Principle of Relevance*. The Cognitive Principle of Relevance points to the cognitive perspective of the interpretation of utterances. It claims that human cognition is guided by an innate property that searches to interpret utterances with little processing efforts but with the most positive cognitive effects. Cognitive effects modify existing knowledge and beliefs through three stages; they either contradict and eliminate previous assumptions, strengthen existing ones, and by so doing they build new knowledge from existing assumptions. Thus, the *Cognitive Principles of Relevance* technically is a device that balances the outcome of cognitive effects and processing effort.

The cognitive perspective of the interpretation of utterances also has a communicative aspect captured in the *Communicative Principles of Relevance*. In the Relevance Theory communication is understood as ostensive communication. Ostensive stimuli (an utterance, a gesture, a thought etc.) provokes the expectation that those stimuli are optimally relevant according to the innate property of maximization of relevance and thus the stimuli attract the audience attention. The communication

between addressee and audience is successful if the *informative intention* of the speaker has been encoded and the audience has inferred the meaning of the message and has developed positive effects with it.

The *informative intention* and *communicative intention* of a speaker's utterance is guided by the relevance-theoretic-comprehension heuristic searching for the most cost-effective interpretation of the ostensive stimuli (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 613):

1. Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects: Test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguation, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility...
2. Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied.

The comprehension procedure captures an intrigue online process of inferential processing where interpretive hypotheses are tested and adjusted accessing the cognitive environment of the interlocutors in respect to the explicit and implicit information and contextual implications provided in the utterance and guided by the search for the most beneficial cognitive effect balanced with little processing effort. When the audience realises that it has reached a sufficient interpretation of the utterance simply put if the hearer has understood the *informative* and *communicative* intention of the speaker then the inferential processing stops (for a closer look into the basic principles of Relevance Theory, see Sperber and Wilson 1995, Wilson and Sperber 2014: 607-632).

In Relevance Theory a distinction between procedural and conceptual meaning is drawn (Blakemore 1987; Hall 2007; Wilson 2011; Iten 2005; Unger 2011). Conceptual expressions encode conceptual content manifested through the encyclopedic knowledge in the mind. Procedural meaning on the other hand constrains the inference process in the comprehension procedure. This paper will explain the pragmatic inferential nature of clause-linkages as procedures that constrain the interpretation of utterances. The paper is based on previous research Schröder (2013) where the pragmatics of clause-chaining was captured and Schröder (2020) where the clause-chaining features of Toposa were classified as a systematic model, the clause-chaining model. This paper is based on the assumption that in a clause-chaining model, the interplay of the clause-chaining features and the clause linkages of the adverbial clauses present a novel interrelation and thus a challenge for interpretation that are addressed in this paper. To begin with the concepts of the clause-chaining model are outlined in the next session.

3. Clause-chaining model

In terms of clause linkages, Longacre (1996: 285-286) made a distinction between two models the ‘coranking model’ and the ‘clause-chaining model’. The coranking model is based on a system of coordinative and independent-subordinative sentence constructions. It is organized like English and many Indo-European languages where the conjunctions show semantic differences of time, condition, concession, purpose, reason among others and these adverbial clauses are then in a dependent-subordinative relationship to the independent clauses. The chaining model however organizes the clause distinctions according to the dominate chaining effect that requires that two independent clauses are not allowed to follow each other. In this model the finite and non-finite clauses determine the system. Toposa employs a clause-chaining model as Schröder first discovered (2013) and further developed in Schröder (2020). In the clause-chaining model the default clauses are the chained, non-finite clauses (called *chained clause* from now on) that are following finite clauses. The chained clause is a non-finite clause that indicates morpho-syntactic dependency on the finite clause or controlling clause. In Toposa this morpho-syntactic dependency is marked by the *to/ki* prefixes heading the non-finite clauses. A clause-chaining model has two interrelated organizing principles the formal structural of the finite-chained clause linkages and a semantic one the distinction of foreground and background information. The formal structure of the model will be explained first.

3.1 The finite-chained clause linkage

In a clause-chaining model, the default clause is the chained clause. The scholarly discussion about chained clauses focus on its nature, i.e., on the question whether the non-finite clause is coordinative or subordinative in nature. Some scholars take the position that the non-finite clause is like a coordinative clause (Roberts 1997: 183, also Haspelmath 1995: 12-17). However, in Toposa, the non-finite clause shows morpho-syntactic dependency on the finite clause through the prefix *to/ki*¹. The dependency is of such a kind that the non-finite clause picks up the tense/aspect inflection from the finite clause. As this morpho-syntactic property of the non-finite clause exhibits morpho-syntactic dependency, some scholars call it “quasi-coordinate” (Haiman & Munro 1983: xii, Stirling 1993: 15). Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 455) argue that clauses that show operator dependence are a hybrid between coordination and

¹ Henceforth this marker is glossed as DEP indicating the morpho-syntactic dependency of the sentence to the main clause.

subordination and call this clause linkage ‘cosubordination’. They argue that semantically it has coordinative effects, since it is assertive, but morpho-syntactically it is dependent. I shall adopt this view that in Toposa the chained clauses have semi-independent or cosubordinative status because they are coordinating independent state of affairs, but they are morpho-syntactically dependent on the finite clause in terms of tense, aspect and mood (TAM).²

The following examples show the finite-chained clause linkage of the clause-chaining model. The first example represents the opening of a narrative story (taken from Schröder 2013: 27):

- (1) **Bee** **koloŋo** **nuwan,** **to-lot-o** **Nebu ka Kwee**
 it.is.said long.ago very DEP-go-PL hyena and jackal
ŋa-ki-rap **ŋadesi** **moogwa,** **to-ryam-u-tu**
 INF-DER³-search some food DEP-find-ALL-PL
ŋa-ate **ka** **ŋi-tooni.**⁴
 cow of person
 ‘It is said that long long ago, Hyena and Jackal went to search for some food, they found a cow of someone.’

In the above clause the tense/aspect dependency is captured through the dependency marker *to*. The clause sets the time relation in the narrative into the past tense through the formula *bee* ‘it is said’ and the adverbial *koloŋo nuwan* ‘long ago’ in the finite clause. The following clauses are chained to the main independent clause through the markers *to-* in *toloto* ‘they went’ and in *toryamutu* ‘they found’. The non-chained marking of Toposa verb inflection would be:

² An anonymous reviewer pointed out that the properties of obligatory operator sharing was challenged by Foley (2010) and Bickel (2003) who showed for a Tibeto-Burman language Belhare and Nepali that the operator sharing is optional (cited in Van Valin 2005: 7-8). Foley (2010) questions the concept of cosubordination altogether. However, he presents data from question sentences among others. So his argument is that cosubordination can be optional in Papuan language when it cooccurs with illocutionary force. My argument however is that the clause-chained clause is fundamental for the clause-chaining model, see the discussion above.

³ The gloss DER indicates the nominal derivation marker.

⁴ Underlined vowels at the end of words indicate voiceless vowels.

- (2) a. **Ì-múj-ì** **ɲákírîŋ.**
 3SG-eat-PRS:IPFV meat
 ‘He is eating meat.’
- b. **È-mùj-í** **ɲá-kírîŋ.**
 3SG-eat-PST:IPFV meat
 ‘He was eating meat.’
- c. **É-múj-îti** **ɲákírîŋ.**
 1SG-eat-PRS:PFV meat
 ‘I have eaten meat.’

The difference between the clause chained (1) and the tense/aspect inflection of example (2) is that the latter indicates the difference between the aspects imperfective *-ì* and perfective *-îti*, furthermore tone marks the difference between present and past tense, see that in example (2b) the tone changes from LHL to LLH, additionally an underlying *a-* past marker merges with the person prefix *i-* to *e-*.⁵ The direction of the chain is postnuclear. If the chained clauses precede the main clauses as in SOV languages, the direction of the chain is prenuclear, found in many Ethiopian languages (see Völlmin et al. 2007).

The next sentence construction falls into the same category. The sentence construction consists of a controlling clause and one or two chained clauses:

- (3) **A-bu** **to-osiki** **ɲakimar sementiks,** **ta-lakari** **ɲakilo.**
 3SG-came DEP-give.up reading semantics, DEP-happy more.than
 ‘He gave up studying semantics and felt much happier.’
- (4) **E-bariti** **ɲekilye,** **to-yar-ite.**
 3SG-rich man DEP-live-SIM
 ‘The man is rich and (furthermore) successful.’

