University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

LANGUAGE OF CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE AMONG AKANS

BY

GENEVIEVE OWURASAH

10088212

THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF M.PHIL LINGUISTICS DEGREE

JULY 2015

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

DECLARATION

I, Genevieve Owurasah, declare that except for references to works which have been duly cited, this thesis is a result of my original research, under the supervision of Professor Kofi Agyekum and Dr. Evershed Kwasi Amuzu, and that, it has neither in whole nor in part been presented for another degree elsewhere.

…….…… …….

GENEVIEVE OWURASAH DATE

CANDIDATE

…… ……

PROF. KOFI AGYEKUM DATE

SUPERVISOR

…… ……..

DR. EVERSHED KWASI AMUZU DATE

SUPERVISOR

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated

to

the glory of God

my very supportive husband, Rev. Eric Kwasi Ntow

and

my lovely daughters, Nhyira, Ayeyi and Nyameye.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am sincerely grateful to all who have contributed in diverse ways to making this research possible. My utmost gratitude goes first to God Almighty for granting me favour, love, life and strength to live the realization of this dream. To Him be all glory!

I am very thankful to my supervisors, Professor Kofi Agyekum and Dr. Evershed Amuzu for their brilliant inputs and contributions which have shaped this thesis. I am indeed grateful for your dedication and pray that God will bless you abundantly in all you do.

To all other lecturers and non-teaching staff of the Linguistics Department; I say thank you all for your contributions. I find it appropriate to mention you; Diana Animah Savala and Rachel Thompson for your immense contributions and support throughout my study. God richly bless you. I am also grateful to all my colleague graduate students, especially Anastasia Nuworsu and Joana Serwaa Ampofo for their assistance during this study.

My sincerest gratitude also goes to my husband, Rev. Eric Kwasi Ntow, for the spiritual, moral and financial support. To my daughters; Nhyira, Ayeyi and Nyameye, I am truly grateful to you for your tolerance in putting up with my frequent absence from home during this period. I owe a lot to my very supportive mum, Mrs. Mary Owurasah, for her immense assistance.

I truly cannot forget you, Evangelist Dr. Abboah-Offei, for your constant advice and encouragement which really motivated me to start this course. You are indeed appreciated.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

I appreciate all my respondents who willingly responded to my interviews and gave me permission to record their marriage ceremonies for this research. Thank you all, family, friends and loved ones for your valuable contributions, advice and encouragement. I am very grateful.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

ABSTRACT

Marriage is a universal cultural practice. However, its enactment is culture specific. Among the Akans, the customary marriage is one important aspect of its culture which is celebrated to establish a lasting union between married couples. Since language and culture are highly interwoven, the importance of language in the contract of Akan customary marriage cannot be over-emphasized. This study does a linguistic analysis of the language of Akan customary marriage, focusing on how language is used to express the culture of the people. The study is essentially based on primary data recorded from selected Akan customary marriage ceremonies. The study examines how language is used as a tool in the expression of concepts such as negotiation, persuasion, conflict resolution and linguistic etiquettes; which are all crucial to the marriage contract. The stylistic devices in the language are also explored. The study reveals that the embellishment of the language of the spokespersons with the use of such stylistic devices as metaphors, proverbs and humor is highly appreciated. Again, adept linguistic skills are required for negotiations, conflict resolutions and the expression of linguistic etiquettes such as thanking, greetings and requests. The effective use of language in these situations ensures a smooth and peaceful marriage contract. Using Fairclough's (1995) model of Critical Discourse Analysis, the study reveals a strong interrelation between the text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. Thus, both speakers and audience must draw on a common socio-cultural knowledge in the production and interpretation of texts for effective understanding.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION i

DEDICATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT iii

ABSTRACT v

TABLE OF CONTENTS vi

LIST OF TABLES x

LIST OF FIGURES xi

CHAPTER ONE 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1

1.0 Background to the Study 1

1.1 Ethnolinguistic Background of Akans 3

1.2 Statement of the Problem 4

1.3 Research Questions 5

1.4 Objectives of the Study 6

1.5 Significance of the Study 6

1.6 Overview of the Thesis 7

CHAPTER TWO 9

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY 9

2.0 Introduction 9

2.1 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE 10

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

2.1.1 Marriage and Language Use 10
2.1.2 The Concept of Conflict 14
2.1.3 Language of Negotiation 15
2.1.4 Language Ideology 20
2.1.5 Linguistic Etiquettes 21
2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 28
2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis 29
2.3 METHODOLOGY 36
2.3.1 Research Design 36
2.3.2 Research Sites 37
2.3.3 Interviews 40
2.3.4 Sources and Methods of Data Collection 41
2.3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques 42
2.3.6 Method of Data Analysis 43
2.4 Summary of Chapter 44
CHAPTER THREE 45
NEGOTIATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND LINGUISTIC ETIQUETTES IN AKAN CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE 45
3.0 Introduction 45
3.1 Language of Negotiation 46
3.2 Language of Conflict Resolution 52
3.3 Language of Persuasion 57
3.4 Linguistic Etiquettes 64
3.4.1 Greetings 65
3.4.2 Requests 71
3.4.3 Honorifics 72
3.4.4 Thanking 75

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

3.5 Contemporary trends in Akan customary marriage 77

3.6 Summary of chapter 81

CHAPTER FOUR 83

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF AKAN CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE 83

4.0 Introduction 83

4.1 The Concept of Stylistics and Style 83

4.1.1 Proverbs 87

4.1.2 Metaphors 92

4.1.3 Symbolism 96

4.1.4 Humor 99

4.1.5 Allusion 102

4.1.6 Hyperbole 105

4.1.7 Code-switching 107

4.2 Summary of Chapter 110

CHAPTER FIVE 112

CONCLUSION 112

5.0 Introduction 112

5.1 Summary of the Study 112

5.2 Findings 114

5.3 Conclusion 116

5.4 Recommendations 117

APPENDIX 1: UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE 118

APPENDIX 2: CEREMONIES 119

REFERENCES 128

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Language situation in Accra …….47

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A framework of critical discourse analysis of a communicative event..39

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

The Akans, as the largest ethnic group in Ghana, have various traditional and customary practices which make them unique from other ethnic groups in the country (Agyekum 2006a). One important aspect of such practices is the customary marriage, which is one of the most cherished and celebrated rites of passage in the culture of the Akans. It is the institutionalization of a complementary relationship between a male and a female.

The concept of marriage is a universal phenomenon which occurs in most cultures of the world, and this is reflected in the large body of literature on the topic by researchers from all walks of life. Marriage is seen as a special ritual, that is, a rite of passage that culturally marks a person's transition from one life stage to another and redefines social and personal identity (Nelson and Otnes 2005). As a social and cultural institution, marriage, in Acheampong's (2010:7) view "is shaped by cultural norms and practice which tend to influence people's attitude towards it". From a general perspective, marriage accords the individual a new social personality and membership in groups.

According to Nukunya (2003:41), "marriage is the recognised traditional and religious institution for the establishment and maintenance of family life all over the world". Following these perceptions of marriage, it is established that marriage is an institution which is governed by social, cultural and religious norms of practices. However, these norms of practices are highly culture specific as is the case with most customary practices.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

In many African societies, marriage is seen as a unifying tool that unites families and even communities. This notion is confirmed by Agyekum (2012) who sees marriage among the Akans as a union between the two families involved. According to him, marriage in the Akan tradition goes beyond a union between a man and a woman. It also includes a permanent union between the families of these people. This means that although marriage as an institution happens between a man and a woman, the families as well as the community at large play an influential role in its establishment and sustenance.

Omobola (2013:139) also posits that "in Yoruba culture, marriage is not the sole responsibility of the couple but that of the communities because it is the joining of two or more families". However, this is in sharp contrast to what pertains in most western cultures where marriage is solely an issue between a husband and a wife. That is, in western cultures, the primary motive of marriage is to promote intimacy between husband and wife (Skolnick 2006).

Gesinde (2010) and Boomie (2010) note that the customary marriage, usually referred to as "Engagement" or "Traditional wedding" still remains an important aspect of the wedding ceremony among the Yurobas of Nigeria. This is so because, traditionally, that is what the society recognizes as marriage between a man and a woman. This also buttresses the fact that even in recent times where most customary practices have lost their value due to civilization, education, religion and modernity, the customary marriage is still seen as an important ritual in most societies.

In line with the Akan perception of marriage as an important aspect of their socio-cultural life, they have proverbs and other elaborate expressions relating to

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

the concept. These proverbs and expressions deal with language use and they "confirm the philosophical notion in language that any aspect of life, which is important to a community, is well elaborated and coded" (Agyekum 2012:1). It is also argued that every language has a particular form or register relating to different areas of their cultural concepts such as marriage.

As posited by Agyekum (2012:3), language is an important aspect of a people's culture and as such, the two are highly interrelated. Language use is thus crucial in marriage ceremonies all over the world. Like many other speech events, language plays a vital role in the contract of customary marriages across cultures; and this research seeks to do a linguistic and stylistic analysis of the language use in the contract of customary marriage among Akans.

1.1 Ethnolinguistic Background of Akans

Akan belongs to the Kwa sub-group of the Niger-Congo language family spoken in West Africa. It is spoken mainly in the Southern part of Ghana and also in the Central and Eastern parts of Cote d'Ivoire. Out of the ten regions in Ghana, Akan is spoken as a native language in six of them, including Ashanti, Eastern, Western, Central, Brong Ahafo and Volta regions. From the Ghana national population census conducted in 2010, about 47.5% of the Ghanaian population is Akans while 44% speak the language as non-native speakers.

As noted by Agyekum (2006a), the Akan language consists of many dialects which are mutually intelligible; they are Akuapem, Akwamu, Asante, Akyem, Fante, Kwahu, Bono, Agona, Assin, Denkyira, Twifo, Wassaw and Buem.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

However, only three of these; Asante, Akuapem and Fante have been developed into literary status and these are taught from the primary school to the university.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Akan customary marriage contract is one area where terms of negotiations, the use of persuasive language and the enactment of linguistic etiquettes such as greetings, requests, honorifics and thanking are greatly employed in conformity to the cultural norms of the people. These goals cannot be achieved without proper and effective use of language.

Again, just as social and cultural practices undergo change from time to time; one can see a kind of linguistic change that involves the use of language with regard to the contract of customary marriages among the Akans. This is portrayed by a developing trend in recent times where families of the bride and groom engage the services of professional spokespersons, rather than using members from their respective families in the contract of customary marriages.

This research investigates what linguistic features in the language of these spokespersons that make people engage their services.

Furthermore, there are a number of works on marriage in general, which include Van der Vliet (1991), McKinney (1992), and Smith (2001); and on customary marriage in particular, among Ghanaians. There are also works on language use in other linguistic domains or discourses such as funerals, churches, among others. For instance, Agyekum (2008a) does a linguistic analysis of the language of *nsawa* 'funeral donations' among the Akans.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

However, to the best of my knowledge, no work has been done on the language used in the contract of customary marriage among Akans. This research therefore seeks to fill that gap in the literature by doing a linguistic analysis of the language of customary marriage among Akans, focusing on how it reflects the culture of the people.

1.3 Research Questions

This study will attempt to answer specific questions such as;

1. What are the major features of the language of marriage ceremony?
2. What stylistic devices are found in the language of Akan customary marriage?
3. What role(s) does language play in the marriage ceremony?
4. What are the contemporary trends in Akan customary marriages?

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to do a linguistic and stylistic analysis of the discourse of customary marriage among Akans. The specific objectives include;

1. To determine the predominant feature(s) of the language of customary marriage.
2. To identify the stylistic devices in the language of customary marriage.
3. To identify the specific functions of language in the contract of the marriage.
4. To establish the contemporary trend in Akan customary marriage ceremonies.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Although there is a large body of literature on various aspects of the customary marriage among Akans and Ghanaians in general, the review of literature in this study reveals that not much research has been done on language use in this regard. Since language is an important tool to measure the culture and ideologies of a people, it becomes an indispensable aspect of the enactment of any customary ceremony like the customary marriage (Agyekum 2012:3). Thus, more effort in the study of language use in such customary practices like marriage will enhance our understanding of those practices. It will also highlight the crucial role language plays in such practices.

The study will also serve as reference document for future research in related fields of study.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Again, the study will provide the basis for comparative studies with other Ghanaian languages in the area of language use in the contract of customary marriages.

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is organized in five chapters. Chapter one presents a general context for the study. Specifically, it identifies and focuses the problem statement, and presents the research questions, objectives and significance of the study.

Chapter two provides a review of literature related to the study. It also discusses Fairclough's (1995) theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the theoretical framework underpinning the analysis of data in the study. The chapter progresses by presenting the methods and sources of data collection and analysis employed in the study. It particularly discusses the research design, research sites and the sampling techniques adopted in the study. The chapter ends with a summary.

In chapter three, the concepts of negotiation, conflict resolution, persuasion and linguistic etiquettes in Akan customary marriages are explored. The chapter focuses on how language is used in the enactment of these concepts in relation to the cultural norms of the people. Furthermore, the chapter presents some contemporary trends in Akan customary marriages. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Chapter four deals with a stylistic analysis of the language of Akan customary marriage. It specifically discusses such devices as proverbs, metaphors,

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

allusions, humor, and hyperbole among others, and shows how the relationship between the text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice in Fairclough's (1995) theory of CDA affects the production and consumption (interpretation) of these devices. The chapter ends with a summary.

In chapter five, a summary of the entire study and an overall conclusion is provided. The chapter also presents the major findings of the study and some recommendations for future research.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the relevant conceptual background for the research by reviewing, first, the related literature. This is done on five main themes namely; (a) marriage and language use, (b) the concept of conflict, (c) language of negotiation, (d) language ideology and (e) linguistic etiquettes; which are all related to the current work. This thematic review of literature is deemed imperative because although the focus of this thesis is on language of Akan customary marriage, certain key features such as negotiation, persuasion, conflict resolution, politeness, request, use of honorifics and thanking which are characteristic of the ritual cannot be overlooked. I want to investigate the crucial role language plays or how language is used to achieve these by reviewing literature on language use in these domains.

The chapter then proceeds with an in depth analysis and explanation of Fairclough's (1995) theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which provides the theoretical framework against which data in this research is analyzed. The chapter also attempts to show how relevant CDA is to the interpretation and analysis of data in this work. The chapter further discusses the methods employed in the study, with particular attention paid to the research sites, the research design, the research instruments, the data collection procedures, the sampling methods and the method of analysis of the data. The chapter ends with a summary.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

2.1 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This section reviews literature on themes that are related to the topic under research. These include; marriage and language use, the concept of conflict, language of negotiation, language ideology and linguistic etiquettes.

2.1.1 Marriage and Language Use

Nartey and Yankson (2014:21) posit that language is a tool that is used as "a medium of tranquillity, persuasion and progression on one hand, and a medium of uproar, anarchy and retrogression on another hand". They claim that the prominent role of language in the life of every human and the society as a whole cannot be under-estimated or over-emphasized. Language plays a very crucial role in the contract of any form of marriage cross-culturally. In a wedding ceremony for instance, after going through all the necessary rites and procedures, the officiating minister usually pronounces and declares the couple as husband and wife. In most cases, the expression used is:

"I pronounce you husband and wife"

This pronouncement, which is done by the use of language, is so critical to the validity of the union because it serves as a seal to the nuptial knot that is tied between the couple.

Similarly, almost all aspects of the contract of customary marriages in Africa and other parts of the world are carried out through the use of language. However, some scholarly works on marriage over the years have focused on various aspects such as the processes involved in the marriage contract (see

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

McKinney 1992, Ubong 2010). Other works focus on the importance of marriage in most societies and the changing trends in the contract of modern marriages (Van der Vliet 1991). Other areas of the concept of marrige which have also received considerable scholarly attention include the roles of husbands and wives in marriages, and the issue of fertility and childbearing in marriages (Smith 2001, Omobola 2013) among others.

My search through the literature reveals that only a few works touched on language use in the negotiation process of the marriage contract. For instance, Toraskar (2006) focuses on conflict situations that arise between the major participants of the marriage ritual and the linguistic strategies that are employed in resolving these conflicts.

Adopting Rossi-Landi's (1992) theory of production, exchange and consumption within parallel levels of material and linguistic production, Toraskar (2006) demonstrates how conflict was successfully resolved during the moments of communication of linguistic production. She adopts Pruitt and Carnevale's (1993) negotiation strategies to enhance her demonstration. She stresses that these moments of conflict situations are customarily expected by the participants as part of the ritual. This is because, customarily, "it is these conflict situations that ultimately form an integral and necessary part of the wedding ritual" (Toraskar 2006:1). However, the successful completion of the ceremony greatly depends on the peaceful resolution of these conflicts to the satisfaction of both sides of the families involved in the marriage.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

It is obvious that the Marathi wedding ceremony is a highly ritualistic one and this is captured by Toraskar (2006) where she writes that,

> [t]he Mangalashtaka (second stage), which is a highly ritualistic stage of the wedding was not analyzed, and if conflict had arisen at this stage of the wedding, then the wedding would have ground to a complete halt with very little chance of continuation (2006:2).

The most crucial aspect in the ceremony is the peaceful resolution of these conflicts which is done through the use of language for the successful continuity of the ritual. This clearly highlights the important role language plays in the contract of marriages.

Dividing the whole ritual wedding ceremony into three major parts; the preliminary rites stage, the Mangalashtaka stage and the core rites stage, Toraskar (2006) presents a step-by-step analysis of the conflict situations that arise in the course of the ceremony and how they are solved through the production of speech. She also adopts Pruitt and Carnevale's (1993) five strategies in two-party negotiation in the analysis of the conflict resolution. This also presupposes that conflict situations are likely to occur in the negotiation process of marriages across cultures. It is thus important for the negotiators involved to make effective use of language in order to resolve these conflict situations to the satisfaction of both families.

Ubong (2010), researching on the traditional marriage ceremonies among the Ibibio people of Nigeria, notices that diction is of great significance in the traditional marriage ceremony of the Ibibios. He describes the event as a dramatic

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

performance which lasts a lifetime as it unites not just two people, but two families, two communities and sometimes even two cultures. Taking the research from a dramatic perspective, he argues that language plays a core function in the marriage contract. In line with this, he posits that 'chief spokesmen' or 'head negotiators' are carefully chosen by each family in the marriage contract (Ubong 2010:335). It is expected of these spokesmen to possess excellent negotiating and oratory skills.

This undoubtedly points to the importance of language use in the ceremony. He further points out that in recent times, professional Masters of Ceremonies and even clowns have taken over from the 'chief spokesmen' of the past. This is in line with current trends in most Ghanaian communities, including Akan communities, where professional spokespersons are often hired as head negotiators at customary marriage ceremonies.