Note in (3) the onset *abu* ‘he came’ has to occur to start the clause chained construction off with a finite verb. In example (4) the suffix *-ite* indicates simultaneity. The second clause of example (3) can also be understood as a result of the first statement ‘he felt

⁵ For a detailed description between the non-chained and chained inflection of Toposa the reader is referred to (Schröder 2015: 234-235).

much happier'. In both examples the chained clause demonstrates a dependent consequential relationship. The above examples confirm Longacre's (1996: 286) observation that in the chaining model two independent clauses following each other are not permitted. In a non-chained clause linkage model this linkage is known as additive-coordinative clause linkage.

All clauses that express time relations carry the tense-aspect marking and are finite clauses. They are introduced with *ani* 'when' and *na* 'at the time', 'whenever', see the following examples:

- (5) **Na e-yakatare ŋituŋa kidyaama, ...**
when 3PL-were people above
'When there were people in heaven, ...'

Here the adverbial clause opens a long chain at the beginning of a story. The temporal clause is followed by the chained verb *tatamu Nakuju* (God thought), see another example with *ani*.....:

- (6) **...ani e-baa-si ŋurwa apana uni,**
when 3PL-say-IPFV:PL days up_to three
ku-buŋakini jaberu na a-poti ...
DEP-eager woman who 3SG-be_pregnant
'When it was almost three days, a woman that was pregnant was eager to...'

Ani frequently indicates the beginning of a new paragraph. The clause chain stops before the adverbial clause with *ani* and at the same time starts a new chain with *kubuŋakini jaberu* 'a woman was eager'. Adverbial clauses are often used for the structuring of texts, they open new paragraphs in narrative texts for example.

3.2 Chained-chained clause linkages with hybrid clauses

In the clause-chaining model of Toposa, the adverbial clauses of purpose and means-result are integrated into the chains. These clauses start with a conjunction and indicated a semantic dependent clause linkage to a non-finite clause captured through the conjunction. The following clauses with the meaning of purpose and means-results

are such clauses, they are introduced through the polysemous⁶ conjunction *kotere* ‘in order to’.

- (7) ... **ta-tyakae nai kalo kidinj**
 DEP-divide DIS⁷ from middle
kotere ku-waae nepeewae
 in.order.to DEP-store one part
 ‘It was divided in the middle (= into two parts) in order to store one part.’

It is also possible that *kotere* introduces a semantic means-result relationship, see the following example:

- (8) **To-sew-utu nelapa kode nekuru,**
 DEP-choose.ALL/PL month or year
kotere ku-war-un-eta nituŋa ŋiboro ka ŋakidamadama.
 so that DEP-look.VEN-INS.PL people things of dance
 ‘They choose a month or a year, so that people will look for the things of the dance.’

Myhill & Hibiya rejected the idea that subordination clauses headed by conjunctions could be part of the chain in their clause-chaining definition (1988: 363). They specifically state that clauses headed by conjunctions cannot constitute chains. This statement was falsified through example (7) and (8) in Toposa. Note that the above two examples show that *kotere* ‘in order to/so that’ is polysemous and context has been used to disambiguate the meaning of the clauses.

The contrast relationship is expressed by the conjunction *tarai* ‘but’. It can also be inserted into the string of chained clauses and occurs with a chained verb:

- (9) **Ki-bi Lobela Lolemumoe, tarai to-pege Lolemumoe jiki.**
 DEP-ask Lobela Lolemumoe but DEP-deny Lolemumoe strictly
 ‘Lobela interrogated Lolemumoe, but Lolemumoe denied [it] strictly.’

⁶ The conjunction ‘*kotere*’ is polysemous because it expresses a reason-result relationship with ‘because’, a means-result relationship with ‘so that’ and a purpose relationship with ‘in order to’.

⁷ The gloss DIS indicates a discourse marker.

The last three clauses create a hybrid in the clause-chaining model. They do not fit into the definition of cosubordination that states that the chained clauses are semantically independent but morpho-syntactic dependent. Chained clauses like (7), (8) and (9) that are semantically and morpho-syntactic dependent constitute a hybrid between a chained clause because of the morpho-syntactic dependency feature and a subordinative clause because of the semantic dependency.

3.3 Clause skipping

The second important clause linkage in the clause-chaining model is clause skipping. Clause-skipping is an intriguing phenomenon in the discourse structuring of clause-chaining languages in that they allow a clause with a regular verb inflection to be inserted into a chain without breaking it. This clause insertion is not a new phenomenon for clause-chaining languages. Stirling refers to this form of insertion as “clause skipping” (Stirling 1993: 18-20).

Toposa allows two types of clauses to be inserted in this way, all subordinative clauses with finite verb inflections and metarepresentations.

The following example presents an embedded clause with regular verb inflection as an example that does not break the chain (taken from M. Schröder 2010: 48):

- (10) **Ani e-jeketa ḡakile ka ḡaate, ta-ratar-ata Kwee**
 When 3SG-become.good milk of cow DEP-cheat:.ABL.INS jackal
Nebu, to-lepuuni ca ḡaate, to-ḡoba ḡakile,
 hyena DEP-milk:HAB:SIM DIS cow DEP-drink.up milk
ani i-doḡ-i ḡegoototo, to-lemu ḡacoto,
 when 3SG-remain-IPFV:PAST foam DEP-take urine
ki-yata-kinea ...
 DEP-add-BEN-INS
 ‘When the milk of the cow had become good, Jackal cheated [intensive]
 Hyena, he continually milked the cow, he drank up the milk, when [only] foam
 remained, he took urine, he added [that], ...’

Into this chain of eight clauses (only five are shown), the clause *ani idoḡi ḡegoototo* ‘when [only] foam remained’ has been inserted without breaking the chain: the sentence structure continues with the *to-/ki-* forms, which are still dependent on the first controlling clause of the string of clauses, which is a finite-subordinative clause of time discussed in example (6) above.

The adverbial clause expressed by *tani* ‘until’, which is placed at the end or in the middle of a chain, is used with inflected verbs and typically contains background information. The relevance of the distinction between foreground and background information in the chained model will be explained in the next section. The following example shows the occurrence of *tani* in the middle of a clause chain:

- (11) **Ki-syautu⁸ nai ikesi ne-kere, to-sukwo kaneni**
 DEP-begin DIS they INF-race DEP-runPL from.there
tani e-naŋ-i Nebu nikalonani, to-para Nebu Nakidodoko.
 until 3SG-reach-IPFV hyena far_away DEP-call hyena frog
 ‘They began racing, they ran from there until Hyena reached far away, Hyena called Frog.’

As this example shows, the chain is not broken through the occurrence of the adverbial clause with ‘until’.

In some languages, clause-chaining can include conditional clauses (see Stirling 1993: 190, where an example for Amele is quoted). In Toposa, conditional clauses are generally not included in the chain and are used with inflected verbs inside the chain, as the following example shows, the clause provides background information:

- (12) ...**ani e-cam-iti ijesi na-ki-mara,**
 If 3SG-want-PFV he INF-DER-count
ki-te-gyelana ka nateketa kode ka njikalea kece.
 DEP-CAUS-divide by categories or by homes their
 ‘If he wants to count [them], he divides [them] into their categories, or by their homes.’

Note that the verb in the conditional clause carries a perfective suffix and the present tense meaning,⁹ so the verb in the chained clause copies the present tense meaning. Note further that the conjunction *ani* ‘when’ can also be used for conditional clauses with the meaning ‘if’. The conditional realis will use *ani* only and the irrealis *ani kerai*.

⁸ If sentences are starting with chained verbs, they are taken out of the chain for the purpose to show certain linguistics features. For example (11) demonstrates that the adverbial clause starting with *tani* ‘until’ is used with an inflected verb.

⁹ There is a small group of verbs in Toposa that carry perfective marking but really have present continuous meaning, possibly in the sense of ‘has started to’.

Clauses with the conjunction *kotere* can be used with both, inflected and chained verbs. In case *kotere* occurs with inflected verbs its meaning is ‘because’ as seen in the following example:

- (13) ... **ku-wokori**, **ki-jirakini** **nakipi**, **kotere** **e-kuryan-iti** **daŋ** **Nepeooto**.
 DEP-run DEP-slip water because 3SG-afraid-PFV also hunting-dog
 ‘He runs away, slips into the water, because he is also afraid of Hunting dog.’

The subordinative clause introduced by *kotere* has an inflected verb, following two chained verbs and is often placed at the end of a sentence construction. The occurrence of the inflected verb indicates to the hearer that the clause is not providing the purpose for the action of the previous clause, but it is semantically a reason-result clause, compare with example (8) and (9).

It is not uncommon to have negation excluded from the clause-chaining devices i.e., negation clauses carry the tense/aspect marking of the non-chained clauses, because they indicate background information (Longacre & Hwang 2012: 185), see the following example:

- (14) **Ku-cwa-ki** **ŋituŋa** **naapuni** **naŋololo** **ŋina**,
 DEP-send-BEN people to.find river that
tarai **ŋ-e-dolo** **ŋituŋa** **ŋulu**, **ta-tamu** **nabo** **Lokoliŋiro** ...
 but NEG-3SG-reach people these DEP-think again Lokoliŋiro
 ‘He [Lokoliŋiro] sent people to find that river, but these people did not reach [it]. Also, Lokoliŋiro thought ...’

In example (14) the negative clause *tarai nedolo ŋituŋa ŋulu* ‘but these people did not reach [it]’ does not interrupt the chain that follows with the sentence *tatamu nabo Lokoliŋiro* ‘also, Lokoliŋiro thought’. Negative clauses are typically regarded as background information and categorized as collateral information (Grimes 1975, Longacre & Hwang 2012:18).

Adverbial clauses of manner are always regarded as background information and occur with an inflected verb, as in the following example, this clause is only used in the complement position of clauses:

- (15) ... **ki-boyii ca, ta-ɔnu Kwee natemari e-twan-itɪ itekeɲe.**
 DEP-sit DIS DEP-see Jackal that 3SG-died-PFV mother-his
 ‘He (= Jackal) sat (= waited), Jackal saw that his mother had died.’

The *e-twanitɪ itekeɲe* ‘his mother died’ clarifies what has happened to the mother of Jackal in the story, it also does not interrupt the chain.

If the contrast relationship *tarai* is used with an inflected verb, the clause is inserted into the string of chained clauses without breaking the chain, The *tarai* clause describes an anterior event and represents background information:

- (16) **To-para nekasukowutu ɲaberu, tarai a-potu**
 DEP-call elder wives but 3PL-come-PST/PFV
ɲaberu daani to-jotoorosi.
 women all DEP-sleep
 ‘The old man called [his] wives, but all the women had come [discourse] [and] had fallen asleep.’

Chains can also have metarepresentations inserted. Metarepresentations constitute thoughts about known customs, sayings or citations. They are shared implicit background information in the mind of the narrator and listener and they are made explicit for the explanation of the succession of the actions that are taken place. In the following example the metarepresentation refers to a custom that regulates the burying of the placenta:

- (17) **To-mudarae ɲaɲasepe, kalo taleo ka ɲicye,**
 DEP-carry.out placenta, according customs of some
e-nukwakino ɲaɲasepe nakutuku ka ɲakai
 3SG-bury-PASS placenta at.entrance of house
kode ɲicye to-nukwa-kina nakeju ka ɲeɲoomo.
 or others DEP-bury-PASS at.foot of ngoomo.shrub
 ‘The placenta is carried outside, according to some customs the placenta is buried at the entrance of the house or at the foot of (= under) a ngoomo-shrub.’

In the succession of the foregrounded processes of childbirth, a statement about the disposal of the placenta: *kalo taleo ka ɲicye, enukwakino ɲaɲasepe nakutuku ka ɲakai* ‘according to the customs of some, the placenta is buried at the entrance of the house’

is inserted. The reason why this embedded explanation is not marked with the chaining marker *to-/ki-* is that it constitutes a metarepresentation which serves as a backgrounded explanation for why the placenta is buried at the entrance of the house. The burying is not only a random process but has to follow clear defined procedures. The next clause resumes the previous chain, as is indicated by the verb in *ɲicye tonukwakina* ‘others bury it’, i.e. the metarepresentational clause is inserted into the chain without breaking it. Metarepresentations of this type do not only occur in narrative but also in procedural and expository texts (Schröder 2020). The next question deals with the semantics of the clause chained model.

4. The semantics of the clause-chaining model: The foreground-background distinction

One other phenomenon for clause-chaining languages is that they organize the discourse information of foreground and background around the syntactic clause division of finite versus non-finite clauses, where the chained clauses represent the foreground and the non-chained clauses the background information found in all genre of texts (for a detailed description of foreground and background information in clause-chaining languages the reader is referred to Schröder 2013). Let us consider the beginning of a narrative (taken from M. Schröder 2010: 6):

- (18) S1 **Bee** **koloŋo** **nuwani**, **na** **e-yakatare** **ɲituŋa** **kidyaama**,
 It.is.said time long.ago when 3PL-was people in.heaven
ta-tamu **Ŋakuju** **payeawuni** **ikesi** **kopo**.
 DEP-thought God to.bring them down
 S2 **Abu** **Ŋakuju**, **to-limoki** **ɲikaɲiti** **nitikawosoni** **nibe** **Napurukucu**,
 came God, DEP-told bird very.clever who.called Napurukucu
tem, **“To-woyiu** **ɲawuno**, **kotere** **ki-yooliyorotori**
 DEP:said IMP-twist rope in.order.to DEP-take
ɲituŋa **kopo.”**
 people down
 S3 **To-woyiu** **nai** **Napurukucu** **ɲaputu** **natikaanikani**, **to-woi**
 DEP-twisted so Napurukucu tendon-string which.strong DEP-long
loowoi.
 very

- S4 **Ki-yooliwunoe nai ɲituɲa, ki-bitibitiunɪ kopo, ɲaberu**
 DEP-were-let-down so people, DEP-let.themselves down, women
ka ɲide tya ɲikecekilyoko.
 and children and husbands-theirs
- S5 **To-doka ɲituɲa ɲurwa ɲiaarei, juutawar, kiiya kuwala.**
 DEP-climbed.down people days two dusk dawn
 ‘1 It is said [that] long ago, when there were people in heaven, God planned to bring them down [to earth]. 2 God came, he told a very clever bird whose name was called Napurukucu (= Orange Starling), he said, Twist a rope in order to take people down. 3 So Napurukucu twisted a strong tendon-string, it was very long. 4 The people were let down, they let themselves down, the women and children and their husbands. 5 The people climbed down [for] two days, [from] dusk <juu> [until] dawn <kiiya> (= day and night).’

The first part of sentence (S1) *Bee koloŋo nuwani, na eyakatare ɲituɲa kidyaama* ‘It is said long ago, when people were in heaven’ introduces the scene in the narrative, the main verb *bee* ‘it is said’ is a fused form of the verb *bala* ‘to say’ which now represents an opening formula. The clause *abu Nakuju* ‘God came’ in (S2) marks the person agreement prefix *a-* of *abu* ‘he came’; it fuses the past tense marker *a-* and begins of a long chain. The succeeding events all carrying the *to-/ki-* markers, are set in the past, transferring the past marker of the initial clause into the entire chain (taken from Schröder 2013: 33):

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (19) | ta-tamu | he thought |
| | to-limoki ɲikaɲiti | he told the bird |
| | tem¹⁰ | he said |
| | to-woyiu Napurukucu | Napurukucu twisted |
| | to-woi | it (the rope) was long |
| | ki-yooliwunoe nai ɲituɲa | so the people were let down |
| | ki-bitibitiunɪ kopo | they (the people) let themselves down |
| | to-doka ɲituɲa ɲurwa ɲiaarei | the people climbed down for two days |

If on the other hand a verb marks the normal tense-aspect markers as demonstrated with the examples (2a-b-c) and if no *to-/ki-* marking occurs, the hearer understands that that information deals not with the sequential occurrence of the events but highlights clarification, explanations and comments that support the salient information of the

¹⁰ In this verb, the dependent marker *t-* is fused with the root.

narrative representing background information. In this way the relative clause (S2) *nibe Napurukucu* ‘which was called Napurukucu’, which describes one of the main characters of the story, is not foregrounded but backgrounded.

5. Procedural Interpretation of the clause chained model

The foreground-background distinction in the clause-chaining model was previously interpreted as procedural interpretation of pragmatic routines (Schröder 2013), which is briefly repeated here.