As argued by Ubong (2010:336-337), the negotiating phase of Ibibio traditional marriage contract usually happens to be the most exciting one because this phase involves the profound use of language in the form of proverbs, jokes, anagrams, tropes, fables among others. He adds that occasionally, there is outright clowning aimed at adding to the excitement. Furthermore, Ubong (2010) is of the view that, it is the appropriate use of these stylistic devices which produces the excitement at this phase of the ceremony.

Agyekum (2012) establishes a strong relationship between a people's language and their culture. He focuses on Akan proverbs and aphorisms about marriage. He indicates that the world view of Akans as well as many other African

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

societies on marriage is captured by proverbs and other elaborate expressions they have on the concept.

2.1.2 The Concept of Conflict

The concept of conflict is a very broad one which denotes several meanings. Generally, conflict can be defined as a fight, struggle, clash, disagreement or misunderstanding between two opposing forces. These forces can be individuals, families, groups or even nations. According to Wilmot and Hocker (2011:11), conflict is "an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from others in achieving their goals". By their definition, conflict is a struggle between parties who feel threatened by each other in the fulfillment of their desired goals.

An earlier definition by Diez et al (2006:565) also sees conflict as "a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals". These definitions lay emphasis on struggle, opposition or incompatibility as the core issues in conflicts. However, Abigail and Cahn (2011:20) take the definition of conflict from a communicative point of view. According to them, conflict is defined as "a kind of communication process within which a problematic situation with certain characteristics arises". Obviously, this definition limits conflict to only communication and suggests that conflict arises as a result of ineffective use of language. This is to a large extent true, and the interesting aspect of it is that, even when conflicts arise because of ineffective use of language, they are still resolved through the effective use of language. Thus,

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

language becomes a crucial tool both in the creation and resolution of conflicts in human endeavours.

Conflicts are normal, natural and inevitable part of our day-to-day interactions as social beings. The existence of conflict is not the challenge, but rather, how we handle it (Mayer 2000). As a common phenomenon in our daily interactions, conflict can occur in the home, work places, religious circles, schools, among others. In the home, conflict can occur between husband and wife, parents and children, among siblings or between other external family members like an aunt and a niece/nephew or a wife and an in-law, etc. There could also be conflict between a superior person and a subordinate as in the case of a manager and a secretary at the work place, a pastor and a congregant in the church or a lecturer and a student in the school set-up. On the other hand, conflict can also occur among co-equals such as colleagues at work, students in school or among congregants at church.

In all these conflict situations, effective negotiation through the use of language is key in the resolution of the conflict for a peaceful co-existence in the society.

2.1.3 Language of Negotiation

Negotiation can be explained as a dialogue between two or more people or parties intended to reach an understanding, resolve points of differences, to gain advantage for an individual or a group or to craft outcomes to satisfy various interests. As a form of dialogue, negotiations involve language use and take place

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

in many fields such as businesses, organizations, legal proceedings as well as in personal situations such as marriage, divorce, parenting and everyday life. This phenomenon, which is also an essential aspect in the contract of marriage, has also been researched into by various researchers in different fields of study.

Carnevale and Pruitt (1992:532) assert that negotiation involves discussions that take place between parties who have opposing preferences with the aim of reaching an agreement. According to them, although there is no limit to the number of parties that can take part in the negotiation process, a two-party negotiation is the most common and thus the most researched form of negotiation. Brett (2007:1) also defines negotiation as a communicative "process through which people with *conflicting interests* determine how they are going to allocate resources or work together in the future". By her definition, Brett (2007) indicates that negotiation is a communicative process. This means that the entire process of negotiation is pivoted and driven by communication, and successful negotiations are achieved through effective use of language.

Relating this to the concept of marriage, Ubong (2010) posits that head negotiators of Ibibio traditional marriage contract are chosen carefully and they must exhibit good negotiation skills and a great command over language. He argues that the items the "bride's family takes into the house in terms of quantity and quality ultimately depends on the skill of the chief negotiators on either side rather than on the "List" earlier submitted and even discussed in private by the two families" (Ubong 2010:336).

As posited by Billikopf (2014:73), the mere mention or thought of negotiation is intimidating. This is because most people think they do not have the

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

required skills to handle negotiations. However, we are all good negotiators who engage in one form of negotiation or the other on daily basis, and sometimes in an almost sub-conscious manner such as taking turns in a discourse or deciding who says 'hello' first in an interpersonal encounter. Negotiations are also done among family members, co-workers, and friends on daily basis and on several issues ranging from very trivial ones to important ones (see also Carnevale and Pruitt 1992). This suggests that some types of negotiations are sub-conscious while others are well- planned and structured.

Negotiations during marriage ceremonies can be both sub-conscious and structured. For instance, by the Akan cultural norms, the family members of the groom are supposed to extend greetings to the bride's family on their arrival to the bride's family house. After the right responses to their greetings, the bride's family is supposed to ask of their mission and this gives the groom's family the opportunity to go ahead and ask for the woman's hand in marriage. This part of the negotiation can be categorised under the sub-conscious type since it follows naturally from the socio-cultural norms of the society and does not demand any special effort. However, what goes into the actual marriage contract follows a more structured form of negotiation which is aimed at establishing a mutual understanding between the two families. It is worth stating here that, whether conscious or sub-conscious, negotiations involve effective use of language in order to reach mutual understanding.

In her view, Goodman (2007) sees negotiation as a means of resolving opposing preferences to the satisfaction of both parties involved. She submits that

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

> [p]rincipled negotiation is a strategy that seeks to move both parties away from polarizing and usually entrenched positions, and into the realm of interests. It asks how both parties can get their interests satisfied while keeping their relationship strong. Negotiating well means neither party need feel cheated, manipulated, or taken advantage of (Goodman 2007:138).

This assertion highlights the need for negotiators to employ various strategies and principles in order to ensure peaceful negotiation. They must bear in mind that if not handled properly, negotiation can cause one party to feel cheated or manipulated.

According to Carnevale and Pruitt (1992:532), there are four main procedures for dealing with opposing preferences. These are;

- negotiation
- mediation
- struggle
- arbitration.

However, considering the numerous advantages negotiation has over all the other procedures, Carnevale and Pruitt (1992) are of the view that, negotiation is the best option for resolving conflicts. Nevertheless, they stress that difficulty in communication is one major reason why negotiation fails in the resolution of conflicts, leading parties to resort to struggle. This confirms Brett's (2007) assertion that negotiation is a communicative process and that successful negotiation is made possible through effective use of language.

Briggs (2003), who also describes negotiation as conflict management, opines that negotiation happens in communities at all times. This is so because

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

joint decision-making is crucial to the creation and establishment of a peaceful co-existence in our societies. However, contrary to Carnevale and Pruitt (1992) who perceive negotiation as one of the best means to resolve conflicts, Briggs (2003:2) asserts that, although negotiation is a common phenomenon, to the civic-minded person, negotiation has a negative connotation. According to her, it "conjures up negative images of "horse trading" - hard-ball, self-interested transacting in which power games, threats, and deception dominate".

Thus, to the civic-minded person, negotiation is a kind of selfish, manipulative transaction between two or more parties, where each party tries to deceive the other and protects their self-interest. Personally, I think this is a one-sided argument, and as Goodman (2007:138) has it, a principled and well planned negotiation will ensure that no party feels cheated or manipulated. It is only when negotiations are not well handled by one or both parties that they breed such ill results.

Nevertheless, Brett (2007) agrees with Briggs (2003) that "negotiation is primarily a process of communication, meaning that it is subject to many of the breakdowns and breakthroughs that affect human communication generally" (Briggs 2003:4). Following this, one can argue that successful and peaceful negotiations result from effective use of language. This can be related to the intrinsic power in words that can make and unmake.

On the issue of communication as the pivot of every peaceful negotiation, Hobert (2008:152) posits that negotiators must employ both verbal as well as non-verbal forms of communication tactfully in order to satisfy both parties involved in the negotiation process. According to him, employing diplomatic tools such as the

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

proper use of body language, the appropriate choice of words, and the appropriate tone of the voice during negotiations are all crucial. Again, in a cultural setting such as customary marriage ceremony, certain cultural norms are expected to be observed by the negotiating parties. "The good negotiator is one who is able to establish easy two-way communications, so that his or her negotiating relationship is, from the outset, not adversarial" (Hobert 2008:152).

2.1.4 Language Ideology

Language ideology, also referred to as linguistic ideology, is a concept that is primarily used within the fields of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics and cross-cultural studies to characterize any set of beliefs or feelings about languages as used in their social worlds. In Blommaert and Verschueren's (1998) view, language ideology is a concept that describes how our ideas about language influence how we use language and interpret language use. They stress that language ideology includes ideas about and attitudes towards language. These include evaluations of language use and ideas about what language represents or does for people. For instance, some native speakers believe that there are right and wrong ways of speaking a particular language or that one language is more suitable for performing certain tasks than the other. People also express ideology about the power of language to act in the world in their belief that if someone says bad things about you, it can make you sick.

In the view of Zaidi (2012:74), ideology also denotes power, not just beliefs or ideas. Thus, language ideology is a kind of linguistic imperialism which

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

manifests itself in the ability to define social reality and to impose visions of the world which are inscribed in language and enacted through interaction (Gal 1991:197).

As Bauman (1983:16), cited in Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:55) claims, notions of how communication works as a social process, and to what purpose, are culturally variable and need to be discovered rather than simply assumed. Since conceptions regarding the communicative behavior of a people are enactment of a collective order, language must be used in its right ideological context as dictated by its speakers. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:55-56) also observe that language ideology is "a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk"; and that ideologies of language are essential tools for social as well as linguistic analysis.

This observation is true because language ideologies do not only bother on linguistic forms but also on the various social structures or institutions that operate through language use. For instance, the customary marriage of Akans is one social institution that revolves on the ideologies of language use in its contract. As a result, speakers at the ceremony are expected to be careful in the selection of diction to reflect the linguistic as well as social ideologies of speakers.

2.1.5 Linguistic Etiquettes

The notion of linguistic etiquette is a very broad one which covers almost all aspects of language use. According to Kasper (2004:374), the term refers to "the practice in any speech community of organizing linguistic action so that it is seen as appropriate to the current communicative event." He is of the view that the label

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

is much broader than the dictionary definition which limits it to mean "refined or proper rules of behavior." Kasper's (2004) definition suggests that the speech community plays a crucial role in determining what linguistic behaviours are deemed "proper" or "acceptable" depending on the context of the particular communicative event.

As will be discussed under the theoretical framework guiding this thesis, every discourse practice occurs within a socio-cultural context or practice. It therefore follows that a particular discourse practice is to a large extent governed by the norms and principles generally acceptable to the socio-cultural context within which it occurs.

Similarly, the production and consumption of text in the contract of Akan customary marriage is governed by certain discourse practices. One is expected to observe linguistic etiquettes in the use of language in such areas as making requests, use of honorifics, and thanking among others.

2.1.5.1 Requests

Requests are expressive speech acts which fall under linguistic routines. According to Agyekum (2010a:77), linguistic routines "refer to the sequential organisations beyond the sentence either as activities of one person or the interaction of two or more. These include gestures, paralinguistic features, topics and rituals in everyday interaction." As routines, requests are made in our daily social interactions. Like many other speech acts such as greetings, thanking and

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

apologies, requests are made in every society of the world. However, the various strategies employed in their expression may differ from one culture to the other.

Byon (2004:1674) states that request involves a conscious effort made by a speaker with the aim to get the hearer do something which is usually in the interest of the speaker. This means that generally, it is the speaker who benefits from requests. However, Agyekum (2005a:1) presents a contrary view on the concept. He believes that although requests are made by the speaker, they may be beneficial to the speaker, the addressee, both the speaker and the addressee or even a third party. This is true especially in cases where a speaker asks the addressee to do or offer something on behalf of a third party. In any case, by definition as well as their nature, requests are face-threatening both to the speaker and the hearer (Agyekum 2005a:3). This is so because, to the hearer, it is an infringement on his or her right to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. That is, requests could be an embarrassing act that coerces the hearer to do or offer something, sometimes even against his or her will. Similarly, the speaker also puts himself or herself in an awkward position and somehow lowers his or her status by making a request (p.c. Kofi Agyekum, 26th June, 2014).

In an attempt to avoid these face-threats, Byon (2004) claims that there are varieties of strategies available to speakers in all languages for the expression of requests with the aim of mitigating the potential face threats that are associated with the concept. One of these common strategies is for the speaker to employ indirection. Brown and Levinson (1987) propose that speakers must exhibit considerable cultural and linguistic expertise in the expression of requests so as to ensure their appropriateness. This suggests that it is not enough for a speaker to

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

know just the phonology, syntax and semantics of the language. Rather, for the appropriate expression of requests in any language, the speaker must also observe acceptable societal and cultural formulas as well as other paralinguistics features such as gestures. That is to say, both the speaker and the hearer must exhibit high level of communicative competence in the expression of requests.

In the contract of Akan customary marriage, the man's family is supposed to ask for the woman's hand in marriage from the woman's family. This practice literally denotes the concept of 'request'. Thus, the spokesperson making this 'request' must exhibit communicative competence in the use of appropriate language accompanied by the right gestures as dictated by the norms of the society.

2.1.5.2 Honorifics

The concept of honorifics falls within the domain of socio-pragmatic studies of language and communication. Brown and Levinson (1987:183) assert that "honorifics are derived from outputs of politeness strategies where these directly or indirectly convey a status deferential between speaker and addressee". In Levinson's (1983:90-91) typology of honorifics, he categorises the concept into two broad types. The first type is what he calls 'relational' honorifics. This type concerns itself with socially deictic information in languages of the world and it is further sub-categorised into addressee honorifics, referent honorifics and by-stander honorifics. The second type of Levinson's typology is 'absolute' honorifics. This type focuses on the relationship between the speaker

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

and the specific setting of the interaction which is portrayed through the level of formality. Absolute honorifics are also sub-categorised into 'authorized speakers' and 'authorized recipients'.

Agha (1994:277) claims that the concept of honorification involves the linguistic process of marking "relationships involving social status, respect or deference between communicative interactants". This definition suggests that the social relationship between any two or more interlocutors is more often expressed through the use of honorific terms. That is, one is able to tell the social distance between interactants of a communicative event by the various address forms that are used in the discourse. According to Richard et al. (1985:131), honorifics are "politeness formulas in a particular language which may be specific affixes, words, or sentence structure". Again, Irvine (1995:1) posits that "linguistic honorifics are forms of speech that signal social deference, through conventionalized understandings of some aspects, of the form-meaning relationship".

From the above, it is clear that various scholars have given various meanings and classifications of honorifics as a linguistic concept. However, one prevailing view most of them hold is that the use of honorifics is subject to contextual features, more especially that of interpersonal distance. For instance, Okamoto (1999:53) posits that the expression of both referent and addressee honorifics are generally done in relation to an individual who is perceived to be distant from the speaker. This interpersonal distance in the view of some scholars is measured by the level of intimacy between the interlocutors, the difference in their status or in-group and out-group distinctions (Wetzel 1994, Okamoto 1999).

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Aside interpersonal distance, which is considered the major determinant for the expression of honorifics, other factors also play crucial role in the expression of the concept. These include the means of communication, gender of the speaker, type of genre, formality of the setting and the topic being discussed. For instance, Makino and Tsutsui (1986) cited in Okamoto (1999:53) has it that honorific expressions are "used at such occasions as ceremonies, public speeches and public announcements".

Furthermore, Okamoto (1999:54-55) argues that the appropriate use of honorifics in any social setting demands an active involvement and a conscious effort on the part of the speaker. This suggests that there are certain norms which govern the "correct" usage of honorifics in a particular speech community, and not everyone in the community has this knowledge.

The Akan customary marriage is one cultural ceremony where language is used to express the culture of the people. Again, spokespersons and other speakers of the ceremony are expected to portray high sense of linguistic etiquettes, including the use of honorifics. This highlights Agyekum's (2003:374) assertion that "the use of honorifics is best understood within the ethnography of communication, in terms of who uses them (and to whom), as well as how and why they are used, and what their functions are in communicative interaction". The study therefore investigates the appropriate usage of honorifics by speakers during the ceremony.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

2.1.5.3 Thanking

Showing gratitude or thanking is an expressive speech act which occurs daily in most human interactions. Agyekum (2010a:78) opines that thanking is a universal phenomenon. However, their mode of expression as well as the ethnographic contexts in which they are expressed is language specific. Cheng (2005:2) states that the expression of "gratitude is a speech act that is taught at an early age and is commonly performed by native speakers of most languages". Similarly, Agyekum (2010a:77) claims that thanking, like many other linguistic routines, forms part of children's upbringing, socialization and acculturation. "Every child must be conversant with these linguistic routines and those who observe them in communicative interactions are communicatively competent, or vice versa" (Agyekum 2010a:77).

These assertions highlight the importance of the concept of thanking to societies of the world. Most communities frown upon people who do not express gratitude in situations where they are expected to. Such people are perceived to be ungrateful, not courteous or communicatively incompetent. This is because, as claimed by De Pablos-Ortega (2010:150), thanking "is a speech act that also reinforces positive politeness, and as such, contributes to the harmonious development of social relationships between members of a community". Thus, there could even be social friction between members of a community on one's refusal to express thanking where he or she is supposed to.

This notwithstanding, it is arguable that most African societies, including Akan, attach greater importance to the concept of thanking than some other western societies. This could be attributed to the high communal nature of most

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

African societies. Again, these societies cherish people who are grateful and appreciative.

As noted by Agyekum (2010a:78), thanking is an expressive speech act which portrays an inner feeling of gratitude of the speaker. Like most expressives, the speaker is expected to be sincere and truthful to his or her psychological state of mind. That is, a speaker expressing gratitude or thanks must do it whole-heartedly, not with pretence. Thus, in most societies, thanking is done by combining verbal (words) and appropriate non-verbal actions which are generally acceptable in the communicative context (Agyekum 2010a:78). For instance, among the Akan, wearing a smiling face or lying prostrate before the one receiving the gratitude is a good sign of communicative competence on the part of the speaker. It also proves that the speaker is indeed grateful to the addressee.

Agyekum (2010a:84-93) notes various ethnographic contexts and communicative events for the expression of thanking among Akans. Among these are joyful occasions such as marriage and weddings. It is therefore appropriate for a researcher on language of customary marriage among Akans to examine the language of thanking during the ceremony.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section presents the theoretical foundation of this research. It aims at providing a brief explanation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is considered appropriate for the analysis of data in this research because the whole process of contracting customary marriage among Akans can be viewed as a

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

discourse. Thus, its analysis must be done using a framework that is designed to provide the essential tenets for the analysis of a discourse, in this case, Critical Discourse Analysis. More importantly, the section will try to show how CDA is applied to the analysis of data in this current study.