5.1 Procedural instruction of the foreground information

Referring back to example (18) the following procedural interpretation holds: Discourse analysis reveals that narratives capture successions of events that happen in the past, so that hearers after processing the information understand and expect that the events indicated through the *to/ki* marker are following a sequential order as demonstrated in the above string of events in example (19). On the assumption that speaker and hearer balance the cost-benefit scale by taking a path of least effort, the prefixes *to-/ki-* will guide the hearer to expect that the *to/ki* marked events progress the narrative. Thus, the events marked in this way will automatically have the cognitive effects that the foreground information of the narrative is talked about as shown in (19). On the other hand, if a verb is not marked by *to/ki* but by the normal tense/aspect markers as discussed in examples (2) and (S2) of example (18), the hearer realizes that such an information does not point to the sequential order of events, but this kind of information clarifies, explains or supports the sequence of events and is regarded as backgrounded. In this way the relative clause (S2) *nibe Napurukucu* ‘which is called Napurukucu’, describing one of the main characters of the story, is backgrounded as the verb indicates a finite form and not the non-finite form *to/ki*. The hearer would pick up the instructions of understanding the *to/ki* information as the main events. How the background information can be finetuned in the interpretation process according to the occurrence of the conjunctions will be discussed in the sections below.

In the following section I will discuss that the processing of the foreground and background information through the respective verb markers develops into automatic processes that develop into pragmatic routines.

Vega Moreno (2007) draws an interesting parallel between creative pragmatic inferences and standardization of pragmatic processes that develop into what she calls *pragmatic routines*.

Relating to the interrelationship between creative pragmatic inferencing and pragmatic routines the automatic processing of *to/ki* as foreground information develops into pragmatic routines so that the hearer directly accesses sentences with *to/ki* as procedural instructions to look for the most salient information of the text. The morpho-syntactic *to/ki* marking indicating a grammatical dependency on the verb is automatically accessed as foreground information through the frequency of use, frequent access and inferencing of the same premises, hypotheses and contextual implications.

Those verbs that carry the finite tense/aspect marking suggest another path of inferences: the hearer accesses that information as explanations, clarification or commenting on the salient information and this information is registered in the mind as backgrounded.

As the hearer can identify the finite clauses as background information in the pragmatic routines the respective conjunctions specify now the clarifying, explanation and commenting processes. The next paragraph will deal with the procedural interpretation of the background information.

5.2 Procedural instructions of the background information

As discussed in the previous paragraph the mind through frequent access can develop pragmatic routines of inferences that make the inferencing of information less effortless. The pragmatic routine process for the verbs that carry the tense/aspect marking of the language is that this information provides explanations, comments and clarifications of the foreground information. The clauses with the finite tense marking are thus clauses that constrain the inferences of the background knowledge in regard to time relations, contrast, cause and effect, means-result and purpose. The following paragraphs will demonstrate the constraints on the inference processes with the respective clauses.

5.2.1 Time-relations

Clauses that capture the time relations have conjunctions like *ani, na* ‘when, whenever’ and *kaku* ‘after’. The clause with the conjunction ‘when’ and ‘kaku’ will be used to demonstrate the time relationships, see the following example:

- (20) **Ani e-jeketa ṅakile ka paate, ta-ratarata Kwee Nebu,**
When 3SG-become.good milk of cow DEP-cheat:INT jackal
hyena.....
'When the milk of the cow had become good, Jackal cheated [intensive]
Hyena...'

In the above example the subordinative time clause is used to open a new chain, it constitutes the beginning of a new paragraph. As the clause does not carry the foreground marker *to/ki* but the regular tense/aspect marking the hearer accesses the information as comments on the foreground information automatically as a routine process. In this case the conjunction triggers the conclusion that in the succession of the events capturing the conflict between hyena and jackal, jackal's next move to cheat hyena started at the point when the milk of the cow was very sweet and drinkable. The hearer accesses the cognitive effects that a new scene for actions has been opened at a time when the milk was ready. The conjunction *kaku* 'after' is also used to open new paragraphs in a text, see the following examples (M. Schröder 2010: 135):

- (21) **Kaku ka ṅuna, a-bu nyakoro to-per-ik Kwee ka Nyebu**
After of days 3SG-come hunger DEP-hit-BEN jackal and hyena
'After all that, hunger hit Jackal and Hyena.'

The procedural instructions the hearer accesses are that after a time span, hunger evaded the area. Note that *kaku* 'after' and *ani* 'when' play a role in the overall structuring of a text.

5.2.2 Contrast

The contrast clause can be used with finite and non-finite clauses. The next examples demonstrate the non-finite verb with a contrast clause:

- (22) **Ki-darā nai Nyebu, tarai ikwa ku-luny-orī , Nyebu lokale**
DEP-wait DIS hyena but as soon as DEP-leave-ABL hyena home
To-myede ata Kwee, ki-rika iṅesi nyakuriṅi
DEP-strangle mother of jackal DEP-eat.up he meat
'He (Jackal) waited for Hyena, but as soon as he (Jackal) left the home,
Hyena took his place (= went in) in the home, he strangled the mother of
Jackal, he ate up the rendered meat.'

Semantic relationships of contrast guide the hearer to the cognitive effects to eliminate previous assumptions guided through *tarai* ‘but’ and build new ones. In the above example (22) Jackal and Hyena are fighting over meat. They had agreed to share the meat of a cow. So, Jackal waited for Hyena to share the meat. But when Jackal left, Hyena did not honour the agreement, but strangled Jackal’s mother and ate up all the meat. The conjunction ‘but’ signals to the hearer that his assumption about the agreement between Jackal and Hyena has to be eliminated, in fact the hearer builds the new implication that Hyena is cheating Jackal. This contrast clause represents a ‘hybrid’ in the clause-chaining model. Syntactically it is a chained clause indicating foreground information, however semantically through the conjunction ‘but’ it guides the hearer to interpret the utterance as an explanation, namely that the previous hold assumption of the agreement between Jackal and Hyena to share the meat does not hold anymore. So, the information in (22) is important for the succession of the events, it provides an explanation. In terms of interpretation the mind will access the information in (22) as backgrounded in spite of the foreground marker *to/ki*. These hybrid clauses break the pragmatic routines and expect the hearer to invest more processing effort into inferences to find the interpretation of the utterance. The hearer is guided by the procedural instruction of the conjunction ‘but’. If the *tarai* ‘but’ clause is used with finite verbs as shown in example (23) the hearer will access it directly as background information:

- (23) **To-rem-o** **ɲituŋa lukaalaka** **Lobanyete**, **tarai e-mame** **nyepɛi dan**
 DEP-throw-PL people many Lobanyet but 3SG-be.not one even
a-beiki **iŋesi**.
 3SG-hit-BEN him
 ‘Many people threw their spears [after] Lobanyet, but there was not even one who hit him.’

The information captured in the contrast clause explains why Lobanyet was not hit by a spear, although many spears were thrown at him. The hearer picks up the procedure and eliminates the assumption that Lobanyet would be deadly hurt following the throwing of the spears, as the explanation is given that no spear will hurt him. The hearer infers the information as background information, as explanation to the event line of the narrative because of the tense and aspect marking.

5.2.3 Cause and effect

The semantic cause-effect clause linkage is expressed with the conjunction *kotere* ‘because’ and the verb in the clause is a finite verb, see the following example:

- (24) **Ki-ira-si nayi ɲityaɲi daani nyeruye keɲe,**
DEP-hear-PL DIS animals all scream his
tarai nyi-ɲarakina iɲesi, kotere e-kuryan-it-o ikesi iɲesi.
but NEG-help him because 3SG-fear-PFV-PL they him
‘All the animals heard his screams, but they did not help him, because they were afraid of him.’

The hearer straight away because of the automatic routines choosing a path of less effort, signaled by the clue of the finite verb, accesses the information as background information and is guided through the procedural conjunction ‘reason-result’ ‘because’ to look for an explanation in the on-going events. The background to the utterance is that lion was caught in a trap and the animals heard his scream but did not help him. The clause introduced by *kotere* ‘because’ provides the explanation why the animals did not help lion. All animals usually fear the lion because of his strength and because he is a carnivore.

5.2.4 Purpose clause

The conjunction *kotere* is a multifunctional polysemous conjunction, it is also used for a purpose clause. However, in this example the purpose clause is expressed with the non-finite verb:

- (25) **Nabo e-ra-i nyelemata ɲapesuru dir**
Again 3SG-be:IPFV engagement-dance girls really
e-ram-akin-it-ae, kotere ku-umarere
3SG-get-BEN-PFV-PASS in order to DEP-marry-PAS:INS
‘Also, the engagement-dance is really to get girls, in order to marry [them].’

The hearer will be guided by the conjunction not to look for the cause of the action, because the verb is expressed in the non-finite verb form. The non-finite verb form will disambiguate between the meaning of polysemous *kotere* ‘because’, that occurs with the inflected verb form and *kotere* ‘in order to’ with the non-finite verb form. As

mentioned before chained clauses that carry a semantic dependency through a conjunction constitute a hybrid of a grammatically chaining effect and a semantic effect expressed through the conjunction as in the case of example (25). In this hybrid the distinction between foreground and background information is erased. Semantically the hearer will understand the information as background information because it comments on the independent clause, the main events. The semantic pragmatic input guided through the conjunction ‘in order to’ overrides the formal pragmatic routines triggered by *to/ki*. The hearer has to invest extra processing efforts to find the interpretation of the utterance.

5.2.5 Means-result

The means-result clause linkage can be expressed in two ways. It either uses *kotere* ‘so that’ or it drops the conjunction completely, see the next example with *kotere*:

- (26) **Ki-cwaar-ae** **ɲituɲa lot-elae** **daani,**
 DEP-send-PASS people LOC-section all
kotere to-limok-isi **ɲituɲa ku-uduni** **na-kidamadama.**
 so that DEP-tell-BEN-PL people DEP-gather LOC-war dance
 ‘People are sent to all sections, so that they tell the people to gather for the dance.’

The hearer is guided by two clues: the conjunction and the tense of the clause. If it is the non-finite verb form with the dependency marker the hearer expects the information to provide foreground information.¹¹ The specific semantic link can either be purpose ‘in order to’ as shown in (25) or means-result ‘so that’. So, in order to disambiguate the two possible meanings of *kotere* the hearer has to access more context for disambiguation. At this point it is not obvious what kind of context could help in the disambiguation of the meaning. In both chained clauses with *kotere* (24) and (25) the pragmatic routines that rely on the distinction between the finite and non-finite marking of the verb are broken as these clauses constitute a hybrid of formal morpho-syntactic dependence and semantic dependence. The hearer cannot rely on the pragmatic routine channeled through the *to/ki* routine first but has to access the interpretation of the background through the conjunction ‘*kotere*’, which either provides the hearer with the information of means-result or purpose.

¹¹ The hearer knows that the explanation cannot be in form of a reason, as the reason clause is guided through the *kotere* coupled with the finite verb form see example (24).

It is also possible in the means-result combination to drop the conjunction completely, in the following example the conjunction is dropped, however the meaning of the clause linkage is ‘so that’.

- (27) **A-los-i aaṅa daṅa nya-kilepe nyaate nyapaarani na**
 3SG-go-PRS_IMP also INF-milk cow day this
a-ta-anyu ṅakiro naka nyeekuriti nu ni ikote.
 1SG-DEP-find.out story of worm this is how
 ‘I am also going to milk the cow today so that I can find out what this story of the worm is all about.’

At this point it is not obvious how the hearer can access the correct information. If the conjunction between a finite-chained combination is dropped the hearer has three options, the linkage can either be additive as in example (3) and (4) or means-result as in (27). At this point it is not obvious from the context how the hearer can find out the specific meaning.

5.2.6 Condition

The condition clause is also used with the finite verb as in the following example:

- (28) **Bee na e-lemarea nyitooṅi nyibore ka Lokaya,**
 It is said when 3SG-took-INST someone something of Lokaya
ani e-lil-i iṅesi, to-liy-ori jiki nakwaare.
 if 3SG-become.angry-IPFV:PST DEP-change-ALL:REFL always at.night
 ‘It was said that when someone took (= stole) something from a Lokaya, if he became angry, he changed [into a dangerous animal] by night.’

The condition clause is introduced through *ani* ‘if’ or ‘*ani kerai*’ ‘if’, the former *ani* represents a first-class condition clause, and *ani kerai* ‘if’ occurs as irrealis. The conjunction ‘ani’ is also used for the time relation ‘when’. However, the hearer is guided by the absence of any time adverbial that *ani* has to be the conditional ‘if.’ The *ani* in (28) cannot describe the tense relation but it explains the condition under which Lokaya changes at night into an animal, the utterance is also understood as clarification for the main event, so as background information, because the clause occurs with the finite verb marking.

6. Conclusion

The paper discussed the clause linkages in a clause-chaining model from a structural and a procedural pragmatic point of view. Structurally, Toposa is a clause-chaining language and follows the rules and principles of a clause chaining model that works on the assumption that two independent clauses following each other are disallowed. In this model a sentence structure is organized into the pattern of finite versus non-finite clauses. The non-finite clause represents the chained clauses. In order to cater for the adverbial finite clauses, the mechanism of clause-skipping is employed, where the clause linkages of time, cause-effect, conditional, purpose, means-result and contrast are integrated into the overall pattern of finite clause followed by often a long chain of infinite clauses i.e., chained clauses. The overall division between finite and non-finite clauses results in a foreground and background information structure whereby the foreground information is indicated through the chained clauses and the background information through the finite clauses. The pragmatic interpretation of the distinction between foreground and background information is explained as procedural pragmatic routines. The clause linkages that occur with the finite verbs and that are integrated into the system of the chained clauses through clause skipping guide the hearer to find explanations and comments for the main events, the foreground information, indicated through the conjunctions. The conjunctions are interpreted pragmatically and guide the hearer to find out the reason, the purpose, the condition, the result, the contrast of expected assumptions and the time relations to explain the main events of the narrative. Contrary to the structural predictions of the chained model, some chained clauses are opened by conjunctions and are still perceived as background information. These clauses represent a hybrid in the system as they are structurally foreground information but semantically dependent on the main clause through the conjunction and as they offer explanations for the expressed propositions of the main clause they are perceived as background information.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v10i1.14>

POLITENESS STRATEGIES AND PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS IN DOCTOR-PATIENT INTERACTIONS IN PRIVATE HOSPITALS IN AKURE

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Abstract

This study examined how politeness strategies are constructed and their functions in doctor-patient interactions in Private hospitals in Akure. Although, polite behaviours have been investigated in the field of medical discourse with an emphasis on doctor-patient interaction, this study focuses on private hospitals, with an attempt to magnify the interplay of hierarchy between doctors and patients in private medical practice. Akio Yabuuchi's hierarchy politeness and Jacob Mey's pragmatic act theory were adopted to analyse the data for this study. Audio-taped recordings of doctor-patient interactions in private hospitals in Akure were selected for this study. Five strategies used by doctors are diagnostic elicitation, familiarisation elicitation, emotive pain-alleviation, consultation focusing, and lexical-substitution explanation. The patient-motivated strategy is complaint focusing. The pragmatic functions performed through these strategies are investigating, consoling, focusing, complaining, and inquiring. The negotiation of polite behaviours within social distance and power is evident in the data. Hierarchy in the interactions is relative depending on the type of existing relationship between doctor and patient. This relationship, in turn, determines the type of politeness used. Desires and their gratifications are also negotiated through the politeness strategies identified in the study.

Keywords: Politeness, Hierarchy, Strategies, Medical discourse, Doctor-patient interactions, Private hospital

1. Introduction

Beyond communication and giving information, language is a medium through which behaviours are evaluated and from which desires are conveyed within a given speech community or institution. The two essential capacities of language as per Brown and Yule (1983) are interactional and transactional capacities. The capacity is transactional when language is utilized for information, and it is interactional when language is utilized as an instrument for social connection support. Scholars have investigated the interactional function of language as it fosters social relationship between doctor and patients (Adegbite & Odebunmi, 2006; Černý, 2010; Králová, 2012; Yanti, 2018; Olorunsogo, 2020). This research seeks to add to the body of research that has been carried out on politeness in medical discourse with reference to how polite behaviours are negotiated between doctors and patients.

Language plays an important role in carrying out our various functions as humans in society even in medical practice. Hence, scholars have examined ‘politeness’ as behaviour in doctor-patient interactions, the term referred to as linguistic politeness (Olorunsogo, 2020). In doctor-patient interactions, the use of language can impede or ensure good medical outcomes.