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be described as both a theory and a method used in social scientific research and analysis. It was propounded by Fairclough (1989), but it became popular in the 1990's when scholars like Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk, Phil Graham and others subjected the theory to rigorous critique. It is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language which tackles the analysis of language from a multidisciplinary facet such as Sociology, Philosophy and Linguistics. As posited by Weiss and Wodak (2002), the unique strength of CDA lies in its plurality as theory and methodology.

Analyzing CDA as both a theory and a method, Williams (1977) cited in Fairclough (2001:121) proposes that it is a

> "theoretical perspective on language and more generally semiosis (including 'visual language', 'body language', and so on) as one element or 'moment' of the material social process which gives rise to ways of analyzing language or semiosis within broader analyses of the social process".

The term "social life or social process" as used in the above quotation deals with an interconnected chain or networks of diverse social practices such as culture, economics, politics and religion. "Semiosis" includes all forms of expressing

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

meaning through such media as visual images, body language as well as "verbal" language.

According to Fairclough (2001), CDA examines the inter-connectedness between the elements of social life and semiosis, paying particular attention to the radical changes that are taking place within social practices and the crucial role of semiosis within these changes. He argues that one should not "take the role of semiosis in social practices for granted; it has to be established through analysis" (Fairclough 2001:123). Thus, in a contemporary Akan society, where most people engage the services of professional spokespersons in the contract of customary marriages, it is apt to establish the relationship between language and this aspect of social life. Again, from the perspective of Malmkjaer (2001),

> … all linguistic usage encodes ideological patterns or discursive structures which mediate representations of the world in languages; that different usages (e.g., different socio-linguistic varieties or lexical choice or syntactic paraphrase) encode different situations and purposes; and by this means language works as a social practice (2001:102).

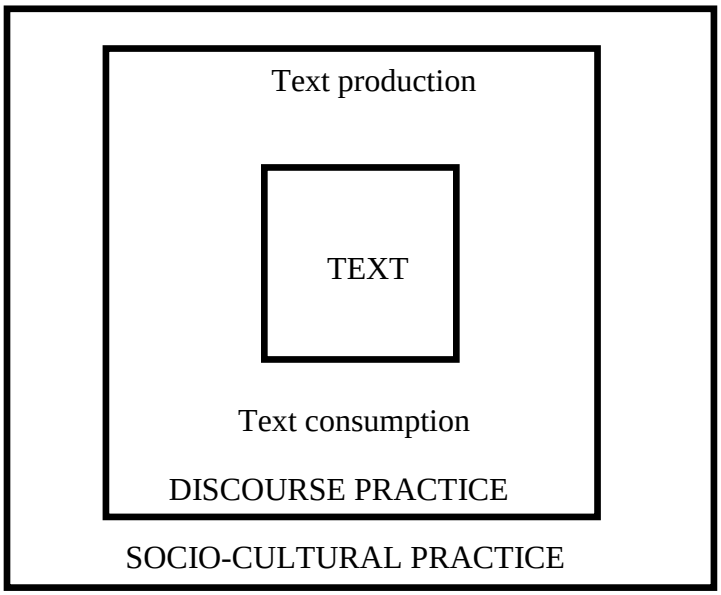
This assertion means that every discourse encounter presents totally new set of ideas, beliefs, norms and values which are expressed through the choice of words for that particular encounter. Moreover, the choice of words for every discourse is influenced by the purpose as well as the form of communicative event in question. Therefore, political discourse and discourse at customary marriage ceremony may have entirely different sets of choice of words, each set exhibiting a particular linguistic ideology.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

However, in most cases, this ideology does not manifest itself only through the choice of words. This is because, more often than not in human communication, what is meant is not explicitly made clear only through the linguistic forms (words) used. One has to consider other ethnographic as well as sociolinguistic variables such as age, status, setting etc to be able to fully understand and appreciate what is said. A CDA-based analysis helps to unravel meanings inherent in text and discourse by focusing on the relations between discourse and society (Van Dijk 1995).

Fairclough (1995) maintains that CDA is built on three core pillars, namely, text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. He posits that, the analysis of any communicative event must be done taking into consideration the inherent relationship that exists between texts, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. Below is a summary of the framework with a detailed discussion of each of the pillars.

Figure 1: A framework of critical discourse analysis of a communicative event.



Source: Adopted from Fairclough (1995:59)

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

2.2.1.1 Text

Text can be defined as any written or spoken material that is produced and can be analysed. Fairclough (1995) is of the view that analysis of the text must be done based on vocabulary, semantics, grammar, phonology, pragmatics and writing. He further stresses that this analysis should include organization of the text in relation to sentence cohesion. Crystal (1991:72) states that, a text is a "piece of naturally occurring spoken, written, or signed discourse identified for purposes of analysis. It is often a language unit with a definable communicative function, such as a conversation, or a poster." Cook (1989:158) also sees a text as "a stretch of language interpreted formally, without context." In the view of both Crystal (1991) and Cook (1989), the text is solely the spoken or the printed material whose interpretation and understanding do not depend on any external element such as the context. This view of the text may be misleading in the sense that, in some cases, one has to consider other non-linguistic features such as gestures to be able to better understand what is said or written.

Contrary to these opinions by Cook (1989) and Crystal (1991), Kaplan (1990) believes that effective understanding and interpretation of the text does not solely depend on the understanding of its phonology, morphology, grammar and semantics. He argues that these linguistic features are only part of the means to understand a text but not the ultimate. He cites the rhetoric effect, coherence, the world view of both the producer as well as the consumer as equally crucial paradigms for understanding a particular text. As noted by Huckin (1997), "the text is more than just words on a page - it discloses how those words are used in a particular social context".

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

This conforms to Fairclough's (1995:59) model of CDA which is summarized in the diagram above. According to the diagram, every text is produced and consumed within a discourse practice. This also suggests that the meaning and interpretation one gets from a particular text is influenced by the discourse practice within which the text is produced. For instance, the meaning and interpretation of the following text produced at an Akan customary marriage ceremony goes beyond the spoken words;

Yɛahyia mu wɔ ha sɛ yɛbɛka ogya bi asɔ ano.

'We have gathered here to ignite some fire.'

The actual meaning of the above sentence is 'we have gathered here to join two lovers together in marriage'. Furthermore, the sentence has a metaphorical meaning where marriage and love are expressed as 'fire'. Consequently, igniting this 'fire' means joining two people in love and marriage for them to flame up in love. However, for one to get this meaning, one must consider the context of the utterance which includes the setting, topic, audience etc. All these are features of the discourse practice. And without reference to the context, one would be tempted to understand and interpret the text literally.

2.2.1.2 Discourse Practice

Discourse practice deals with the linguistic, social as well as cultural conventions which govern the production and consumption of a text. McGregor (2003) asserts that discursive practice refers to

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

> … rules, norms, and mental models of socially acceptable behaviour in specific roles or relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret the message. They are the spoken and unspoken rules and conventions that govern how individuals learn to think, act, and speak in all the social positions they occupy in life. (2003:4).

In other words, discursive practice or discourse practice concerns itself with how an individual relates to the world in a way that portrays and gives recognition to his or her social identity. Every critical approach to the analysis of a discourse seeks to create a link between text and the underlying power structures in society. This link can be established through the discourse practice based on which the text is made. Thus, as shown in the figure 1 above, discourse practice serves as the mediation between the micro and macro structures in discourses.

Discourse practice can be viewed as a set of socio-cultural norms governing a specific discourse. In other words, it is the socio-culturally acceptable way of using language in specific socio-cultural contexts and practices such as funerals, marriage ceremonies and festivals. Thus, the norms are the discourse practice whiles the social contexts are the socio-cultural practice.

During the contract of an Akan customary marriage, text production and consumption are supposed to be done in line with certain norms or mental models which govern that communicative event. These include employing the right forms of greetings and their responses, the use of honorifics, thanking, and making requests, among others. Members are supposed to portray their cultural and social identities through the accepted use of language and other cultural behaviors. All

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

these must be carried out within a larger practice, which is the socio-cultural practice.

2.2.1.3 Socio-cultural Practice

McGregor (2003:2) opines that the social or socio-cultural practice or context comprises distinct settings where discourse occurs. These include market places, classrooms, playgrounds, church, conferences, etc. Each of these settings has a set of conventions that determine actions, rights and obligations of members. Fairclough (1995) posits that any analysis of a communicative event which does not consider the socio-cultural practice or aspect, cannot provide a total understanding and interpretation of the text. This highlights the indispensable role of the socio-cultural practice in the analysis of any speech event. That is, one is able to understand better a particular discourse with reference to the wider social and cultural context within which it is produced.

As shown in figure 1 above, both the text (i.e. text production and text consumption) and the discourse practice happen within the wider frame, which is, the socio-cultural practice. The production and consumption (interpretation) of speech in any discourse encounter is highly influenced by the cultural norms of practice guiding that specific context of discourse. This is so because human beings are also social beings; we don't live in isolation to the society. Every individual's beliefs, perceptions, behaviour and ideologies are to a large extent influenced by the society.

Similarly, language use in a domain such as customary marriage ceremony is influenced or shaped by the norms and values dictated by the socio-cultural

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

context. This is so because language is a very powerful tool which mirrors the experiences and practices of a particular community.

2.3 METHODOLOGY

This section focuses on the research design and the description of the research site. It provides a critical presentation of the research instruments, the data collection procedures, and the method of analysis of the data employed in this study.

2.3.1 Research Design

This study mainly adopts the qualitative research approach. Essentially, a qualitative research bothers on the what, how, where, when and why of the subject under research, and all these are important features of this study.

In the words of Berg (2007:3), "qualitative research thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things." That is, in a qualitative research, the researcher tries to unearth the reasoning underlying human actions and behaviours. In this vein, Dawson (2002:14) also asserts that "qualitative research explores attitudes, behavior and experiences through such methods as interviews or focus groups. It attempts to get an in-depth opinion from participants". She argues that because qualitative research deals with attitudes, behaviors and experiences which are deemed crucial, it involves fewer people. However, the contact with these people tends to last a longer period.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Tewksbury (2009) opines that qualitative research helps provide true insight into how social concepts are understood and interpreted in culturally grounded contexts. "It places primary value on complete understandings, and how people (the social aspect of our discipline) understand, experience and operate within milieus that are dynamic, and social in their foundation and structure" (Tewksbury 2009: 39).

In line with Berg's (2007:3) definition above, the language of customary marriage among Akans is rich with symbols, metaphors and other cultural concepts. Thus, a qualitative approach to this research will help provide the meanings and how these features of the language reflect the world view of the people.

Again, the qualitative approach is suitable to the analysis of this research because as Denzin and Lincoln (1998) put it, it places emphasis on how social meanings are constructed and interpreted, and also fosters the relationship between the researcher and the topic researched. In Agyekum's (2010b) perspective, studies involving social realities must be carried out in their natural perspective. Thus, a research such as a linguistic analysis of language of Akan customary marriage must be done in its natural state so as to ensure authenticity and naturalism.

2.3.2 Research Sites

The research sites for this study include Mamfe, Aburi and Nsawam which are all towns in the Eastern region; Kumasi and Mampong in the Ashanti region; and Kaneshie and Adenta in the Greater Accra region. The towns in Eastern and Ashanti regions are selected first and foremost because they are Akan-speaking

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

communities. As stated earlier, the Akan language has many dialects, among which is the Akuapem dialect spoken in the selected towns of the Eastern region. Asante Twi is also the indigenous language of the people of Kumasi and Mampong in the Ashanti region. These sites are therefore chosen for this research because as Akan-speaking communities, most customary marriages in these places are conducted using the Akan language and culture. Secondly, although these places are Akan speaking communities, there may be dialectal as well as cultural differences in the contract of marriage which is likely to influence language use for the ritual, thus providing a wider range of data for analysis.

Although the indigenous language of Greater Accra is Ga, most inhabitants of the city speak Akan either as a native language or as a lingua franca in their daily transactions. This linguistic trend can be attributed to the cosmopolitan nature of the place which has attracted a lot of migrants from all corners of the country. Since Ghana is a highly multilingual country, most of these migrants with different linguistic background tend to use Akan as a lingua franca. The 2010 population and housing census presented an interesting linguistic situation in Accra where there were more speakers of Akan than Ga, which is the indigenous language of the place. This is captured in the table below;

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Table 1: Language Situation in Accra

Speakers	Language
1,528,722	Akan
1,056,158	Ga
775,332	Ewe
200,735	Mole Dagbani
73,409	Guan
62,435	Gurma
48,822	Grusi
28,656	Mande
75,568	Other languages

Source: (Ghana Statistical Service Report, 2012).

It is obvious from the above table that Akan is in contact with many other languages in Accra. In language contact situations, it is argued that there is a high possibility of change in some or all aspects of languages that are in contact. Mostly, at least one of the languages will exert some degree of influence on all or some of the languages in contact. The most common specific type of influence in this regard is the borrowing of words. I therefore intend to find out whether the cultural norms as well as the language use of Akans living in Accra have undergone any such change in relation to the contract of customary marriage. This would be done by comparing the data from Accra to those from the indigenous Akan-speaking communities to show whether the language of customary marriage of Akans who are in Accra differ from that of Akans who are in their indigenous hometowns.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

2.3.3 Interviews

Interviews are one of the major means of drawing data for qualitative research. According to Remenyi (2011:1), an "interview is a formal technique whereby a researcher solicits verbal evidence or data from a knowledgeable informant". This suggests that interviews can be used as supplementary means to broaden the researcher's knowledge about individual's thoughts, feelings, meanings and interpretations of concepts.

The usefulness of interviews as a means of collecting data for research purposes stems from their ability to give people the opportunity to convey to the researcher a situation from their own perspective and in their own words. However, they must be structured carefully to yield maximum results. In this regard, Remenyi (2011) recommends that, the researcher must transcribe the recorded interview into a written transcript so as to provide insightful data for analysis.

Interviews can be broadly categorized into structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews depending on the degree of structuring (Fontana and Frey 2005). However, for the purpose of this study, I would like to elaborate on structured and unstructured interviews. Fontana and Frey (2005) define structured interviews as interviews that have a set of predefined questions and all the respondents are asked these same questions in the same order. According to them, structured interviews are more formal and similar to surveys, the only difference being that the former are administered orally rather than in writing.

Unstructured interviews, on the other hand, are less formal and the questions asked are guided by intuition. In the view of Patton (2002), unstructured

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

interviews are a natural extension of participant observation. He further argues that they totally depend on spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of conversational interaction. The unstructured interview method is employed in this study due to its spontaneous and interactive nature of questioning so as to get my respondents in a relaxed mood to generate responses that are natural, authentic and genuine. A sample of the unstructured interview guide is represented in appendix 1.

2.3.4 Sources and Methods of Data Collection

This study makes use of primary data for the analysis. This was collected through casual interviews, observation and video recordings. Following the ethics of research, I sought permission from the would-be-couples prior to the day of the customary marriage to record the ceremony. I also assured my respondents that the data gathered was going to be used for academic purposes only, and high level of confidentiality and anonymity of their names will be observed.

I observed and recorded portions of customary marriage ceremonies that involve formal use of language, especially the part where negotiations for the marriage contract are made. This part of the ritual was given priority over other aspects such as the refreshment, dance and the musical display because these aspects do not actually need language for their enactment. In all, seven ceremonies were recorded in all the selected towns, that is, one from each town. Relevant portions of the recorded video were effectively and accurately transcribed.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

The casual interviews were conducted within a time length ranging from six to ten minutes per interview. Basically, these were aimed at finding out whether the spokespersons for the ceremony were family members or hired professionals. The respondents were further asked to state the reasons why they chose hired/professional spokespersons or otherwise, and also what their general impressions about this growing trend of employing the services of hired or professional spokespersons for customary marriages are.

To help me get time for this interaction with my respondents who were mainly the spokespersons, bride, groom and other core family members, I engaged the services of someone to do the recordings for me while I go round conducting these brief unstructured interviews. Their responses were also recorded for analysis.

2.3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

In all, twenty-five respondents, with ages ranging from twenty-six to fifty-four years were interviewed in seven different ceremonies that were recorded for this research. Fourteen out of this number were spokespersons from both sides of the families, six were grooms while the remaining five were brides. For data collection, the snowball sampling technique was used. This technique makes use of random sampling through friend-of-a-friend. I was informed about customary marriage ceremonies to be held at the various research sites through the help of friends. Again, I visited churches in my research sites and followed their

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

announcements on publication of marriage bans. This also gave me the opportunity to know areas where marriages were going to be contracted.

No special preference was given to the sampling of participants in this study. I interviewed whoever was the bride, groom and the spokespersons for the ceremony without any form of preference. This is because the study gives no particular attention to age and gender; rather, it focuses on language use.

2.3.6 Method of Data Analysis

At each of the customary marriage ceremonies attended, the entire speech event was recorded. However, not everything was transcribed and used in the analysis. The sampling was done in line with the purposive sampling approach, a form of non-probability sampling in which decisions concerning the individuals or data to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria.

I purposively selected portions of the data that were relevant to the study. This was done in accordance with Cresswell's (1994:148) assertion that purposive sampling helps the researcher to select respondents or materials which will help him or her to answer the research questions. Thus, I selected extracts of the recordings which featured language use in areas such as negotiation, conflict resolution, persuasion and linguistic etiquettes. Furthermore, portions which reflected the use of stylistics devices such as metaphors, humour, proverbs etc. were also sampled for analysis. This is because; these areas form the core of the research.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

2.4 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has reviewed some related literature on the topic under sub-themes such as marriage and language use, the concept of conflict, language of negotiation, language ideology and linguistic etiquettes. In these reviews, the crucial role language plays in the contract of marriage was discussed. Works on language ideology, language of negotiation, language conflict which form a major aspect of every marriage contract, as well as linguistic etiquettes in the areas of requests, honorifics and thanking were also reviewed.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which serves as the framework for this thesis has also been examined with particular attention paid to how the theory is applicable to the analysis of data in the work. Finally, the chapter also provided explanations to the nature and sources of data, methods of collection, sampling techniques and the data analysis procedures used.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

CHAPTER THREE

NEGOTIATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND LINGUISTIC ETIQUETTES IN AKAN CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the various concepts that are carried out in the marriage contract through the use of language. The chapter also brings out how language is used as a tool to express these concepts which are very vital to the ceremony. Starting with the concept of negotiation, the chapter explores the various ways and techniques which are employed by the spokespersons of both families so as to ensure a peaceful marriage contract. The particular interest here has to do with how these spokespersons are able to exhibit their negotiation skills through language use.

Since the customary marriage is one of the most cherished customary practices of Akans, its contract is guided by certain socio-cultural norms and values. The chapter thus intends to bring out how negotiations are done within these socio-cultural norms and values of the people.