On the one hand, the patient needs to be able to use language to convey his desires to get well as well as to explain the symptoms of ailments. On the other hand, the doctor’s effective communication will yield the reward of patient’s health improvement. To achieve this reality, it is required to strategise how language is deployed for effective medical output (Adegbite & Odebunmi, 2006). This study will evoke the awareness of the medical practitioners to the changing dynamics in the asymmetry between doctors and patients and how the social relationship and power can be sustained through the negotiation of polite behaviours.

2. Previous studies on doctor-patient interactions

The relationship maintained between the doctor and the patients is a vital factor in the outcome of care given. Many studies have been carried out to investigate this relationship as it relates to language use and human behaviours. These studies include, among others, empirical works carried out by Černý (2007), Iragiliati (2012), Odebunmi (2013), and Abdullahi-Idigbon & Ajadi (2014). In recent times, the traditional model of the doctor-

patient relationship has changed (Kaba & Sooriakumaran 2007). Comparatively, the medical discourse has also been examined.

Ohtaki, Ohtaki, and Fetters (2003) compare doctor-patient communication in the USA and Japan. In their research, they conclude that the similarities of consultative encounters in both countries are on the basis of professional specificity. Akerkar and Bichile (2004) explore the changing dynamics in doctor-patient relationship in the information age. They assert that access to information through the internet has changed the asymmetry in doctor-patient relationship. They explain that patients are more equipped with information like never before, and that has given them strength and increased their power position with the doctors.

Kaba and Sooriakumaran (2007:58) reiterate Szasz and Hollender (1956) demarcations of doctor-patient relationship. The model comprises three components which are: guidance-co-operation, mutual participation and active-passivity. "The activity-passivity and guidance co-operation models are entirely paternalistic and thus predominantly doctor-centred..." Kaba and Sooriakumaran (2007) explain that physicians' dominance has reduced, "thus patient-centred role for the patient who advocates greater patient control reduced physician dominance, and more mutual participation."

Exploring the speech acts performed in doctor-patient communication, Černý (2007) analyses the function and the character of speech acts in doctor-patient interaction of five medical specialities (Internal Medicine, Gynaecology, Paediatrics, Oto-rhinolaryngology, and Orthopaedics) using speech act theory. His research suggests that the asymmetrical relationship between doctors and patients has been pre-served, "...there is a tendency to "reduce hierarchies and renegotiate roles."

According to Černý (2010), searches for communicative strategies of doctors and patients are capable of conveying empathy and trust. He distinguished six categories of questions: agreement, information, commitment, confirmation, clarification and repetition. In his findings, he explains that the most well-known appears in the fact that patient-initiated questions are many in the material he examined. Patients do present questions, and they do so very often. Unlike in previous studies where the event of patient-initiated questions was not important, in his samples patients are active questioners. As a result, patient-initiated questions make up to much more than 6% of the total time reserved for the medical interview.

Iragiliati (2012) investigates greeting in the form of second-person pronoun based on the kinship system in terms of address to show respect as preferred by patients in Indonesia.

The research showed on the importance of the use of greetings in the form of second-person pronoun based on kinship system to show respect preferred. Thus, the patients' choices on terms of address were based not only on age but marital status.

Odebunmi (2013) studies doctors-patients interaction in Southwestern Nigeria. His findings reveal that the social bonding level that exists between a doctor and a patient determines the manifestation of hierarchy or not during consultations. A study carried out by Zibande & Pamukoğlu (2013), examines the possible differences in the number and use of the politeness strategies employed in doctor-patient communication. "The effect of three contextual variables, that is, power, age and gender were also studied to contribute to our understanding of the concept of verbal politeness". Their study affirms the doctor uses 'Bald on Record' strategy with both male and female patients.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon and Ajadi (2014) investigate how politeness is negotiated through the concepts of face and hedging particularly concerning interpersonal interactions or conversations. They compare social distance in doctor-patient and police-suspect conversations using Grice's Conversational Implicature and Brown & Levinson's Politeness Theory. The study reveals that "doctors flout maxims to regulate and mitigate social distance, while the patient uses hedges to curry for the doctor's empathy." Similarly, Swafat and Faiq (2018) explore the usage of hedges in fifteen doctor-patient interactions. The sources of the data for their studies are Platt's Conversation Repair and www.Worth1000.com/contests/doctor-patient. Unlike Abdullahi-Idiagbon and Ajadi's (2014) study, Swafat and Faiq (2018) findings show that in a bid to foster a relationship with patients and to exercise cautions, doctors employ hedges more frequently than patients.

Ayeloja and Alabi (2018) consider the discourse implications of politeness in doctor-patient interactions at the University College Hospital, Ibadan, Nigeria. The data in the study is appraised by a synthesis of Leech's Politeness maxims and Brown and Penelope's Politeness Theory. The study reveals doctors employ politeness maxims and face-threatening acts to allay the fears of patients; express empathy; give counsel; obtain diagnostic information; check unwholesome practices by patients. The discourse functions of the politeness elements include among other, FTA with redress, FTA without redress and tact maxim.

In a pilot study carried out in a private family hospital in Ibadan, Olorunsogo (2020) adopted Brown and Levinson's Politeness theory to identify face wants of patients and politeness strategies used by doctors in three doctor-patient face to face interactions. The study concludes that doctors seem to be friendly towards children by employing positive

politeness strategies, but the bald on-record strategies are employed while interacting with older patients. The kind of face worn by patients is determined by the emergent context.

While some of the aforementioned studies have been able to develop models, strategies and patterns for doctor-patient interactions, others have considered power play and social distance between doctors and patients. This study is not only considering strategies but politeness strategies and their functions in doctor-patient communication. It is also a deviation from the popular Brown and Levinson's theory to account for politeness strategies. With its focus on private hospitals, it supports and disagrees with claims by earlier researchers on the structure and orientation of medical practices regarding doctor-patient interactions.

2.1 Hierarchy politeness

Hierarchy politeness was developed by Akio Yabuuchi in 2006 in a paper titled "Hierarchy politeness: What Brown and Levinson refused to see." Yabuuchi highlighted that Brown and Levinson's politeness theory limited and it does not cater for desires and admiration. Yabuuchi relates politeness to the understanding of human feelings (wants, needs and desires) and the ability to gratify them (either genuinely or not). Yabuuchi accommodated Brown and Levinson's dichotomous politeness (positive and negative) types into a trichotomous framework. The proposed politeness types are hierarchy politeness, autonomy politeness and fellowship politeness. These politeness types are negotiated by the psychological background, social distance and power.

2.2 Pragmatic Act theory

Following the criticisms and limitations of J. L Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory, the Pragmatic Act Theory was developed in 2001 by Jacob Mey. The Pragmatic Act Theory is otherwise referred to as pragmeme. Mey's Pragmatic Act theory is otherwise referred to as Prgmeme and is an attempt to address the limitations of Austin's Speech Act theory (1962). According to Kadhim (2015:1220), the theory "attains that context is the most important factor in recovering the intended meaning of a speech act, for it is the only factor which could tell about the felicity conditions of speech acts".

the capital city of Ondo State, Nigeria, it is located in the South-western area of Nigeria with Yoruba and English as the major codes of communication. Many hospitals were approached, but only two hospital managements permitted that research is carried out in their hospitals. Approvals were given by the management of the two hospitals and oral consents of patients were granted. Out of the fifteen audio-taped conversations between doctors and patients, eleven were selected because they are relevant to the study. The eleven audio-taped recordings were transcribed and subjected to a pragmatics analysis. A qualitative method was adopted for the analysis. While Akio Yabuuchi's (2006) hierarchy politeness was utilized to identify the strategies used in negotiating polite behaviours, Jacob Mey's (2001) pragmatic act theory was utilized to examine the functions of the strategies. The analysis followed a top-down approach, therefore, the selected excerpts were representational.

4. Analysis and discussion

There are strategies used by doctors and patients to negotiate politeness in private hospitals in Akure; the strategies are doctor-motivated or patient-motivated. These strategies are used in negotiating polite behaviours and they perform certain pragmatic functions.

Table 1: Politeness strategies and pragmatic functions in doctor-patient interactions in private hospitals in Akure.