Other aspects of the marriage contract which the chapter discusses include persuasion, conflict resolution and linguistic etiquettes, especially in greetings, requests, honorifics and thanking. In all these aspects, the focus of the analysis is on how language is used in the expression of these concepts in the contract of the marriage. The chapter ends with a summary of all the issues that are discussed.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

3.1 Language of Negotiation

As noted earlier, negotiation is a form of dialogue which can take place between two or more parties. Levine (2011) opines that negotiations are done on daily basis among family members, co-workers, friends etc. They can also happen in fields and institutions such as businesses, organizations, schools, churches as well as in personal interactions such as marriage, parenting, divorce and many more.

The contract of Akan customary marriage is one area where negotiations are greatly employed. This is so because marriage in the Akan perspective is a permanent union between the two families involved. Thus, both families are conscious of their language use and general conduct so as to ensure a healthy relationship among members of the families, which will continue forever even when the marriage breaks up.

The negotiations for an Akan customary marriage start with the presentation of the 'list' from the bride's family to the groom's[1] family. This "list" specifies the items as well as the amount of monies that the groom's family is supposed to present to the bride's family on or before the engagement day. It must however be noted that the notion of the 'list' is not a traditional norm. Most of the items to be presented were predictable and well known by all. It is now creeping into the culture as a result of the widespread of literacy.

Usually, most of the items on the list are standardized, however, the family is at liberty to make variations. The negotiations are done by both families in order to come to agreement on what items and how much money should be accepted

[1] The terms bride and groom are used in this thesis to refer to the man and woman who are about to marry. This is done for convenience purposes.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

before the day of the marriage engagement. In what follows, I discuss a number of excerpts which illustrate how effective use of language helps achieve smooth and peaceful negotiations.

Example 1

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Kumasi – Tafo

Date: December, 2014

Participants: A. O. and O. M.

(This conversation ensued between A.O. (spokesperson for the bride's family) and O. M. (spokesperson for the groom's family) at a meeting held between the two families after the bride's family had presented the "list" to the groom's family. The main purpose was to discuss the list.)

> **A. O.:** *Em, Opanyin, sika dodow biara a mosusu sɛ ɛsɔ ani no, mommfa nhyɛ* envelop *mu mma ɔbaa no. Nanso, ntama a wɔde ma ɔbaa no deɛ, madi kan aka sɛ yɛmmpɛ* G.T.P. *anaa* A.T.L. *Na mmom, yɛpɛ kente ahorow mmiɛnsa*.
>
> 'Em, elderly one, whatever amount of money you consider appropriate, you can put it in an envelope for the woman. But for the clothes, as I have already said, we don't want any G.T.P. or A.T.L.[2] We rather want three different pieces of kente'.

[2] G.T.P. and A.T.L. are some common wax prints in Ghana.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

O. M.: *Agya, w'adaworoma. Ɛwɔ mu sɛ nsuo retɔ deɛ nanso ɛfam da so yɛ den kakra enti yɛsrɛ wo, bra fam kakra ma yɛn.*

'Father, you have spoken well. But though the rains are falling, the ground is still hard so please reduce it a bit for us'.

A. O.: *Anka ntama ahorow nsia ne akyire na yɛbɛgye, nanso yeatwa so ayɛ no kente ahorow mmiɛnsa pɛ.*

'We would have demanded six pieces of clothes or more but we have reduced them to only three pieces of kente'.

O. M.: *Agya, mesrɛ wo. Ma yɛnyɛ no ahorow mmienu.*

'Father, I am pleading with you, let's make it two types of kente pieces'.

A. O.: *Mate. ɔpanyin, ɔbaa a ɔdɔ ne kunu, ose; mehwɛ wo ara.*

'Alright, elderly one. A woman who loves her husband always looks up to him'.[3]

The data above is a clear instance where we see O. M. trying to bargain with A. O. for reduction of the items demanded by the bride's family, especially, in relation to the type and number of pieces of cloth to be presented to the bride. A. O.'s initial statement indicates his open preference for kente (one of the most valuable traditional clothes for Akans), over any other type of cloth.

[3] The names in this and subsequent excerpts are pseudonyms and do not refer to any particular person(s) in the real world.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

However, he is seen to be liberal on the amount of money to be given to the bride. He does not quote any amount, rather, he leaves it for the groom's family to use their own discretion. Nevertheless, by using the expression *sika dodow biara a mosusuw sɛ ɛsɔ ani no…* 'any amount of money that you deem appropriate…', the bride's family expects an appreciable amount from the groom's family. The expression puts them in a position to present an amount that will earn them some respect before the bride's family.

Furthermore, although the groom's family may be aware that the usual type of clothes demanded for such purpose is G.T.P. or A.T.L. but not kente, they do not raise an issue with it. Instead, the spokesperson asks for reduction in the number of kente pieces demanded. He makes use of address terms such as *Agya* 'Father' and politeness markers such as *mesrɛ wo* 'I am pleading with you' in his speech. He also exhibits good negotiation power captured in expressions like *Ɛwɔ mu sɛ nsuo retɔ deɛ, nanso ɛfam da so yɛ den kakra enti yɛsrɛ wo bra fam kakra ma yɛn*, literally meaning; 'Even though it is raining, the ground is still hard so please reduce it a bit for us'.

Another strategy O. M. employs in his negotiation is the use of hedges[4] and mitigating markers such as *nanso, kakra, bra ɛfam kakra* in the expression above. These markers helped reduce the impact of his utterance, in that, they enabled him present what would have been perceived as unpleasant in a more pleasant manner. This is in consonance with Abdi and Behnam's (2014:94) claim that using hedges to mitigate claims or present disagreements helps ensure a positive atmosphere between interactants in a communicative encounter.

[4] Hedges are communicative devices used to either increase or decrease the force of utterances

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

By this effective use of language, he is able to reduce the number of kente pieces from three to two. This successful bargain confirms Ubong's (2010) assertion that "[w]hat the bride's family takes into the house in terms of quantity and quality ultimately depends on the skill of the chief negotiators on either side rather than on the 'List' earlier submitted and even discussed in private by the two families" (Ubong 2010:336).

Again, the excerpt above fits into Goodman's (2007:5) view of negotiation. According to her, negotiation is a means of resolving opposing preferences to the satisfaction of both parties involved. She stresses that principled negotiation ensures that both parties get their interests satisfied without ruining their relationship. The final response from A. O., captured in the proverb; *Mate. ɔpanyin, ɔbaa a ɔdɔ ne kunu, ose; mehwɛ wo ara* 'Alright, elderly one. A woman who loves her husband always looks up to him', shows that "neither party feels cheated, manipulated, or taken advantage of" in the negotiation process (Goodman 2007:5).

This dialogue of negotiation is best understood and appreciated within the ideological patterns of social practice under CDA. The choice of words and expressions like *ɔbaa no* 'the woman', *ntama a wɔde ma ɔbaa no de…* 'as for the pieces of cloth given to the woman…', *ntama nsia* 'six pieces of cloth' are reflective of the discourse practice and the ideological patterns of language usage that are associated with it. As captured by Malmkjaer (2001:102), "different usages (e.g., different socio-linguistic varieties or lexical choice or syntactic paraphrase) encode different situations and purposes, and by this means, language works as a social practice". Thus, for instance, the expression *ntama nsia* 'six

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

pieces of cloth' in this context hints on a predictable and well known aspect of the customary marriage contract that is shared by all the members at the gathering.

Another instance of negotiation happens in excerpt 2 below where the spokesperson for the groom's family maneuvers his way out of a potential face-threat regarding their lateness to the ceremony.

Example 2

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Aburi – Akuapem

Date: February, 2015

Participants: Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ and Ɔkyeame S. K.

(In the extract, the groom's family reported later than the time scheduled for the ceremony. The following conversation took place between the two spokespersons.)

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Yɛma mo akwaaba bio. Ɔkyeame, mobegye ato mu sɛ moakyɛ.* Let me call a spade a spade, *mpanyinfo se moakyɛ!*

'You are welcome once again but you will admit that you are late. The elders say, you are late'.

Ɔkyeame S. K.: *Momma yɛnna Awurade ase efisɛ kyerɛw no se ade nyinaa mu no yemmfa nnaase mma Awurade. Sɛ yɛkɔdae na yɛansɔre bio a, anka bɔhyɛ no yɛ bɔhyɛ hunu. Ɛno nti sɛ motenaa ase twɛn yɛn na mmere tiaa yɛn kakra a, na ɛyɛ ne yiye mu ntia.*

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

> 'Let's thank God because the word of God says we should be thankful to God for everything. The promise would have been in vain if we had not woken up from our sleep. So it is all good that we kept you waiting for some time'.

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Ɛyɛ nokware. Eye, esiane ɔdɔ nti yɛde akyɛ mo.*

'That's alright; we have forgiven you out of love'.

Excerpt 2 above shows how Ɔkyeame S. K. settles the issue of their lateness through effective use of language. Through biblical allusion, Ɔkyeame S. K. is able to win the forgiveness of Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ although he does not even tell her the reason behind their lateness. He is able to appeal to the emotions of all, especially the bride's family by reminding them of what would have happened if they had not lived to see that day. Although not directly stated, one can argue that considering the great sorrow and disappointment this would have brought the whole family and loved ones, the spokesperson for the bride's family easily forgave them.

3.2 Language of Conflict Resolution

The language of Akan customary marriage also serves as a tool in the resolution of conflicts in cases where they arise during the ceremony. As posited by Mayer (2000:1), in one sense, we perceive conflict to be "natural, inevitable, necessary, and normal, and that the problem is not the existence of conflict but how we handle it". It is therefore not surprising that even during a joyous occasion such as the customary marriage ceremony, there could be moments of tension and conflict.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

However, how these conflicts are handled in order not to ruin the cordial relationship that is supposed to exist between the two families is very important. The peaceful resolution of these conflicts through effective use of language is one core interest of this research. The data below exemplifies a conflict situation which occurred as a result of misunderstanding over the presentation of one of the items on the list.

Example 3

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Mangoase – Nsawam

Date: January, 2015

Participants: B. F. and G. F.

(At the customary marriage ceremony between a young charismatic Pastor and a daughter of a sub-chief, there was a misunderstanding over the presentation of schnapps as part of the items to be presented to the bride's family. The following ensued).

B.F.: *Ɔkyeame, tie ma ɛnto ɔbarima no ne n'abusuafo sɛ, sɛ wɔamfa* schnapp *no amma a, merempene mma wɔmfa ɔbea no nkɔ. Mpanyimfo se; ammammere, wɔnntoto no ase.*

'Ɔkyeame, let the man and his family understand that, if they don't bring the schnapps, I will not allow them to take the lady away. After all the elders say that, custom must be respected'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

G.F.: *Ɔpanyin, yenim sɛ yɛne wo aka saa nsa yi ho asɛm dedaw. Yɛrentumi nntɔ nsa mma wo wɔ mmere a yetu nkorɔfo fo sɛ wɔnnnom nsa.* Besides, *adwene a edi saa ti nsa no akyi no nnye. Yese, yɛbɛyɛ biribiara sika.*

'Elderly one, we thought we had already settled this issue. We cannot buy alcoholic drink for you when we advise people not to drink alcohol. Besides, the motive for this schnapps as part of the dowry is wrong. We want to make everything money'.

B.F.: *Merennye sika no nnɛ, nnye no ɔkyena.* Bible *mpo aka se yɛmfa Kaesera de mma Kaesera, na yɛmfa Onyankopɔn nso de mma no. Schnapp no na ebedi adanse sɛ moabɛyɛ ɔbea no ho ade na ɛnyɛ sika*.

'I will never take the money. Even the Bible says we should offer to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and offer to God what belongs to God. It is the schnapps that will testify that you have performed the customary marriage rites and not the money'.

G.F.: *Ɛnka! Ammammere a etia Kristosom sɛɛ de, merenntumi nni so.*

'Let's forget this marriage then. I cannot perform a customary practice that is contrary to Christianity'.

Ɔkyeame A. A.: *Abusuafo, mesrɛ mo, momma mo koma mmra fam. Mommma asɛm ketewaa yi nsɛe anigye da a ɛte sɛɛ.*

'Folks, I beg you to calm down. Do not spoil the beauty of such a happy day with this little issue'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

The excerpt above presents a conflict situation that arises as a result of a clash between Christianity and culture. Using B. F. as a symbol of the Akan tradition and culture, we see how he battles with G. F., who symbolizes Christianity in this context. In the excerpt, each speaker tries to defend his beliefs and doctrines without any compromise. B. F's statement; *mpanyimfo se; ammammere, wɔnntoto no ase* 'the elders say, custom must be respected' portrays his unwillingness to compromise his stance on the issue. In the traditional Akan society, the elders symbolise wisdom. They are perceived as infallible, experienced, all-knowing and custodians of tradition. Therefore, anything they say is believed to be true and must be respected and obeyed, hence, B. F.'s resolution to protect custom to the core. For him, it is the schnapps that customarily testifies that the woman has been married off to the man but not the money.

The conflict reaches its climax when B. F. emphatically says *merennye sika no nnɛ, nnye no ɔkyena;* literally meaning; 'I will neither accept the money today nor tomorrow'. Using the same Bible which is the basis for G. F's unwillingness to present the schnapps, B. F. quotes reasons why he thinks his position on the issue is justified. The final response from G. F.; *Ɛnka! Ammammere a etia Kristosom sɛɛ de, merenntumi nni so*! 'let's forget this marriage then! I cannot perform a customary practice that is contrary to Christianity', clearly establishes the point that he is also not ready to comply with the demands of B. F. He decides to choose Christianity over love and marriage.

Although it has become a contemporary trend in many Akan marriage ceremonies where the family of the groom presents money in place of drinks and

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

other items, I believe this same attempt created conflict in this particular instance because of the participants involved. That is, a pastor and a chief. In the Akan tradition, a chief is supposed to be a custodian of the customs of the land. He is to ensure that tradition and custom are adhered to by all. This could explain why B. F. did not want to be a victim of this contemporary trend with respect to his daughter's marriage rites. The pastor, on the other hand, sees it as his responsibility to protect the doctrines he preaches to others by not presenting alcohol to others. This explains his statement and the entrenched position that makes a compromise very remote.

The resolution process started with the speech of Ɔkyeame A. A. (spokesperson for the groom's family), who urged both families to calm down and settle the issue peacefully. His speech somehow calmed tempers and this gave them the opportunity to resolve the conflict amicably. After his statement, each family had a short meeting and the groom's family finally agreed to present the schnapps before the ceremony continued.

The role played by the Ɔkyeame in excerpt 3 above fits into Miall et al's (1999) description of a mediator. According to them, mediation can be described as a voluntary "intervention of a third party" in the resolution of conflict (Miall et al 1999:22). Udezo (2009) offers a similar understanding of the concept by describing it as a purely voluntary process in which the mediator creates "the enabling environment for the parties to carry out dialogue sessions leading to the resolution of a pending conflict. He works on communication between parties. He is simply a reconciler".

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

3.3 Language of Persuasion

Asemah (2012:125) defines persuasion as "the use of messages to influence an audience". This suggests that the key element in persuasion is the ability of the communicator to use language with the aim of convincing other people to willingly change their attitudes or behavior regarding a particular issue. According to Agyekum (2004:63), "[p]ersuasion forms an integral part of human communication and behaviour in day-to-day activities and social encounters". Obviously, the contract of Akan customary marriage is one of such social encounters where persuasion is employed.

Spokespersons for the groom's family usually use persuasive language in various forms so as to convince both the bride and her family to accept their marriage proposal. This persuasive language usually comes in the form of praises, use of honorifics and appellations, among others. Consider the example below;

Example 4

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Mampong-Adweho (Ashanti region)

Date: March, 2015

Participants: Ɔkyeame S. E. and Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ

(An interaction between the two spokespersons; Ɔkyeame S. E. is for the bride's family while Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ is for the groom's family).

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame S. E.: *Nana Kyeame, mpaninfoɔ se yɛnim nso yɛbisa; ɛha deɛ bɔkɔɔ, mo na monam.*

'Nana Kyeame, the elders say even though we know, we still ask; what brings you here?'

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ.: *Yoo, ehh, ansa na mɛnkɛnsono bɛsi ne tiri ase no, na ɛwɔ deɛ asaase aka akyerɛ no. Anɔpa yi deɛ yɛbaa ha a, bɔkɔɔ. Yɛahu nhwiren fɛfɛɛfɛ bi wɔ fie ha, enti yɛpɛ sɛ yɛbɛtu aseɛ kɔ yɛn abusua mu.*

'Well, there is always a reason behind every action. Our mission this morning is not evil, we have seen a beautiful flower in this house and we want to uproot it into our family'.

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ's account of their mission in the bride's family house is carved in persuasion. The use of the expression, *nhwiren fɛfɛɛfɛ* 'beautiful flowers' to refer to the bride, is persuasive enough to make her family feel good and proud. Praising the bride in this manner and the expression of the desire to have such a beautiful lady in their family show how valuable she means to them. Though this persuasive use of language is part of the Akan tradition, one can argue that it also influences the bride's family to willingly accept the marriage proposal of the groom and his family. This is in consonance with Kenechukwu et al's (2013:955) assertion that persuasion seeks "to induce people to take a desired action".

Furthermore, spokespersons use this persuasive language to pave way for a smooth and peaceful negotiation in the marriage contract. This strategy employed by spokespersons conforms to Agyekum's (2004:63) submission that the effective

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

use of persuasion is one "of the most important mechanisms for achieving a cordial linguistic atmosphere".

The data collected also showed that sometimes spokespersons use honorific forms to persuade their addressees. Agyekum (2004:78) opines that in the "natural world, every creature (human beings and animals alike) feel good when praised. Praises boost people's ego and sometimes make them act freely and willingly". Spokespersons at ceremonies recorded for this research capitalize on this inherent nature of human beings to their advantage. They use persuasive language in the form of praises, appellations and honorifics to make their addressees feel good and comply to their requests willingly. Examples are;

Example 5 (Refer to example 2 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Ɔwoanini* Gladys, *mo, Nyame nhyira wo.*
'Gladys who has brought forth males, well done.
God bless you.'

Example 6 (Refer to example 2 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Ɔbea tenten gramo a ne ho yɛ fɛ!*
'A stout lady who is beautiful'.

In example (5) above, Gladys, the mother of the bride, is said to have given birth to seven sons and only one daughter. The spokesperson acknowledges and praises her for this feat. The rationale behind this praise stems from the Akan traditional perception that attaches more importance to male children than their female counterparts. The sentence in example (6) is an adoration of the bride by the spokesperson. The use of these praises and honorifics are all means through which

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

the spokespersons try to influence their audience's decision. Kenechukwu et al (2013:955) capture it best when they write that persuasion places emphasis on "seeking the most effective way of influencing the attitudes and behaviours of the recipient in the communication process, to enable the recipient view the message from the perspective of the originator of the message". In the subsequent example, I discuss how the effective use of persuasive language helped curb a potential conflict situation.

Example 7

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Adenta – Accra

Date: January, 2015

Participants: Ɔkyeame O. K and Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me

(The groom and his family were supposed to report at the bride's family house at 9:00a.m. for the marriage ceremony but they were late and got to the place at 11:20am. This conversation ensued).

Ɔkyeame O. K.: *Yoo, afei a moate me din ne me diberɛ wɔ dwumadie kɛseɛ sei mu no, me nso mɛsrɛ na mahu kyeame a ɔwɔ ɔbaa no fam ɛne ne din.*
'Alright, now that you have heard my name and the role I play in this august ceremony, I will plead that I also get to know the spokesperson for the bride's family and his/her name'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Agoo! ansa na ɔbaa no kyeame bɛbɔ ne din no, moka kyerɛɛ yɛn sɛ mobɛba 9:00am nanso 11:20am ansa na moabɛdu enti yɛ krado sɛ wobɛ*-pacify *no ama n'akoma atɔ ne yam.*

'Attention! But before the spokesperson from the bride's family introduces himself/herself, you agreed to be here at 9:00am but you actually got here at 11:20am so be ready to pacify him/her'.

Ɔkyeame O. K.: *Ɛyɛ nokware! Nanso biribi na esiankaa ewie mu na ɛmaa mmere etiaa yɛn kakra. Ne nyinaa mu mpo no, momma yɛmmfa aseda mma Onyankopɔn efisɛ ɔno na onim nea ɛye na ɔyɛ ma ne mma.*

'It is true! But something beyond our control kept us a bit late. Even in this, let's still give thanks to God for He knows and does what is good for His children'.

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Mepa wo kyɛw, mɛnnbɔɔso me efisɛ merennte ase.*

'Please, don't try to convince me because I won't agree.'

Ɔkyeame O. K: *Aoo, Ɔhemmaa! Wo ho yɛ fɛ enti tɔ wo bo ase. Ka w'akoma to wo yam na yɛaba yi na yɛaba!*

'Ao, queen mother! You are beautiful so calm down. Relax, for we have indeed come!'

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Daabi! Mokae sɛ naano no mokaa sɛ 8:30am pɛpɛɛpɛ na mo wɔ ha?*
'No! do you remember you said the other day that you will be here at exactly 8:30am'?

Ɔkyeame O. K: *Nya abotare, Ɔhemmaa, nya abotare! wokɔ nnomaa nnomaa kurow mu, na wotete berebuo wɔ kwan mu! Ka w'akoma to wo yam na yɛaba no na yɛaba! Hwɛ, yɛne Asona nsia a obi nkɔ nsuo ngu yɛn ahina mu. Aberewa Dokuaa*[5] *nananom! Yɛaba no na yɛaba!*
'Be patient, queen mother, be patient! There is no point in rushing. Calm down for we have indeed come. Look, we are those from the Asona[6] clan; the grandchildren of Grandmother Dokuaa! We have indeed come'!

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Yoo, mpanyimfo se, ɔdɔ kata bɔne nyinaa so enti yɛde akyɛ mo.*
'Alright, the elders say, love covers all mistakes; so you are forgiven'.

The excerpt above depicts how persuasive language can also be used to curb a potential conflict situation. The issue of lateness on the part of the groom's family which could have generated into a conflict was tactically resolved through the effective use of language by the spokesperson. Although Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me was

[5] The allusion to Aberewa Dokuaa will be discussed in details in chapter four (section 4.1.6)
[6] Asona is one of the clans of the Akans.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

difficult and adamant on the issue, the consistent use of persuasive language captured in utterances like;

> *Ɔhemmaa! Wo ho yɛ fɛ enti tɔ wo bo ase. Ka w'akoma to wo yam na yɛaba yi na yɛaba!* 'Queen mother! You are beautiful so calm down. Relax, for we have indeed come!' softened her heart.

The expression, *ka w'akoma to wo yam*, literally meaning, 'push/knock your heart into your stomach' also has cognitive and conceptual denotations. The heart is perceived as one of the important organs of the body. It is also believed to be associated with emotional feelings such as love, hatred and anger. In an ontological analysis of the heart, any upward movement of the heart is perceived to result in enragement and anger while any downward movement is perceived to create an atmosphere of patience, calmness and relaxation. Comparatively, the stomach is bigger and more spacious than the heart. Hence, when the heart falls into the stomach, it is free and has more space to operate, which creates a comfortable and relaxing state (p.c. Kofi Agyekum, 17th April, 2015).

In Akan, a person who is angry is also perceived as someone whose heart has moved upward from its original place. Expressions such as *ne koma aba*, literally, 'his/her heart has come', *ne koma asɔre*, literally, 'his/her heart has risen' are used to capture this state of emotion. Thus, for such a person's temper to calm down, he or she has to literally "push" the heart to the stomach so as to make room for resolutions to be possible. This is what the speaker urges the addressee to do in the expression *ka w'akoma to wo yam.* Other expressions such as *ɛyɛ nokware* "it is true", *nya abotare* "be patient" all went a long way to resolve the conflict.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Considering Ledgerwood et al's (2006:456) assertion that "[p]ersuasion is an important tool in creating lasting settlements between parties in conflict", I attribute Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me's readiness at the end of the excerpt to forgive Ɔkyeame O. K to the persuasive language used by the latter, but not love as the former claims. Furthermore, Ɔkyeame O. K's utterance; *hwɛ, yɛne Asona nsia a obi nkɔ nsuo ngu yɛn ahina mu. Aberewa Dokuaa nananom! Yɛaba no na yɛaba!* 'look, we are those from the Asona clan; the grandchildren of Grandmother Dokuaa! We have indeed come!' also played a crucial role in settling their differences.

3.4 Linguistic Etiquettes

In daily interactions, speakers are conscious of their use of language to express themselves in a culturally acceptable manner. In most societies, a speaker's communicative competence is measured by his ability to use language to express and conform to the cultural norms of the people. This includes observing appropriate linguistic etiquettes in the expression of linguistic routines like greetings, requests, honorifics and thanking among others. Among the Akans, the contract of customary marriage is one aspect of culture where speakers are expected to observe the right linguistic etiquettes in order to exhibit their communicative competence.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

3.4.1 Greetings

Greetings are speech events which involve interactional encounters. They are "generally regarded as a means of establishing social contact and acknowledging the social presence of others" (Egblewogbe 1990:14). According to Nwoye (1993:37), greetings serve as "very important indices of appropriate socialization, the measure and type of relationship existing between the interactants, as well as the means of ensuring the sustenance of the binding fabrics that hold the community together".

Considering Nwoye's (1993) submission of the concept, one is in a better position to understand why most African communities, which believe in the ideals of unity and communism, perceive greetings to be an indispensable part of their daily interactions. Dzameshie (2002:384) posits that "greetings when offered preserve the face of the individuals involved in social contact and also greetings are offered as a gesture of good-will toward one another". Greetings, in most African communities, are a means of maintaining social ties and fostering cordiality among members.

To buttress this crucial role that greetings play in the context of African social set-up, Akindele (2007) describes them as "extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships between participants in a conversation". This suggests that greetings are social indicators of peaceful co-existence between members of a society.

Agyekum (2008b:495) avers that, greetings form part of "Akan norms of interaction that are conventionalized, predictable, communally owned and shared communicative daily activities that use certain linguistic items and performances

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

in routinized encounters". Thus, in an Akan community, when people refuse to greet each other in situations that demand it, it is enough evidence that either one or both hold a grudge against each other.

Akans are not only interested in the expression of greetings towards one another, but, more importantly, they are interested in the appropriate form of greetings and their responses depending on the particular socio-cultural context. Thus, for one to be adjudged as communicatively competent, he/she must perform greetings in accordance with the socio-cultural norms of the society dictated by the particular context of the greetings.

Data collected in all the three regions indicate that greetings form an indispensable part of an Akan customary marriage ceremony. As a matter of fact, all the ceremonies that were video-recorded for this thesis opened up with the family of the groom exchanging greetings with the family of the bride on their arrival. This form of greeting is accompanied by handshake. That is, members of the groom's family form a long file led by their spokesperson to extend handshake of greetings to members of the bride's family who are already seated. This falls in line with Agyekum's (2008:497-498) assertion that, "at an Akan gathering, whether a funeral, durbar (a gathering of chiefs), party, or any other, one must always greet those who are already seated". Again, when it is time to introduce the groom to the bride's family, he is led to greet by shaking hands with them. The same happens when the bride also comes in.

The performance of greetings in this context falls in line with the semiotic analysis of discourse under CDA, which involves meanings expressed through such media as visual images, body language as well as "verbal" language (William

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

1977 cited in Fairclough 2001:121). The expression and sustenance of unity, togetherness, socialization and cordiality between the two families, which is intended to be established by the greetings, will not be fully accomplished with only the verbal expressions. In what follows, I illustrate some forms of greetings and their responses in an Akan customary marriage ceremony.

Example 8

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Aburi – Akuapem

Date: February, 2015

Participants: Family members (Exchange of greetings)

Groom's family: *Yɛma mo akye oo, Yɛma mo adikan oo*![7]
'Good morning to you all'!

Bride's family: *Yaa aberaw, Yaa Agya, Yaa Anua*[8] etc.
'Various response to greetings'.

Considering the cultural norms of Akans, such greetings must be performed with handshakes in order to create that binding force between the two sides. Thus, proper interpretation and analysis of greetings in this context must be done with careful consideration to both the verbal expression as well as the body language (handshake in this context) that goes with it.

[7] These are verbal expressions some of the members used as they shake hands in greetings.
[8] Some common responses to greetings in Akan: the variations are based on age, gender and status.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

A CDA - semiotic analysis of this form of greetings highlights a crucial interconnection between social life, which includes the culture of the people and semiotics, which includes all forms of expressing meaning through such means as body language, symbols and gestures. Knowledge of this interconnection helps to understand and interpret greetings in this context in a better way.

The importance Akans attach to greetings is also manifested in the contract of customary marriages. The data collected reveals that one of the items on the list that the groom's family presents to the bride's family is labeled *akye ma* 'good morning'. This item, (an envelope with money), is presented in the early stages of the marriage contract. The rationale behind it follows from the cultural norms of interaction of Akans that when you visit someone, you first greet before you narrate your mission. The examples below illustrate the presentation of 'greetings' to the bride's families.

Example 9

Ethnographic Background

Place: Mamfe-Akuapem

Date: August 2014

(Ɔkyeame K.B is given the opportunity to start with the presentation of the items to the bride's family)

Ɔkyeame K.B: *Yoo, yɛda mo ase. Nea edi kan no, yekura yɛn nsa mu boa yi de rema abusuafo akye.*
'Alright, first and foremost, we present this envelope to say 'good morning' to the family'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Example 10

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Aburi-Akuapem

Date: February 2015

Participants: Ɔkyeame S.K and Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ

(In the extract, Ɔkyeame S.K. starts with the presentation of the items to the bride's family)

Ɔkyeame S.K.: *Ɛnnɛ sɛ yɛaba sɛ yɛne mo bɛka anuonyam asɛm a ɛte sɛɛ a, ɛnhyehyɛe mu no, yɛse akye ma. Ɛno nti no, akye ma a yɛde bae nie.*

'If we have come here today with such glorious news, we present our 'good morning' to you as agreed upon'.

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Wokɔ obi fi, na sɛ woankyea na wobisa no asɛm a, ade ayɛ wo! Enti wose wɔma abusuafo akye. Wɔma mo akye oo*!

'Because one must greet upon entering someone's house, they are saying "good morning" to the family members'.

Both excerpts above illustrate the presentation of envelopes intended to extend greetings from the groom's family to the bride's family. The fact that these presentations are done after both families have already exchanged greetings physically highlights the importance the society attaches to greetings.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

The customary marriage ceremony is considered a joyous occasion. Hence, well-wishers extend greetings of congratulations to the couple and other close relatives.

Example 11

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Mamfe - Akuapem

Date: August, 2014

Participants: Bride and a well – wisher

(Exchange of greetings)

Speaker: *Yɛda Onyankopɔn ase sɛ woahyɛ wo anuonyam kɛse sɛɛ. Wo tiri nkwa!*
'We thank God for this great honour done you. Congratulations'!

Bride: *Me ti da ase.*
'Thank you'.

The above excerpt shows the appropriate congratulatory greeting *wo tiri nkwa* and its response *me ti da ase* at an Akan customary marriage ceremony. The ability to express this form of greeting in its appropriate context is part of the communicative competence speakers of the language must acquire.

To appreciate this form of greeting and its response, one must draw on the inherent relationship between the three pillars of CDA[9] proposed by Fairclough

[9] These pillars have been discussed in details in section 2.2.1

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

(1995). Fairclough stresses that the production and consumption of every text must be done within the discourse practice, which provides the acceptable norms for such text. These norms are also dictated by the particular socio-cultural context. Thus, the congratulatory greeting and its response above can be properly understood and appreciated at such a joyous occasion as a customary marriage ceremony.

3.4.2 Requests

Requests are linguistic routines which basically involve a conscious effort made by the speaker to get the hearer offer or do something. By its nature, the act of requesting poses a potential face-threat to both the speaker and the hearer (Agyekum 2005a:3). Consequently, its expression must be done tactfully, employing the appropriate linguistic etiquettes so as to minimize the potential face-threats associated with it.

The concept of request forms a crucial backdrop to the contract of an Akan customary marriage. Customarily, the whole process of the marriage contract is perceived as "requesting the bride from her parents or family". The expression *wɔkɔsrɛ ɔbea no*, (literally meaning) 'they are going to beg or request for the woman' is usually used to capture the entire process. This notion of 'request' stems from the belief and practice in most Ghanaian communities, especially among the Akans, that a woman cannot get married without the consent of her family. Such a marriage will not be customarily recognized by the society. Thus, for the woman to be fully recognized as married, the man and his family must seek

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

(request for) her hand in marriage from her family. This is exactly what happens at the marriage ceremony where the groom's family performs all the necessary rites as dictated by custom and the family of the woman.

To emphasize the concept of 'request' as the core element of the marriage contract, data collected in the selected communities reveal that there is an item labeled as *ɔsrɛ* 'request' on the list given to the groom's family. This was usually presented as wine or schnapps and money.

Considering the vital role of 'request' in the contract of an Akan customary marriage, spokespersons, especially those for the groom's families must exhibit a high level of communicative competence in its expression. The role of the spokespersons in this regard corroborates Agyekum's (2005a:1) assertion that although requests are made by the speaker, they may be beneficial to the speaker, the addressee, both the speaker and the addressee or even a third party. In this case, the beneficiaries are the grooms.

3.4.3 Honorifics

The language of Akan customary marriage ceremonies investigated for this research revealed a high sense of the use of honorifics by speakers. This is in consonance with Makino and Tsutsui's (1986) assertion cited in Okamoto (1999:53) that honorific expressions are 'used at such occasions as ceremonies, public speeches and public announcements'.

Spokespersons and other speakers at the various ceremonies recorded made conscious effort to observe linguistic etiquettes in the expression of honorifics. This was done as a means of marking relationships involving social status, age and

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

deference among interactants (Agha 1994:277). In accordance with the norms of interaction among Akans, one's ability to use appropriate honorifics at a public ceremony of this kind portrays him or her as being polite and competent in the Akan language and culture (see Agyekum 2003).

Address terms such as *ɔpanyin* 'elder', *agya* 'father', *ɔhemmaa* 'queen', *nana* 'chief', *ɔkyeame* 'spokesperson', *awo* 'elderly woman' were used variantly to refer to addressees. Apart from using such terms to mark respect and deference towards addressees, they are also used to build some sort of rapport and intimacy between members of the two families. The establishment of this rapport and intimacy is critical at a customary marriage ceremony so as to ensure a lasting union not only between the couple, but also between the two families involved.

Although most of these titles have specific referents in the larger society, my observation was that speakers did not consider this in their use of the terms. For instance, titles like *ɔhemmaa* 'queen' and *nana* 'chief' are used for a queen mother and a chief respectively in the society. However, those who were referred to by these titles at the ceremony were not necessarily queen mothers or chiefs.

The assignment of such titles to the various addressees fits into Agyekum's (2003:369) definition of honorifics as being "specialised address and deference forms used to show politeness and competence in language and culture". Thus, speakers who used these honorific forms depicted their politeness and communicative competence through language use.

The data collected also showed that sometimes spokespersons use honorifics to persuade their addressees. For instance;

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Example 12 (Refer to example 7 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame O. K: *Aoo, Ɔhemmaa! Wo ho yɛ fɛ enti tɔ wo bo ase. Ka w'akoma to wo yam na yɛaba yi na yɛaba!*[10]

'Ao, queen mother! You are beautiful so calm down. Relax, for we have indeed come'!

Example 13 (Refer to example 2 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Ɔwoo anini,* Gladys, *mo! Nyame nhyira wo!*

'She who brings forth males, Gladys, well done! God bless you'!

The sentence in example (12) above is taken from the extract in example (7) which has been discussed in details under language of persuasion (section 3.3). The title *Ɔhemmaa* 'queen mother' in the example is intended to persuade the addressee (spokesperson for the bride's family) to pardon the groom's family for arriving late for the ceremony. The effective combination of this title with the expression of praise; *wo ho yɛ fɛ* 'you are beautiful' eventually calmed the addressee and this settled the issue peacefully.

Example (13) also illustrates the use of the title; *Ɔwoanini* to boost the ego of the mother of the bride so that she happily gives her only daughter's hand in marriage to the groom. The speaker here acknowledges how difficult it might be for a mother who has seven sons and one daughter to release such a cherished daughter to someone in marriage. Hence, she uses that honorific term to persuade her and to make her feel appreciated.

[10] This example is extracted from the data in example 7 on language of persuasion, section 3.3

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

3.4.4 Thanking

Among Akans, thanking is seen as "an institutional act performed in accordance with the societal, organisational and institutional demands" of the society (Agyekum 2010a:81). As part of these societal and institutional demands, every gathering or meeting usually ends with the various groups or individuals expressing thanks to each other for their time, energy and cooperation. This is what Agyekum (2010a:80) refers to as "conversational closers to encounters or meetings".

Data gathered for this research proves that the customary marriage ceremony is no exception in this regard. Each family expresses gratitude to the other for their time and cooperation towards a successful marriage contract. Consider the following;

Example 14 (Refer to example 11 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame K. B.: *Nea etwa to koraa no, yɛda abusua nyinaa ase sɛ wɔgyee yɛn fɛw so na wɔaboa ama biribiara akɔ so fɛfɛɛfɛ.*
'Finally, we thank the whole family for their warm reception and cooperation which has ensured a smooth ceremony.'