Politeness Strategies and Pragmatic functions			
Strategies		Practs	Contextual features
Doctor-Motivated Strategies	Diagnostic elicitation	Investigating, gossiping	SSK,REF,INF
	Familiarisation elicitation,	Gossiping	SSK, INF
	Emotive pain-alleviation	Consoling	SSK
	Consultation focusing	Focusing	SSK
	Lexical-substitution explanation	Explaining	REF, INF

Patient-Motivated Strategy	Complaint focusing	Complaining	REF, INF, SSK
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4.1 Doctor-Motivated Politeness Strategies

These are strategies used by the doctor to conduct polite behaviours while clerking patients on his/her health situation. The strategies are Diagnostic elicitation, Familiarisation elicitation, Emotive pain-alleviation, Consultation focusing, Lexical-substitution explanation.

4.1.1 Diagnostic elicitation

The usual conversational structure of the doctor-patient interactions is a recurring question and answer sequence. The doctor asks questions from the patient with the intent of eliciting information about the state of health of the patient. The elicitation strategy favours downward politeness from the doctor to the patient.

Excerpt 1: Doc: have you been drinking water?
 Pat: Enough
 Doc: since yesterday?
 Pat: I couldn't even sleep
 Doc: When did it, you said, okay, was it...Have you been having it before?
 Pat: ehm, normally now, it is something that will go for like two times then when you drink water, it stops
 Doc: Do you notice that? Is there any drug you are using that you are reacting to?
 Pat: That was what somebody told me maybe it is a drug
 Doc: So you came before for sore throat?
 Pat: No, I have sore throat before, any time I have malaria, sore throat will just be part of it.
 Doc: Were you able to sleep?
 Pat: No, I can't sleep, though I took Lexotan
 Doc: Open your mouth, bring out your tongue

The doctor in the excerpt above needs to ask questions that will give him the required information, in order to ascertain the cause of the patient's condition, he constrains himself within the system of the institutional politeness. This elicitation procedure takes place in all the doctor-patient interactions as a form of downward politeness, but the doctor is as well gratifying the desire of the patient to get better treatment. The patient does not exercise ego as he accommodates the lack of negative politeness by the doctor through the use of the elicitation strategy.

In Excerpt 1, the pragmatic function of investigating is being achieved. There is a shared knowledge (SSK) about the medical institution between the doctor and the patient. The patient already knows that drinking water can reduce hiccup, so there was no need to ask the doctor why he should take water, it was a remedy he had tried before coming by saying 'enough'. The doctor can then infer (INF) that water may not solve the problem as the patient has already done that. SSK makes the patient infer (INF) that the information requested by the doctor is needed for the doctor to know the cause of his ailment and be able to provide a solution.

Sometimes, questions asked by a doctor may not appear to be related to the health challenges of the patient. Such questions may be pose threat to patients' autonomy face. However, doctors reserve the privilege to ask seemingly unwarranted questions because of institutional roles and hierarchical relationship.

- Excerpt 2: Doc: *So night le ma wa all through bayii?*
 So night that you will be all through light
 'So, you will be on night shift all through for now?'
- Pat: Throughout
- Doc: Throughout
 bawoni family, bawo le se, igba teba se n dele, awon omo ati awon
 iyawo yin naa, awon naa a fe lo ibikan.
 How 's family, how that do, time you if just getting home, those
 children and those wife your too, those too will want go somewhere
 'How do you manage the family, by the time you get home, your
 wife and children might want to go out'
- Pat: *Ah, mi o l'omode mo*
 Ah! I not have infant again
 'I don't have small children anymore'

- Doc: *Okay, iyawo yin nko, bawo ni iyawo yin se n ri oju yin nile?*
Okay, wife your about, how is wife your do seeing eye your on ground?
'Okay, how about your wife sir, how does she get to see you around?'
- Pat: *A roju mi nile, kilode, igba taa n s'omode*
It see eye me on ground, what, when that us not do infant
'She will see me around, why not? We are no longer kids'
- Doc: *Kii se oro boya e kii s'omode, so ko i sepe boya iyawo yin wa pelu yin ni, eyin ati iyawo yin jo wa po ni ale, ise yen ti gba gbogbo ale yin*
It's not do word maybe you not do infant, so, it is that maybe wife your is with your at, you and wife your is together at night, work that has taken every night your
'It is not an issue being a kid or not, you and your wife will not get to be together at night, the work has taken over your night'
- Pat: *Kii se iyen la n ro bayii doctor*
It's not do that that thinking now doctor
'That's not what we are thinking now'
- Doc: *Ki le wi?*
What that say?
'What did you say?'
- Pat: *Mo ni kii se iyen la n ro, anything ta ba fe solve, a solve e within the day*
I say it's no do that that we thinking, anything that we if want solve, we solve it within the day
'I said that is not what we are thinking about at the moment, whatever we want to solve will be solve during the day'

Here, the narration of the patient interests the doctor, perhaps he might have more clues to what led to the health problem of the patient. So, he exercises power and asks the patient some questions that are private to him. The superior position of the doctor within the system of autonomy politeness gives him the liberty to ask questions as he desires, which in turn initiates the quasi-institutional politeness. Rather than ask the question about the patient's job as it relates to his health, the doctor asks questions about his job as it relates to his

family. The patient understanding quasi-institutional politeness gratifies the doctor's desire and preserves his ego by providing the information so as to maintain the ego of the doctor.

In Excerpt 2 above, the pract of investigating is manifested through the doctor's interference of patient's privacy strategy. The doctor rides on reference (REF) by referring to the family to be able to know how the patient manages his social life after working all night. Inferences are also made intermittently, as the patient infers (INF) that the question the doctor asked about being around with his wife is targeted towards how able he is to have sex with his wife (based on SSK) considering his work schedule. The inference (INF) made by the patient is wrong, therefore, the doctor reinforces with another input (*Kii se oro boya e kii s'omode*) – that the 'being together' he refers to is not about sex. This leads to another and corrected inference (INF) by the patient that the doctor actually means time for talks and companionship and not exclusively sex.

4.1.2 Familiarisation elicitation

Questions unrelated to the patient's health can also be asked based on the mutual relationship between the doctor and the patient. in this sense, fellowship politeness is co-constructed by both patient and doctor.

- Excerpt 3: Doc: Se eyin yii de wa ni Nigeria bayii? E n lo e n bo
 Is your this and at in Nigeria now? You going you coming
 'Do you mean you are still in Nigeria? You are going to and fro.'
- Pat: Olorun ni
 God it's
 'It is God'
- Doc: E sa rora, e se visa fun awa naa.
 You please take easy, you do visa for we too.
 'Just take things easy, facilitate visa for us too.'

In the above excerpt, the doctor uses the interference strategy to instigate symmetrical politeness. And this is a result of the close social relationship between the two of them. The doctor asks about matters that have nothing to do with the medical situation of the patient,

and the patient accommodated it and enjoys the line of discussion. It cannot be identified who is the superior or the subordinate.

The doctor rides on shared situational knowledge (SSK) to pract gossiping, the patient infers (INF) that the doctor means she has not been around or he has not seen her for some times. The doctor and patient talk about matters that are not permissible in institutional politeness.

4.1.3 Emotive pain-alleviation

Emotive pain-alleviation is a psychologically appeal to the patient, an emotive strategy to make him feel better. Doctors in private hospitals in Akure may allow their humanity to override their strict institutional constraints. Through the emotive pain-alleviation strategy, they expressed human feelings to patients. This strategy is used within the quasi-institutional politeness.

Sometimes, during consultation doctors allow their humanity to manifest, and they empathise with patients as though they feel and can understand the health challenges of the patients as well as the bodily pains they go through. This is done based on the human quality of pain and sickness that doctors share alike with patients.

Excerpt 4: Doc: Open your mouth, bring out your tongue
 Pat: (hiccups)
 Doc: Sorry

In the above excerpt, the doctor uses emotional-pain alleviation. He switches from hierarchy politeness to fellowship politeness that places him above the patient, by having compassion on the patient. The use of the 'word' sorry in the Nigerian context shows sympathy and human feeling, and with this, the doctor is able to ply fellowship politeness to relate with the patient as equal. The doctor understands the face want of fellowship as it is culturally embedded that one says sorry when you empathise with someone else.

To achieve the pract of consoling through this strategy, the doctor rides on shared knowledge (SSK) to express sympathy through the use of the word 'sorry'. The doctor tries to do this to show that he is concerned about the patients and also understands that he (the patient) is going through some health difficulties.