This appreciation is extended to the bride's family for their warm reception towards the groom's family. It is important to appreciate and show gratitude for such virtue on the part of the bride's family because some families really give the groom and his people a hard time.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Sometimes, the verbal thanking was accompanied by a parcel. I observed that this was usually done by the bride's family. The example below illustrates this;

Example 15 (Refer to example 3 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame M. D.: *Agoo mpaninfoɔ! Nea ɔbaa fɛfɛ a ne nti yɛahyia mu wɔ ha nnɛ yi ka ni: ose, sɛ ne kunu ne n'abusuafoɔ ahyɛ no anuonyam sɛɛ a, ɛnde ɔno nso kura ne nsam* hamper *yi, ɔde da ɔbarima no ne ne nsenom nyinaa ase.*

'Attention elders, this is what the beautiful lady who is the cause of our gathering says; for this honour done her by her husband and his family, she also presents this hamper in appreciation to him and all her in-laws'.

Although the presentation of hampers for this purpose can be described as current innovations, per the cultural orientation of Akans, a bride who appreciates her husband and in-laws in this manner presents herself as being grateful, polite, civilized, and virtuous. Such a wife stands a better chance of winning the love of her in-laws. This is because, as posited by Agyekum (2010a:77), Akans "cherish people who are grateful".

It can also be argued that the brides present these hampers to their husbands and in-laws because comparatively, marriage is seen as more glorious to women than men among the Akan. Thus, the brides feel more honoured than the grooms. This sense of honour reflects in their thanking. It is also an opportunity to reciprocate the act of giving by presenting something to the husband's family.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Whatever the motive is, the central aim of thanking in this context confirms De Pablos-Ortega's (2010:150) claim that thanking "is a speech act that also reinforces positive politeness, and as such, contributes to the harmonious development of social relationships between members of a community".

On the whole, the enactment, interpretations and understanding of the various concepts discussed under linguistic etiquettes are aptly analysed within various aspects of CDA. This is done by focusing on the relations between discourse and society to unravel inherent meanings in texts and discourse (Van Dijk, 1995). Thus, knowledge of the relationship between discourse practice and the socio-cultural practice is crucial to the analysis of texts produced for the right interpretations. Without this knowledge, one will be tempted to interpret a text like *wɔkɔsrɛ ɔbea no*, literally as 'they are going to beg or request for the woman' and miss its actual meaning which captures the contract of marriage.

3.5 Contemporary trends in Akan customary marriage

The concept of marriage is as old as humanity itself. It has been an essential part of man's social life since creation. However, like many other cultural practices, the Akan customary marriage has undergone significant changes and modifications in its contract. Some of these changes are linguistic while others are sociological. Most of the practices that used to characterize the way marriages were contracted in times past have either been discarded outright or modified to suit the standards of modern generation.

One major contemporary trend which is gradually creeping into the contract of Akan customary marriage is the preference for hired/professional

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

spokespersons over family members for the ceremony. From the interviews conducted, out of the fourteen (14) spokespersons interviewed in all the seven ceremonies, only two were family members of the bride and groom. The remaining twelve (12) were all professionals who were hired. Interviews were granted to the spokespersons, the couples and other key members of the families to find out why they prefer professional spokespersons. Their answers generally boiled down to language use. Eleven (11) out of the twelve professional spokespersons interviewed are of the view that people engage their services because they are able to use language aesthetically to make the ceremony livelier.

Similarly, nine (9) out of the eleven couples (brides and grooms) and some other family members interviewed as to why they engaged the services of spokespersons other than their own family members also attributed their choice to language use. They claimed the professional spokespersons are usually more eloquent and skillful in their use of language. Some also added that it relieved the family from the burden of carrying that responsibility. In all, the responses to the casual interviews conducted revealed that most Akans endorse this contemporary trend of engaging the services of professional spokespersons for the contract of customary marriages.

Another contemporary trend in the contract of Akan customary marriage revealed by this research has to do with variations in language use. From my observation and the data collected, it was shown that whereas the use of codeswitching was not encouraged in the data from Eastern and Ashanti regions, the phenomenon was common in the data from Greater-Accra. For instance, in the data from Mamfe-Akuapem, a speaker from the groom's family who was called to

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

declare the purpose of the gathering greeted as *mema mo* "good morning" 'Good morning'. But his own family members frowned upon this and signaled him to greet "properly". He thus greeted again, this time using monolingual Akan; *mema mo akye* 'Good morning'.

Again, in the Eastern and Ashanti regions, family members preferred to introduce themselves in Akan as opposed to Greater-Accra where members usually introduced themselves in English. On the whole, although the data from the indigenous Akan communities have instances of codeswitching, it is not as common as that from Greater-Accra. This linguistic variation in the data is a clear indication that the language of Akans in a multilingual city like Accra is influenced by other languages that it is in contact with.

Other sociological changes in the contract of Akan customary marriages are discussed as follows. For instance, it was a common practice for the family of the bride to publicly check the items presented to the bride to make sure everything was intact. The groom's family was made to add anything that was detected to be missing out instantly. The same was done to monies presented. However, my research shows that this trend has died out in contemporary times. Every item or money presented at the ceremony remained sealed till the end of the ceremony before members opened them in privacy. In most cases, no family member even sees the items in the bride's suitcase. It remains a secret to the bride and her closest relations.

In my opinion, this trend has developed due to modernity and foreign religion. People now frown upon so many eyes seeing the items before the bride uses them to dress. Religion has also made people believe that there are people

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

who have evil eyes and that it is dangerous to expose one's treasures to such evil eyes. Again, this new trend does not give people the opportunity to gossip about the quality, quantity and amount of monies and items presented. This is because the public does not get to know this. Furthermore, with the rampant cases of armed robbery in recent times, most families are conscious of their security by avoiding this public exposure of the monies and items presented.

Another contemporary trend that has established itself strongly with regard to the customary marriage is the presentation of a ring, a Bible and a hymn book to the bride. The ring serves as a seal to the marriage while the Bible and the hymn book are supposed to help build the spirituality of the couple. In times past, these were not part of the items demanded from the groom's family. This new trend portrays how far Africans have been influenced by westernization and Christianity. The concept of the ring is a direct adoption of the western ideology of wedding, where both couples exchange rings as a seal to their love and marriage.

In the past, when it was time to present the bride to her husband and the public, the family would intentionally bring two or three different ladies before the bride herself comes. These ladies were usually the bride's sisters, cousins or other close relatives and friends. They were presented one after the other and the groom was supposed to tell the gathering whether a particular lady was his bride or not. This was done to test how well the groom knew his bride. It was also a means of collecting money from the groom's family because each time he says "no" to a particular lady, his family had to give money to the bride's family so as to bring him the right person.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

This aspect of the ceremony made it more dramatic and added some fun to it. However, it is obvious that it wastes time. In recent times where most customary marriage ceremonies are followed by weddings on the same day, the couple and their family members are usually in a hurry to prepare for the wedding ceremonies. Thus, this practice has lost its value in contemporary times.

In conclusion, this research has shown that most of the changes and modifications with regards to the contract of Akan customary marriage ceremonies are triggered by religion, civilization, modernization and westernization.

3.6 Summary of chapter

This chapter has identified some key concepts such as negotiation, conflict resolution, persuasion and some linguistic etiquettes in the contract of customary marriage among Akans. More importantly, it proceeded to establish a strong relationship between language and these concepts by showing how language is used as a tool in the enactment of such concepts.

The findings show that spokespersons battle out good negotiations for their respective families through effective use of language embellished with such devices as proverbs, allusions and general eloquence. Furthermore, the ability of spokespersons to use persuasive language captured in the use of praises, honorifics and appellations helps ensure a smooth and peaceful marriage contract. The chapter has also demonstrated that persuasive language is a powerful tool in the resolution of conflicts during customary marriage ceremonies.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

The chapter proceeded to show how language is used to express the culture of the people in areas such as *greetings, requests, use of honorifics* and *thanking*. The findings reveal that these concepts are crucial in the contract of the marriage; as such speakers are expected to exhibit high communicative competence in their expressions.

Finally, the chapter discovered some changes and modifications with regard to contemporary trends in Akan customary marriages. The findings conclude that these modifications have come about as a result of the high influence of education, religion, westernization and civilization.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

CHAPTER FOUR

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF AKAN CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the stylistic devices in the language of customary marriage among Akans. A pragmatic analysis of these devices based on Fairclough's (1995) theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is also provided.

The chapter tries to show that the language of Akan customary marriage is embellished with stylistic devices such as proverbs, metaphors, symbolism, allusions, and hyperbole, among others. Apart from adding to the aesthetics of both the language and the ceremony, the predominant usage of these devices also serves as a means of maintaining and transmitting the culture of the people, specifically with regard to the customary marriage.

Taking cognizance of the critical relationship between a text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice as submitted by Fairclough (1995), the chapter brings out the relationship between language use and the cultural norms of Akans with regard to the customary marriage.

4.1 The Concept of Stylistics and Style

Stylistics in its broad sense can be said to be a field in the study of language which deals with the analysis of both literary and non-literary discourse (Abubakre 2011:263). As a discipline, stylistics focuses on literary criticism and linguistic analysis. This is captured by Wales (2001:456) who opines that the "goal of most

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

stylistics is not simply to describe the formal features of texts for their own sake, but in order to show their functional significance for the interpretation of the text, or in order to relate literary effects to linguistics cause where these are felt to be relevant." According to Agyekum (2013:44), stylistic devices focus on the linguistic techniques and strategies that a speaker adapts to present his communication aesthetically. This suggests that, in stylistics, language usage may assume meanings that go beyond the literal meanings expressed by the string of words to create special effect.

Yefimov (2004:5) defines the notion of stylistics as a "branch of linguistics which deals with expressive resources and functional styles of a language". By his definition, he claims that stylistics as a linguistic concept centers on variety of means that are available to the speaker or writer in expressing his thoughts and ideas. He goes on to suggest that these choices are available from the functional styles of the language. According to Galperin (1977:32), cited in Siantova (2014:124), these functional styles are "a system of interrelated language means which serve a definite aim in communication". Thus, the use of both the expressive resources and functional styles by a speaker aims at aiding him in the act of communication.

Oladosu (2003:217) maintains that, "stylistics is the art of using linguistic rules and regulations to characterize a literary output". This definition portrays stylistics as an art; and just like all other forms of art, it has a peculiar design, which is style. Again, Oladosu's (2003:217) definition above draws a critical relationship between linguistics and literary criticism through the study of stylistics. This link is highlighted by the fact that although stylistics employs a

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

linguistic approach in its analysis, it also serves as a yardstick to assess or evaluate literary texts.

The idea of stylistics as both a linguistic and a literary discipline is also captured by Lawal (2003:25), who sees it as a branch of applied linguistics which has "a special bias for both descriptive and analytical approaches to the factors of language use". He further posits that "style is to stylistics what language is to linguistics" (Lawal 2003:26). This suggests that style and language are the pivots of stylistics and linguistics respectively; and there will be no study of stylistics if there is no style just as there will be no study of linguistics if there is no language. The importance of style in stylistics is further highlighted by scholars such as Matthew (1997:386) who define stylistics as "the study of style in language".

Turner (1973:7) submits that stylistics is that part of linguistics which focuses on variation in the use of language, often, but not exclusively, with special attention to the conscious and complex use of language in literature. The "variation in the use of language" in Turner's (1973:7) exposition of stylistics, indicates that there is a kind of uniqueness in individual speeches and writings. This uniqueness regarding the use of language is what is termed as style.

On this uniqueness in individual speeches and writings, Okpewho (1979:2) is of the view that most speakers want to be identified with a peculiar style of speech just for aesthetic purposes. He argues that, for instance, most speakers use proverbs in their speeches due to their technical appeal on audience and not because they (the proverbs) serve as elements which endorse their complex world-view.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Language and style are regarded as the basic modes of communication and information. They centre on words and utterances. However, their focus goes beyond these two aspects so as to yield appropriate interpretations. According to Sharndama and Mohammed (2013), style in linguistics is used to describe

> … the choice made by a language available to its users. This refers to the resource of a language that the user selects from based on his purpose of communication, context or genre. This means that there exist natural linguistic conventions that users of language select which can be identified in all forms of texts - spoken or written, technical or non-technical, professional or popularized etc. (2013:62)

From the above submission, it can be deduced that every speaker adopts a peculiar style in his speech depending on the purpose of communication, the particular context of speech or genre.

Abubakre (2011:262) posits that basically, stylistics is concerned with investigating and supplying "adequate information (interpretation) regarding a usage at a particular occasion of language use". This is in consonance with what transpires at an Akan customary marriage, where speakers adopt peculiar styles in their language use to reflect the occasion as well as the culture of the people. In the subsequent sections, I discuss these stylistic devices which were predominantly used by speakers in the data I collected for this research.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

4.1.1 Proverbs

Proverbs are short, witty, popular statements which are used to express ideas and concepts vividly. Akporobaro (2008) opines that a proverb is a short popular saying, usually in the form of a moral advice or truth expressed in a concise form. This makes their usage an appropriate means of inculcating certain truths and moral values in people, especially, the younger generation.

Alimi (2012:122) asserts that proverbs could also be "viewed as a repository of native intelligence, code of moral laws and philosophy of both life and social justice". In this regard, they serve as an important tool of preserving and transmitting cultural knowledge, in that they are handed down from generation to generation. By their nature, proverbs are impersonal as they are usually attributed to the elders. This also makes them an important strategy in the expression of delicate issues. Agyekum (2012:7) captures this aptly by claiming that "proverbs are used as forms of indirection, to comment on sensitive topics".

Yankah (1989:89) puts proverbs into two broad analytical types. He calls the first type the *attributive* proverb whilst the second type is referred to as *non-attributive* proverb type. According to him, the "*attributive* proverb type refers to the shorter, crisp and oft 'quoted' forms often ascribed to authoritative, impersonal or personal sources" whereas "the non-attributive proverb type refers to longer forms, animal tale, parable, story, etc. that are often not prefaced with an authorship formula." He further opines that the use of the non-attributive proverb type is rare because it requires exceptional oratory skills on the part of the speaker. Thus, the attributive type of proverbs is "more regular in discourse since they "…

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

are more easily recalled, and executed with more piquancy, due to their relatively condensed nature and intrinsic poetic flavor" (Yankah 1989:89).

According to Agyekum (2010b:132), "proverbs are used to spice up talk in conversation and communicative interaction". There is also a popular Igbo proverb which says "the proverb is the palm oil with which words are eaten; words without the ornament of proverbs are hard to swallow" (see also Agyekum 2012:6). All these go to show the important role proverbs play in communicative interactions. They add beauty to the language and the art of communication.

Among the Akans, the ability of a speaker to use proverbs in their right contexts portrays him as being communicatively competent. Alimi (2012:122) avers that "proverbs are also used to suit every situation and occasion. This is because every significant affirmation traditional value or belief can be strengthened and supported with the use of appropriate proverbs". Thus, in the contract of customary marriages among Akans, speakers usually embellish their language with proverbs to show their communicative competence and also to add to the beauty of language use at the ceremony. Below are some examples;

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Example 16

Ethnographic Background

Place: Aburi-Akuapem

Date: February, 2015

(This proverb was said by the spokesperson for the groom's family as a piece of advice to the bride to be content with the little resources her husband may have at the moment).

Ɔkyeame S.K.: *Ɔtwe dua yɛ tia nanso ɛno ara na ɔde pra ne ho.*
'The antelope has a short tail but it is the same it uses to drive away flies'.

Example 17

Ethnographic Background

Place: Adenta-Accra

Date: January, 2015

(Ɔkyeame O.K. said this proverb to indicate that there was the need for the groom's family to go back and prepare after taking the "list" from the bride's family).

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame O.K.: *Aboa no, ɔkɔ akyire ba ansa na wapem.*
'The animal retreats before it comes to butt'

Example 18

Ethnographic Background

Place: Kumasi-Tafo

Date: December, 2014

(This proverb was said by A. O. to indicate his agreement to the terms of negotiation by the groom's family).

A.O.: *Ɔbaa a ɔdɔ ne kunu, ose; mehwɛ wo ara*[11]
'A woman who loves her husband always looks up to him'.

Example 19

Ethnographic Background

Place: Kaneshie-Accra

Date: October, 2014

(Ɔkyeame M.K.Y used this proverb to caution the couple against anger and quarrels).

[11] This proverb is taken from the extract in example 1 under language of negotiation (section 3.1)

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame M.K.Y.: *Baabi a ɔdɔ wɔ no, abufuw nni hɔ.*
'Where there is love, there is no anger'.

The proverb in example (16) above teaches the moral lesson of living within one's means and being content with what one has. In other words, the shortness of the antelope's tail is used to represent the little one may have; however, just as the animal is able to use that same tail to drive away flies (protect itself), one must also learn to manage the little resources available to him.

Example (17) captures the importance of prior preparations before undertaking any project or assignment. Animals which butt, such as goats, usually move back before moving forward to butt. This initial backward movement is believed to give these animals the momentum and stability to win the fight. Similarly, one is expected to take time to prepare well before doing things in order to achieve perfection. The speaker used this proverb at the ceremony to indicate that, it was necessary for the groom's family to go back after collecting the 'list' from the bride's family to put things in order. He argues that this has given them the opportunity to come prepared for the actual marriage contract.

Examples (18) and (19) border on the potency of love to resolve issues in a peaceful manner. In (18), a woman who truly loves her husband is believed not to drag issues with him because of her love for him. She therefore accepts most decisions made by her husband in good faith. This proverb was rightly used by the speaker to indicate his acceptance of the number of kente pieces the groom's family offers to present to the bride. Example (19) demonstrates the power of love to overshadow anger. The proverb suggests that love and anger move in parallel

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

paths and that the two do not dwell under one roof. The moral lesson here is that love is forgiving.

4.1.2 Metaphors

Metaphors are stylistic devices which make implicit comparisons between persons, concepts or ideas which seem not to be directly related. McGlone (2007:109) avers that a "metaphor (from the Greek metapherein, meaning ''transference'') is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is used to describe something it does not literally denote". He goes ahead to say that the meanings associated with metaphorical expressions do not necessarily or directly coincide with the literal meanings of words comprising them (McGlone 2007:110).

Agyekum (2005b:147) posits that before one can use a metaphorical expression, "there must first and foremost be a metaphorical conceptual system in the mind". Following this order of thought, Mouraz et al (2013:100-101) claim that metaphors have the ability to create "a conceptual relationship between a given source domain and a respective target domain, a relationship in which properties designed by inferences form the source domain".

This suggests that metaphorical expressions are better understood by building a mental relationship of similarity between the entities that are being compared. "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5).

In discourse, the use of metaphors depicts the speaker's wisdom and eloquence. It also adds to the aesthetic quality of the discourse in general. Akan customary marriage ceremonies provide one ethnographic context where

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

metaphorical expressions, especially, those centred on love and marriage are used. Below are some examples.