4.1.4 Consultation focusing

Doctors can change the subject of discussion at will, to downplay autonomy politeness and to exercise power over and to contain the discussion. Sometimes in the private hospitals in Akure, during a consultation, the patient might have been carried away by a discussion that the doctor does not feel so important, and because of time constraint and the fact that other patients are waiting to see the doctor, the doctor then changes the subject of discussion to what will aide him to assess the patient's health.

- Excerpt 5: Doc: *Awon omo baba to lo nisin bayii, to ba ti de*
 Those child father that go in now now, when has that come
 ‘Baba’s child that traveled out, whenever he comes back.’
- Pat: *Se doctor ni?*
 Is doctor it?
 ‘Is he a doctor?’
- Doc: *O tun so pe ka fi ise baba sile*
 It also say that that we leave work father on the ground
 ‘He even said we should leave his father’s work.’
- Pat: *E mo pe ko le, won kii paro ni. E mo pe eni to ba je olooto to ba de*
 tun lo s'oun yen, a tete ri ti e se.
 You know that it not hard, go to there that, it quickly see that its do.
 They not tell lie is. You know that one that has become honest that
 has also too
 ‘Don’t you know it not difficult, they just don’t lie? You know that
 if anyone who is truthful gets there, he will make it quickly.’
- Doc: *kii ti e n se US yen, US, Australia, Canada.*
 It’s not that it no do US that, US, Australia, Canada.
 ‘We can’t even over emphasise US, Australia or Canada.’
 Se e ni any complain loni? ehn?
 Do you have any complain in today? Ehn?
 ‘Do you have any complaint today?’
- Pat: *Enu mi sa nikan lo koro*
 Mouth my only is bitter
 ‘I only have bitter mouth’

Doc: *Se e ti ma feel any bi pe nkan nbo?*
Do you that have feel any like that something is coming?
'Have you not been feeling that something is coming?'

In the excerpt above, after the doctor and the patient have played on fellowship politeness based on their close social distance, the doctor has to control the conversation and change the subject from personal issue, to what is required in medical consultations. The patient is already enjoying the conversation and mindless of the fact that she has come to the hospital for medical consultation. The doctor, bearing in mind that other patients may be waiting to be attended to, changes the subject by asking the patient the reason for her visit. Here, the hierarchical positioning of the doctor is at play, and he is able to display dominance by focusing on the consultation.

The pract performed by this strategy is focusing. The doctor thrives on of SSK to drive the discussion towards the demand of the consultative context by asking the patient about her complaints.

4.1.5 Lexical-substitution explanation

Lexical-substitution explanation involves replacing a lexical item with a synonymous word so that the addressee can understand what is being communicated. Sometimes, the doctor's professional term may be unintelligible to the patient. Lexical-substitution will be employed to explain to patients. Because of the social distance between the patient and the doctor, patients try to make use of negative politeness upwardly to ask questions about concepts or procedures they do not understand or not familiar with. This lexical-substitution explanation when used, the doctor accommodates the enquiries by the patients and gratifies with relevant answers as applicable.

Excerpt 6: Doc: You have to book your baby o
Pat: Book, what is the meaning?
Doct: Antenatal now
Pat: Okay

In the excerpt above, the patient does not understand the term 'book' in the context from which the doctor has used it. She enquires to know what the doctor means by that. The doctor respecting her ego (and the desire to get the information in order comprehend),

explains using another term 'antenatal' from which the patient is able to infer that the doctor means that she should register for antenatal where the development of her baby in pregnancy will be monitored.

The lexical-substitution explanation in the above excerpt is used to pract explaining. The doctor makes reference (REF) to 'antenatal' to evoke the cognition of the patient, thereby, the patient is able to interpret the meaning of "book" through inference (INF) from "antenatal". The patient, through inference (INF), understands the meaning of 'antenatal' so there was no need for a further inquisition.

4.2 Patient-motivated politeness strategy

In private hospitals in Akure, patients make use of certain strategies to initiate specific politeness types. The patient-motivated strategy is complaints focusing.

4.2.1 Complaint focusing

Complaint focusing is used by patients to make doctors mindful of their present health challenges. Patients come to the hospital generally to lay complaints about their health so as to get adequate treatment. In the context of clerking in private hospitals in Akure, it is rather accommodated as upward institutional politeness rather than taken as downplay on institutional politeness. The doctor in the excerpt below initiates fellowship politeness by greeting the patient and asking the patient about his complaints.

Excerpt 7: Doc: How are you Mr. Jude?
 Good morning
 What's the complain
 Pat: I came this morning to take my malaria injection. So, just this afternoon, I've been fine, just this afternoon I just felt like all my body is stiffening, my back was paining me, and I couldn't move my legs.

In the above excerpt, the patient refuses to respond to the desire of the doctor for pleasantries. He ignores the greeting initiated by the doctor. The doctor reinforced it with "good morning", yet the patient refused. The desire of the patient to get treatment overrides

the desire of the doctor to exchange pleasantries. The patient's indifference to the greetings and response to the question of the doctor shows that what he is interested in is to get treatment and nothing else. His silence is a subtle protest against what he feels as irrelevant greetings. Because of the power-play, the patient is unable to outright tell the doctor that he is not interested in the pleasantries, but his message was fully presented through his silence. The doctor has to swop from quasi-institutional politeness to institutional politeness, by switching from greetings to the elicitation of information about the patient's health. This redress is done to fulfil the psychological and emotional demand of the patient. The moment the doctor focused on the complaints, the patient begins to talk and he gives an extensive narrative of his health problem that day.

To pract complaining excerpt 7, the patient rides on REF to refer to the morning and the fact that he has already been treated for malaria, hence, he is implying that he is not supposed to still be having health challenges. The doctor makes an inference (INF) that the patient's refusal is a way to show that he is in serious pain and needs to just make his complaints in order to get possible treatment. When the doctor asked what the patient's complaint is, he quickly responded because the shared knowledge (SSK) is that doctors ask such question to be able to get ways to make patients feel better.

5. Conclusion

Despite campaigns by the World Health Organisation's Universal Health Coverage to strengthen primary health care by adopting patient/people-centered approach even in medical consultations, in the observed private hospitals, doctor-patient interactions still dominantly operate in the doctor-centred approach. This finding is similar to the positions of Unger and Ghilbert (2003) on doctor-patient communication practices in developing countries' private hospitals. One of the manifestations of the patient-centered approach is that power is shared between patients and doctors. In a private hospital, patients pay for all the services rendered by the hospital, nevertheless, the doctors uphold power during medical consultation. Hierarchy in the interactions is relative depending on the type of existing relationship between doctor and patient. This relationship, in turn, determines the type of politeness used. Desires and their gratifications are also negotiated through the politeness strategies identified in the study. In the study, doctors exhibit more strategies to express desires and gratify their wants because they dominate the conversations. The only strategy afforded the patient is 'complaint focusing'. The position of the doctor is evident in the data as being superior to the patient. The prevalent strategy is the 'diagnostic

elicitation' because of the structural pattern of doctor-patient interaction and the need for the doctor to elicit information from the patients so as to get the best treatment possible. In line with the requirement of Universal Health Coverage (WHO, 2016:10) health literacy targeted for patients in Nigeria should be promoted in an attempt to empower patients and transform the health system.

Acknowledgement

I appreciate IFRA Nigeria - Institut français de recherche en Afrique for granting me the IFRA 2019 Conference funding. The grant enabled me to present this paper at the first African Pragmatics conference that held Ghana in February 2020. The critiques received at the conference, did positively influenced the paper.

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**A CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF BODY PART EXPRESSIONS IN
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**SELF-PRAISE, OTHER-ASSAULT: REPRESENTATIONS IN SELECTED
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SONGS IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA**

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**A DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES AND RESISTANCE IDEOLOGIES IN
VICTIMS' NARRATIVES IN STELLA DIMOKO KORKUS' DOMESTIC
VIOLENCE DIARY**

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**A PRAGMATIC VIEW ON CLAUSE LINKAGES IN TOPOSA, AN EASTERN
NILOTIC LANGUAGE OF SOUTH SUDAN**

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**POLITENESS STRATEGIES AND PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS IN SELECTED
DOCTOR-PATIENT INTERACTION IN PRIVATE HOSPITAL IN AKURE**

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1.1 Methodology

1.1.1. Background