Example 20

Ethnographic Background

Place: Aburi – Akuapem

Date: February, 2015

(The speaker used this metaphorical expression whilst narrating their mission in the bride's family house).

Ɔkyeame S.K.: *Yɛate sɛ nhwiren fɛfɛ bi wɔ ha. Na esiane ehua papa a etu nti yɛpɛ sɛ yɛbɛtu saa nhwiren no kɔ yɛn fie.*

'We have heard there is a beautiful flower here. So we want to uproot that flower to our home because of its good fragrance'.

Example 21

Ethnographic Background

Place: Mamfe-Akuapem

Date: August, 2014

(This statement was made by the spokesperson for the bride's family when he was asked to declare the purpose of the gathering.)

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame E. Q.: *Yɛahyia mu wɔ ha sɛ yɛbɛka ogya bi asɔ ano*.
'We have gathered here to ignite some fire'.

Example 22

Ethnographic Background

Place: Mampong-Adweho

Date: March, 2015

(The expression was used by a speaker advising the bride to be a good wife.)

Speaker: *Ɔyere papa deɛ, ɔyɛ ne kunu agudeɛ*.
'A good wife is the jewel of her husband'

In (20), there is an implicit comparison of the bride to a beautiful flower which gives off a good smell. This portrays her as a beautiful lady whose beauty and virtues have attracted the groom and his family to come and seek her hand in marriage. One is able to paint this picture of the bride by drawing on his conceptual image of a flower and its qualities, which are, beauty, sweet scentedness and attractiveness. This is in consonance with Agyekum's (2005b:147) assertion that "metaphors are conceptually grounded on physical and mental experiences".

In example (21), the act of contracting marriage and joining couples in love is metaphorically captured as "igniting fire". Couples in marriage are believed to be flaming up in love like fire that has been ignited. A flaming fire is a source of warmth, light and protection. Thus, joining people in marriage gives them this

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

opportunity to flame up in love and provide a kind of warmth and protection for each other.

The analysis of both examples (20) and (21) above fall within the crucial relationship Fairclough (1995) establishes between the text and discourse practice. According to him, there is a strong link between texts and their specific socio-cultural context of production. It is the knowledge of this link that helps hearers to interpret and understand better texts produced by speakers.

Similarly, knowledge of the socio-cultural context of the texts in (20) and (21), which is customary marriage ceremony, is crucial for hearers to understand the messages. The metaphorical concepts of *nhwiren* 'flower' denoting the bride and *ka ogya sɔ ano* 'to ignite fire' denoting the contract of marriage are understood because of the socio-cultural context. Outside this context, the texts will assume totally different interpretations and understanding. In example (22), *ɔyere pa*, 'a good wife', is perceived to be very precious to her husband; hence she is compared to a jewel. Among the Akans, *agudeɛ* 'jewellery' is perceived to be a source of wealth that is very much cherished and protected. They are usually a source of inheritance handed down from generations. The metaphor here is that, a good wife is a source of wealth to her husband.

In all the examples above, both the speakers and the audience dwell on their socio-cultural background knowledge for effective understanding of the expressions. That is, items such as *nhwiren* 'flower', *agudeɛ* 'jewellery' and the expression *ka ogya sɔ ano* 'to ignite fire', are common vocabularies in the speech community of the audience, thus, making it easier to link them with the analogies created. This makes it easy to understand and interpret the expressions; it confirms

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Fairclough's claim that the socio-cultural context is indispensable in the analysis of texts.

4.1.3 Symbolism

The study of symbols and their conventionalised meanings falls under semiotics. Agyekum (2006b:122) asserts that "semiotics is the study of signs and symbols of a particular language and society". He further claims that the interpretations given to these signs and symbols as well as their impact on the people may differ from one culture to the other. Eco (1976:7) cited in Chandler (2007:2) states that 'semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign'. By his definition, semiotics does not only involve the study of what is commonly referred to as 'signs' in everyday speech, but to anything which 'stands for' something else.

In a semiotic sense, signs and symbols take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects (Chandler 2007:2). Symbols do not only convey meanings, rather, they constitute a medium in which meanings are construed. "Semiotics helps us to realize that meaning is not passively absorbed but arises only in the active process of interpretation".

According to Agyekum (2006b:122), a "symbol is a sign that refers to an object that it denotes by virtue of socio-cultural conventions of a particular society". This suggests that the meanings associated with symbols are determined and accepted by that particular speech community, and may vary from one society to the other.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

In symbolism, the symbols usually stand for concepts which have meanings and qualities other than the literal ones expressed by the symbols themselves. In most cases, the symbol is something concrete such as an object or person whereas what it symbolises is something abstract or invisible such as a concept or an idea. As a stylistic device, speakers in Akan customary marriage ceremonies, usually employ the use of symbolism to create a special effect and to better put their messages across. Below is an example:

Example 23

Ethnographic Background

Place: Mampong-Adweho

Date: March, 2015

Minister: *Kawa no, ɛnyɛ decoration, na mmom ɛyɛ apam a ɛsɔ awareɛ no ano.*
'The ring is not for decoration, rather, it is a covenant that seals the marriage'.

The statement above was made by the officiating Minister to the bride after the groom has put the ring on her finger. In the example, the officiating Minister uses the ring which is a concrete object, to symbolise a covenant, which is abstract. This is to caution the bride to attach some level of piety and reverence to the ring and thus the marriage; in that the ring is not just a decorating ornament, but rather, a covenant and a seal to her marriage.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

For both the addressee and the audience to fully understand the relevance of this symbolism, they need to activate their socio-cultural knowledge about covenants and their sacred nature. A covenant becomes firm and solid only when the participants involved treat it as holy, attach reverence to it and are highly committed to it. This is the background against which the speaker gives the advice, and the hearers must also apply same for its understanding and interpretation.

Other items presented at the marriage ceremony are also symbolic in nature. For instance, the parents of the bride are given pieces of wax prints (traditionally referred to as *danta/tam*) and money as part of the items on the list to be presented. The data below illustrates this:

Example 24

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Aburi – Akuapem

Date: February, 2015

Participants: Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ and Ɔkyeame S. K.

(The spokesperson made this comment at the point of presenting a parcel to the bride's mother.)

Ɔkyeame S. K.: *Yɛn nyinaa nim sɛnea abawoɔ teɛ; eduru baabi a na sɛbe, akoraa no agya ne nan agu ne maame so. Ɛtɔ da nso a, na sɛbe, woadwunsɔ agu no so. Dwunsɔ nso deɛ, yɛn nyinaa nim sɛ ɛtete ntama. Enti yɛkita yɛn nsa mu Dutch wax papapaa, nea yɛde ma ɛna no nie.*

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

> 'We all know how parenthood is; sometimes the child eases himself on the mother. At other times too, he urinates on her. As we all know, urine destroys clothes. So we have with us Dutch wax as our present to the mother.'

The data above shows the symbolic nature of the wax prints presented to the mother of the bride at the marriage contract. These wax prints are perceived to be a replacement of the mother's clothes that the bride might have destroyed as a child. It is symbolic that the groom must pay that token to his mother-in-law before he can take the bride away as his wife.

In addition, the item labelled as *kɔkɔɔkɔ*/*ponomubɔ* 'door knocking' has a semiotic value in that it is perceived to be an initial signal that the groom's family sends to the bride's family, indicating that they want to be part of the latter's family through marriage. Furthermore, *tiri nsa* literally meaning 'head wine' is that which symbolically customarily testifies that the bride has been married off to the groom.

4.1.4 Humor

Humor can generally be defined as any communicative instance which produces laughter in the audience. According to Crawford (1994:57), humor involves both verbal and non-verbal communications which create a "positive cognitive or affective response from listeners". Martin (2007:5) also defines humor as the "positive emotion of mirth invoked in a social context by the perception of playful incongruity and expressed through laughter-related behaviors". Both

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

definitions by Crawford (1994:57) and Martin (2007) highlight the positive impact of humor on listeners in a communicative event.

Naturally, humor forms an indispensable part of human communication and behavior, in that every individual at one point in time or the other naturally expresses or reacts with humor in their interactions. As posited by Gruner (1978:1), "without laughter everyday living becomes drab and lifeless; life would seem hardly human at all. Likewise, a sense of humor is generally considered a person's most admirable attribute". This suggests that, humor and laughter are essential ingredients of a meaningful and exciting everyday living.

The customary marriage ceremony is one social context where speakers create an exciting atmosphere so as to make the occasion colourful and memorable. One practical means of achieving this is through the use of humorous behaviors and expressions. The appropriate use of humor also strengthens the interpersonal relationship between the two families, promotes cohesion and helps resolve conflicts (See also Kazarian 2011:342). Consider the examples:

Example 25

Ethnographic Background

Place: Mamfe - Akuapem

Date: August, 2014

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

(This statement was made by the spokesperson when he was asked to present the groom to the gathering.)

Ɔkyeame K.B.: *Ɔbarima tenten sɛɛ de, wo ne no wo a, nnansa pɛ na abofra no kɔ class one.*
'If you give birth with such a tall man, the child will be in class one just in three days'.

Example 26

Ethnographic Background:

Place: Aburi – Akuapem

Date: February, 2015

(The speaker made this statement whilst presenting the *akonta sekan* 'a parcel for the brothers-in-law'.)

Ɔkyeame S. K.: *Ɛnnɛ yi deɛ, sekan ntumi nnɔ kɛseɛ, enti yekita bulldozer ankasa. Wei deɛ, akonta bulldozer.*
'These days the cutlass cannot weed much. So what we have here is a bulldozer for our brothers-in-law.

The statement in example (25) was made at the introduction of the groom to the gathering. The groom happened to be very tall and well-built. Thus, the statement was supposed to be one of praise, intending to portray the groom as a good choice to the bride and her family. The humor in the utterance greatly lies in the exaggeration that a three-day old baby can be enrolled in class one due to its height. Both the speaker and the audience are very much aware that this claim violates the natural order, thus, the utterance generates laughter and humor.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Among Akans, one of the items/envelopes presented to the bride's family during the contract of customary marriage is labelled *akonta sekan* literally meaning, 'brother-in-law's cutlass'. The expression, which is a compound, is made up of *akonta* 'brother-in-law' and *sekan* 'cutlass'. As the name implies, this item goes to the brother(s)-in-law of the groom. The name came into existence because traditionally, farming was the main occupation of Akans. Thus, the most valuable items to be presented to these in-laws were cutlasses to help them work on their farms. (p.c. Ɔkyeame Akuffo-Asante, 17th May, 2015).

In example (26) above, the spokesperson, trying to display the wealth and technological advancement of the groom's family indicates that they are presenting a bulldozer instead of a cutlass. The change of name from "*akonta sekan"* to "*akonta* bulldozer", coupled with the non-verbal expression of presenting an envelope, yet calling it a bulldozer invokes laughter in the audience.

4.1.5 Allusion

According to Abrams (1999:9) an allusion is "a passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or historical person, place or event, or to another literary work or passage". Like metaphors, allusions are usually not explicitly identified. This suggests that for the readers or audience to fully understand the effect created by the use of allusions, what is alluded to must be well-known and identified by all. That is, there should be a shared knowledge by both the speaker and the audience about the referent in the allusion (Abrams 1999:10).

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Agyekum (2005c:15) opines that "allusion is a foregrounding stylistic feature because it stands out clearly and draws attention to itself in a text and also to the external source that it stands for". This suggests that allusions usually draw comparisons between the new context and an old one either explicitly or implicitly with the aim of making the new context more meaningful. Ultimately, for both the speaker and the audience to fully understand allusions in a particular context, they must draw on their commonly shared socio-cultural knowledge.

Leppihalme (1997), identifies four thematic types of allusions based on their sources. These include religious allusions, mythological allusions, literary allusions and historical allusions. The subsequent examples discuss two of these types; biblical allusion and historical allusion in the data I collected for this research.

Example 27

Ethnographic Background

Place: Kaneshie-Accra

Date: October, 2014

(This statement was made by the spokesperson whiles presenting a Presbyterian hymn book to the bride.)

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame M.K.Y.: *Presby ne Methodist nnwom deɛ, ebubu Jericho afasuo.*
'As for Presby and Methodist hymns, they pull down the walls of Jericho'.

Example 28 (Refer to example 7 in chapter 3 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame O. K.: *Hwɛ, yɛne Asona nsia a obi nkɔ nsuo nngu yɛn ahina mu. Aberewa Dokuaa nananom! Yɛaba no na yɛaba!*
'Look, we are those from the Asona clan; the grandchildren of Grandmother Dokuaa! We have indeed come'!

The statement in example (27) illustrates the use of biblical allusion in a piece of advice to the bride at the time of presenting a Presbyterian hymn book to her. The bride for this marriage ceremony happened to be a Presbyterian while the groom was a Methodist. The spokesperson thus used this opportunity to remind the bride of the spiritual potency in both hymns and urged her to sing them in times of trouble.

Based on the belief that most of the audience were Christians, Ɔkyeame M. K. Y. appealed to the biblical background knowledge of the walls of Jericho which were pulled down by the people of God as they sung round them (the walls). This is a shared knowledge by both the spokesperson and her audience and as such provides a solid social context or background for the analysis of the text in question. As Fairclough (1995) posits, it is always expedient for the analyst to go beyond the phonological and grammatical meanings of the discourse in order to unravel the inherent meanings of texts produced.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Similarly in example (28), the historical allusion to *Aberewa* Dokuaa 'Grandmother Dokuaa' is a common knowledge to the audience. *Aberewa* Dokuaa is one of the renowned queen mothers of Kyebi (Kibi), which is traditionally known to be the seat of the Asona clan of Akans. As *Asona piesie* 'the first born of Asona', some people of Kyebi and its environs belong to the Asona clan (p.c. Kofi Agyekum, 7th May, 2015).

The speaker exhibits some cultural pride in their identity as grand children of Nana Dokuaa, hence the Asona clan. The speaker does this by alluding to them. Again, to fully understand this statement, both the speaker and the audience must draw on this historical, cultural, background knowledge which goes beyond the string of words in the statement. The application of such background knowledge, that is, the socio-cultural context, to the understanding of texts in this manner forms the backbone of Fairclough's (1995) three pillars of CDA discussed in figure 1.

Furthermore, both examples (27) and (28) above reflect the ideological orientations of the speakers which are captured in their religious and cultural beliefs respectively.

4.1.6 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is defined as a "form of extremity, an exaggeration that either magnifies or minimises some real state of affairs" (Mora 2004:14). In other words, hyperbole, as a stylistic device, is used to create a rhetorical effect by blowing a particular situation or condition out of proportion so as to highlight its urgency.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Abrams (1999:120) also asserts that hyperbole is a stylistic device which deals with bold overstatements or extreme exaggerations of facts and possibilities. He further argues that hyperboles may be used positively to create a serious effect or ironically to create a negative effect.

Although hyperbolic utterances can sometimes create humor and laughter, Sert (2008:4) claims that there can be mismatches between speakers' intended meaning and listeners' comprehension and responses when hyperboles are employed in discourses. This can result in miscommunication. Again, using hyperbole in conveying problems or challenges can cause listeners to develop hostile attitude towards the problem though this may be contrary to what the speaker intended to communicate (Leggitt and Gibbs 2000:21). In the example below, Ɔkyeame M. K. Y. uses hyperbole to create a special effect;

Example 29

Ɔkyeame M.K.Y.: *Adaka yi, biribiara a ɔbaa de siesie ne ho ɛwɔ mu bi. Emu yɛ duru paa efisɛ, microwave, rice cooker, blender ne deep-freezer nyinaa hyɛ mu bi.*

'This suitcase contains everything a woman uses to dress. It is very heavy because it contains microwave, rice cooker, blender and deep-freezer'.

In (29), Ɔkyeame M.K.Y. inflates the content of the suitcase by saying it contains everything a woman uses to dress. She does this to draw the audience's attention to the fact that the groom and his family have provided most of the basic needs of the woman. The climax of the hyperbolic effect is captured in the speaker's claim

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

that the suitcase contains microwave, rice cooker, blender and deep-freezer. Naturally, this is highly unrealistic and defies logical thinking. Linking the statement to the shared knowledge that in the contract of customary marriage among Akans, the groom's family is supposed to provide the basic items for the bride, it does not sound totally absurd to the audience. Again, everybody present at the ceremony knows very well that no suitcase can contain all the items claimed to be inside. Thus, it is obvious to all that the speaker is exaggerating. However, the audience still enjoy this as part of language use to make the ceremony interesting. It is considered as part of the norms regarding language use in the marriage contract.

4.1.7 Code-switching

According to Nilep (2006:1), "code switching is defined as the practice of selecting or altering linguistic elements so as to contextualize talk in interaction". Generally speaking, codeswitching as a speech style results from language contact situations. It is considered as a feature of communication that is common among bilinguals. This is aptly captured by Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) who define codeswitching as "the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation". This suggests that codeswitching is only possible in the discourse of bilinguals.

Though this research focuses on language of customary marriage among Akans, the data gathered shows instances where speakers use more than one language in the same speech to put a message across. It must however be noted

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

that, comparatively, the data from Greater-Accra region exhibited predominant use of codeswitching by speakers than those from Eastern region and Ashanti-region. This could be attributed to the fact that, linguistically, Accra is a multilingual urban city where speakers are exposed to several other languages other than their native one. Thus, there is a high tendency for speakers to switch between codes in their speeches. The subsequent examples illustrate the use of codeswitching between Akan, Ga and English in the contract of Akan customary marriages.

Example 30 (Refer to example 2 of chapter 3 for ethnographic background)

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Yɛma mo akwaaba bio. Ɔkyeame, mobegye ato mu sɛ moakyɛ.*
Let me call a spade a spade, *mpanyinfo se moakyɛ!*[12]
'You are welcome once again but you will admit that you are late… The elders say, you are late'.

The example above is a case where the speaker, Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ, switches between Akan and English in conveying her message. The issue of the late arrival by the groom and his family seemed to be a sensitive one for Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ, the spokesperson for the bride's family to address. Thus, she chose to use indirection to comment on it so as to mitigate any harshness that will be associated with her presentation. However, she seemed to have changed her mind along the line and decided to "call a spade a spade" as she herself puts it. The impact of the English proverb, "to call a spade a spade" on the speaker was reflective in her next statement which captured her point directly; *mpanyinfo se moakyɛ!* The elders say, you are late'. That is, she decides to use plain language as the proverb implies.

[12] This example is taken from the extract in example 2, discussed under language of negotiation (section 3.1)

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Example 31

Ethnographic Background

Place: Adenta-Accra

Date: January, 2015

(The speaker said this whiles she was presenting the bride to the gathering.)

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Saa nhwiren yi deɛ, ɛyɛ* **more than hibiscus.**
'As for this flower, it is more than hibiscus'.

Example 32

Ethnographic Background

Place: Adenta-Accra

Date: January, 2015

(This statement was made by the spokesperson as a form of advice to the couple to rely on God in all their endeavours.)

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Sɛ wote ha na womfaa Kristo sɛ wo kra agyenkwa, na mmom wokɔ asɔre kɛkɛ deɛ a*, **omale**.
'If you are here and have not taken Christ as your saviour but you just go to church, then you are deceiving yourself'.

Examples (31) and (32) are instances of Akan-English and Akan-Ga codeswitching respectively. In (31), the phrase **more than hibiscus** is used to

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

indicate the extreme beauty of the bride while **omale** 'you are telling lies' is used in (32) to express the speaker's opinion that just going to church is not enough to be a good Christian.

4.2 Summary of Chapter

Chapter four has dealt with the stylistic and pragmatic analysis of the language of customary marriage among Akans. Using examples from the data collected for this study, it is shown that the language of customary marriage among Akans is highly embellished with stylistic devices such as proverbs, metaphors, hyperbole, humor, allusion, among others. It is noted that, the effective use of these devices in their appropriate contexts is a mark of eloquence and communicative competence on the part of the spokespersons. Furthermore, as opined by Agyekum (2013:44), "stylistic devices look at the linguistic techniques or strategies as to how to present spoken communication aesthetically", the effective use of these devices also add beauty to both the language and the ceremony.

Though this thesis focuses on the Akan language, the chapter has also revealed that speakers sometimes codeswitch between Akan, Ga and English to express their thoughts. Comparatively, the data from Greater-Accra Region exhibited predominant use of codeswitching by speakers than those from Eastern and Ashanti Regions. This could be attributed to the linguistic nature of Greater-Accra Region where Akan is in contact with many other languages.

The chapter has demonstrated that these stylistic devices are best understood and interpreted against specific background knowledge. In other

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

words, one has to draw on the inherent relationship between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice of CDA so as to make meanings of these devices used in the discourse.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This study was mostly discursive and its goal was to do a linguistic analysis of the language of customary marriage among Akans. The study mainly focused on how the language is used to express various concepts such as negotiation, conflict resolution, persuasion and linguistic etiquettes, all of which are crucial in the contract of customary marriage among Akans. It further offered a stylistic analysis of the predominant stylistic devices which were identified in the language of speakers at the ceremony. The study explored Fairclough's (1995) theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to provide a critical analysis of the discourse in this research. It posited that, for an effective production and interpretation of discourse at an Akan customary marriage, both the speaker and the hearers must employ certain common background knowledge. Again, the study examined some linguistic as well as sociological contemporary trends in the contract of customary marriage among Akans.

In this concluding chapter, I present an overview of the entire thesis, a summary of the major findings of the study and make recommendations for future research.

5.1 Summary of the Study

This thesis has discussed and analysed language use in the contract of customary marriage among Akans. In chapter one, I provided a general introduction to the

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

study and discussed the concept of marriage and the crucial role language plays in its contract. The chapter proceeded with the statement of the problems which justify this research, the research questions, the main objectives for the study and its significance. The overall overview of the thesis was also provided in this introductory chapter.

Chapter two offerred a review of related literature on relevant themes of the study. These include; marriage and language use, the concept of conflict, language of negotiation, language ideology and linguistic etiquettes. It discussed and explained the basic concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis which forms the conceptual background of the framework underpinning this study. The chapter also outlined the methodology guiding the study.

In chapter three, the concepts of negotiation, conflict resolution, persuasion and linguistic etiquettes are identified and discussed in relation to the contract of Akan customary marriages. The chapter particularly focused on how language is used to express these concepts. The findings revealed that effective use of language in the expression of these concepts ensures a smooth and peaceful marriage contract. Again, the study indicates that language use in the enactment of these concepts also reflects the culture of the people. Chapter three also offered contemporary trends in the contract of Akan customary marriages. One major aspect of such trends is the preference of most people to engage the services of professional spokespersons rather than their own family members for such purposes in recent times.

Chapter four dealt with analysis of the stylistic devices which were identified in the data. Devices such as proverbs, metaphors, humor, allusions,

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

symbolism, hyperbole and code-switching were analysed using various aspects of CDA. The analysis revealed that, effective production and interpretation of these devices are done by applying specific background knowledge which is shared by both the speaker and the audience at the ceremony. The findings also show that the effective use of these devices in their appropriate contexts is a mark of eloquence and communicative competence on the part of the spokespersons. It also adds beauty to both the language and the ceremony.

Chapter five, which is the concluding chapter, highlights a summary of the whole study. It proceeds to draw some conclusions and highlights the major findings of the study and it finally makes some recommendations for further studies.

5.2 Findings

The major findings of the study are presented below in relation to the research questions guiding the study. The casual interviews conducted revealed that most people prefer to engage the services of professional spokespersons for the contract of customary marriages in recent times. This preference is attributed to language usage. It was realized that the professional spokespersons are able to embellish their language with such stylistic devices as proverbs, metaphors and humor, which add to the aesthetics of both the language and the ceremony. Again, the findings show that the effective use of these devices in their appropriate contexts is a mark of eloquence and communicative competence on the part of the spokespersons. It also adds beauty to both the language and the ceremony.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

The study also discovered that important concepts such as negotiation, conflict resolution and linguistic etiquettes in such areas as greetings, requests, honorifics and thanking are crucial to the contract of Akan customary marriages. From the data, it was realized that these concepts are enacted through language use, which highlights the important role language plays in the contract of the marriage. The effective use of language in the expression of these concepts ensures a smooth and peaceful marriage contract. Again, the study confirms the critical relationship established between language and culture by showing that the language of customary marriage among Akans also reflects the culture of the people.

Comparing the data from Greater-Accra to those from Ashanti and Eastern regions, it was discovered that Akans in Greater-Accra make predominant use of codeswitching in the contract of the customary marriage than those in the other two regions. This is attributed to the linguistic situation in Accra. By nature, Accra is a multilingual urban city where speakers are exposed to several other languages other than their native one. Thus, there is a high tendency for speakers to switch between codes in their speeches.

Furthermore, though there is some degree of variation in language use by Akans in their indigenous communities and those in Accra, the research reveals that this does not affect the culture of the people with regard to the contract of the customary marriage. The study shows that the people have migrated with their culture.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

5.3 Conclusion

Language is an important tool in the expression of the culture of any group of people. It gives people both ethnic and linguistic identity. This study has revealed that language is very crucial in the contract of customary marriages among Akans. It is an effective tool for negotiations and the resolution of conflicts; and it is also an effective tool in the enactment of linguistic etiquettes such as greetings, requests, honorifics and thanking in the marriage contract. These concepts are enacted in conformity to the culture of the people and language plays a significant role in achieving this.

There is a strong inter-connection between language and the enactment of the customary marriage among Akans. This is manifested in the fact that the customary marriage is one important aspect of the culture of the people which needs language for its contract. Since language and culture are birds of a feather, the exclusion of one from the other renders both useless and not capable of being enacted or performed.

The importance of language in an Akan customary marriage is also reflected in the preference of most people in recent times to engage the services of professional spokespersons for these ceremonies. The study indicates that this preference results from the ability of these spokespersons to manipulate the language for special effects.

Though many customary practices have faded out due to the influence of modernity and religion, the customary marriage is still respected as an important aspect of the culture of Akans. Thus, the contemporary trends established by this study are generally towards a positive direction.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

5.4 Recommendations

This study has mainly focused on the language of customary marriage among Akans. Data for the research was gathered from the Eastern, Ashanti and Greater-Accra regions. These research sites were chosen to provide the basis for examining variations (if any) in the use of the language by Akans living in their ethnographic contexts and those in the cosmopolitan areas like Accra with diverse linguistic setting. Thus, the research did not consider data from other dialects of Akan. Future research can therefore be carried out in the other dialects of the language, especially the three major dialects – Akuapem, Asante and Fante to establish whether dialectal differences affect language use and culture of the people.

Again, data gathered for this research revealed that code-switching is a common phenomenon in the language of Akan customary marriage. However, due to spatial limitations, this was not discussed into details in the current study. Future research can be done focusing on codeswitching and the factors that motivate speakers to switch codes during a typical customary ritual as marriage.

A cross-cultural analysis of the language of customary marriage in languages like Akan, Ga and Ewe can be researched into by future researchers. Finally, a comparative study between this current research and the language of either Christian wedding, Islamic marriage or traditional marriage contract from the northern sector of Ghana can also be carried out.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

APPENDIX I

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. THE SPOKESPERSONS:

1. Are you a member of the family?
2. What is your relationship with the bride/groom?
3. How often do you play the role of a spokesperson at customary marriages?
4. Do other families seek your services in this regard?

B. BRIDE/GROOM:

1. What is your relationship with the spokesperson?
2. Why did you or did you not engage the services of a hired / professional spokesperson?
3. Are you aware of the services of hired/ professional spokespersons at customary marriage ceremonies?
4. What is your reaction to this trend?

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

APPENDIX 2

CEREMONIES

Ceremony 1 (Kumasi-Tafo, December 2014)

A. O.: *Em, Opanyin, sika dodow biara a mosusu sɛ ɛsɔ ani no, mommfa nhyɛ envelop mu mma ɔbaa no. Nanso, ntama a wɔde ma ɔbaa no de, madi kan aka sɛ yɛmmpɛ* G.T.P. *anaa* A.T.L. *Na mmom, yɛpɛ kente ahorow abiɛsa.*

Em, elderly one, whatever amount of money you consider appropriate, you can put it in an envelope for the woman. But for the clothes, as I have already said, we don't want any G.T.P. or A.T.L. We rather want three different pieces of kente'.

O. M.: *Agya, w'adaworoma. Ɛwɔ mu sɛ nsuo retɔ deɛ nanso ɛfam da so yɛ den kakra enti yɛsrɛ wo, bra fam kakra ma yɛn.*

'Father, you have spoken well. But though the rains are falling, the ground is still hard so please reduce it a bit for us'.

A. O.: *Anka ntama ahorow nsia ne akyire na yɛbɛgye, nanso yeatwa so ayɛ no kente ahorow mmiɛnsa pɛ.*

'We would have demanded six pieces of clothes or more but we have reduced them to only three pieces of kente'.

O. M.: *Agya, mesrɛ wo. Ma yɛnyɛ no ahorow mmienu.*

'Father, I am pleading with you, let's make it two types of kente pieces'.

A. O.: *Mate. ɔpanyin, ɔbaa a ɔdɔ ne kunu, ose; mehwɛ wo ara.*

'Alright, elderly one. A woman who loves her husband always looks up to him'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ceremony 2 (Mampong-Adweho, March, 2015)

Ɔkyeame S. E: *Nana Kyeame, mpaninfoɔ se yɛnim nso yebisa; ɛha deɛ bɔkɔɔ, mo na monam.*

'Nana Kyeame, the elders say even though we know, we still ask; what brings you here?'

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Yoo, ehh, ansa na mɛnkɛnsono bɛsi ne tiri ase no, na ɛwɔ nea asaase aka akyerɛ no. Anɔpa yi deɛ yɛbaa ha a bɔkɔɔ. Yɛahu nhwiren fɛfɛɛfɛ bi wɔ fie ha, enti yɛpɛ sɛ yɛbɛtu aseɛ kɔ yɛn abusua mu.*

'Well, there is always a reason behind every action. Our mission this morning is not evil, we have seen some beautiful flowers in this house and we want to uproot it into our family'.

Minister: *Kawa no, ɛnyɛ decoration, na mmom ɛyɛ apam a ɛsɔ awareɛ no ano.*

'The ring is not for decoration, rather, it is a covenant that seals the marriage'.

Speaker: *Ɔyere papa deɛ, ɔyɛ ne kunu agudeɛ.*

'A good wife is the jewel of her husband'

Ceremony 3 (Aburi-Akuapem, February 2015)

Groom's family: *Yɛma mo akye oo, Yɛma mo adikan oo*!

'Good morning to you all'!

Bride's family: *Yaa aberaw, Yaa Agya, Yaa Anua* etc.

'Various response to greetings'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Yɛma mo akwaaba bio. Ɔkyeame, mobegye ato mu sɛ moakyɛ.* Let me call a spade a spade, *mpanyinfo se moakyɛ!*

'You are welcome once again but you will admit that you are late. The elders say, you are late'.

Ɔkyeame S. K.: *Momma yɛnna Awurade ase efisɛ kyerɛw no se ade nyinaa mu no yemmfa nnaase mma Awurade. Sɛ yɛkɔdae na yɛansɔre bio a, anka bɔhyɛ no yɛ bɔhyɛ hunu. Ɛno nti sɛ motenaa ase twɛn yɛn na mmere tiaa yɛn kakra a, na ɛyɛ ne yiye mu ntia.*

'Let's thank God because the word of God says we should be thankful to God for everything. The promise would have been in vain if we had not woken up from our sleep. So it is all good that we kept you waiting for some time'.

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Ɛyɛ nokware. Eye, esiane ɔdɔ nti yɛde akyɛ mo.*

'That's alright; we have forgiven you out of love'…

Ɔkyeame S.K.: *...Yɛate sɛ nhwiren fɛfɛ bi wɔ ha. Na esiane ehua papa a etu ntiyɛpɛ sɛ yɛbɛtu saa nhwiren no kɔ yɛn fie.*

'We have heard there is a beautiful flower here. So we want to uproot that flower to our home because of its good fragrance'.

Ɔkyeame S.K.: *Ɛnnɛ sɛ yɛaba sɛ yɛne mo bɛka anuonyam asɛm a ɛte sɛɛ a, ɛnhyehyɛe mu no, yɛse akye ma. Ɛno nti no, akye ma a yɛde bae ni.*

'If we have come here today with such glorious news, we present our 'good morning' to you as agreed upon'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *Wokɔ obi fi, na sɛ woankyea na wobisa no asɛm a, ade ayɛ wo! Enti wɔse wɔma abusuafo akye. Wɔma mo akye oo*!

'Because one must greet upon entering someone's house, they are saying "good morning" to the family members'.

Ɔkyeame S. K.: *Yɛn nyinaa nim sɛnea abawoɔ teɛ; eduru baabi a na sɛbe akoraa no agya ne nan agu ne maame so. Ɛtɔ da nso a, na, woadwunsɔ agu no so. Dwunsɔ nso deɛ, yɛn nyinaa nim sɛ ɛtete ntama. Enti yɛkita yɛn nsa mu* **Dutch wax** *papapaa, nea yɛde ma ɛna no nie.*

'We all know how parenthood is; sometimes the child eases himself on the mother. At other times too, he urinates on her. As we all know, urine destroys clothes. So we have with us Dutch wax as our present to the mother.'

Ɔkyeame S.K.: ...*Ɔtwe dua yɛ tia nanso ɛno ara na ɔde pra ne ho.*

'The antelope has a short tail but it is the same it uses to drive away flies'.

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *...Ɔwoanini* Gladys, *mo, Nyame nhyira wo.*

'Gladys who has brought forth males, well done. God bless you.'

Ɔkyeame Ɔdɔ: *...Ɔbea tenten gramo a ne ho yɛ fɛ!*

'A stout lady who is beautiful'.

Ɔkyeame S. K.: *Ɛnnɛ yi deɛ, sekan ntumi nnɔ kɛseɛ, enti yekita bulldozer ankasa. Wei deɛ, akonta bulldozer.*

'These days the cutlass cannot weed much. So what we have here is a bulldozer for our brothers-in-law.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ceremony 4 (Mamfe-Akuapem; August, 2014)

Ɔkyeame K.B.: …*Yoo, yɛda mo ase. Nea edi kan no, yekura yɛn nsa mu boa yi de rema abusuafo akye.*

'Alright, first and foremost, we present this envelope to say "good morning" to the family'.

Ɔkyeame E. Q.: *Yɛahyia mu wɔ ha sɛ yɛbɛka ogya bi asɔ ano*.

'We have gathered here to ignite some fire'.

Ɔkyeame K.B.: *Ɔbarima tenten sɛɛ de, wo ne no wo a, nnansa pɛ na abofra no kɔ* class one.

'If you give birth with such a tall man, the child will be in class one just in three days'.

Ɔkyeame K. B.: …*Nea etwa to koraa no, yɛda abusua nyinaa ase sɛ wɔgye yɛn fɛw so na wɔaboa ama biribiara akɔ so fɛfɛɛfɛ*.

'Finally, we thank the whole family for their warm reception and cooperation which has ensured a smooth ceremony.'

Speaker: *Yɛda Onyankopɔn ase sɛ woahyɛ wo anuonyam kɛse sɛɛ. Wo tiri nkwa!*

'We thank God for this great honour done you. Congratulations'!

Bride: *Me ti da ase.*

'Thank you'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ceremony 5 (Nsawam-Mangoase, January, 2015)

B.F.: *…Ɔkyeame, tie ma ɛnto ɔbarima no ne n'abusuafo sɛ, sɛ wɔamfa schnapp no amma a, merempene mma wɔmfa ɔbea no nkɔ. Mpanyimfo se; ammammere, wɔnntoto no ase.*

'Ɔkyeame, let the man and his family understand that, if they don't bring the schnapps, I will not allow them to take the lady away. After all the elders say that, custom must be respected'.

G.F: *Ɔpanyin, yenim sɛ yɛne wo aka saa nsa yi ho asɛm dedaw. Yɛrentumi nntɔ nsa mma wo wɔ mmere a yetu nkorɔfo fo sɛ wɔnnnom nsa.* Besides, *adwene a edi saa ti nsa no akyi no nnye. Yese, yɛbɛyɛ biribiara sika.*

'Elderly one, we thought we had already settled this issue. We cannot buy alcoholic drink for you when we advise people not to drink alcohol. Besides, the motive for this schnapps as part of the dowry is wrong. We want to make everything money'.

B.F: *Merennye sika no nnɛ, nnye no ɔkyena. Bible mpo aka se yɛmfa Kaesera de mma Kaesera, na yɛmfa Onyankopɔn nso de mma no. Schnapp no na ebedi adanse sɛ moabɛyɛ ɔbea no ho ade na ɛnyɛ sika.*

'I will never take the money. Even the Bible says we should offer to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and offer to God what belongs to God. It is the schnapps that will testify that you have performed the customary marriage rites and not the money'.

G.F: *Ɛnka! Ammammere a etia Kristosom sɛɛ de, merenntumi nni so.*

'Let's forget this marriage then. I cannot perform a customary practice that is contrary to Christianity'.

Ɔkyeame A.A.: *Abusuafo, mesrɛ mo, momma mo koma mmra fam. Mommma asɛm ketewaa yi nsɛe anigye da a ɛte sɛɛ.*

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

'Folks, I beg you to calm down. Do not spoil the beauty of such a happy day with this little issue'.

Ɔkyeame M. D.: *…Agoo mpaninfoɔ! Nea ɔbaa fɛfɛ a ne nti yɛahyia mu wɔ ha nnɛ yi ka ni: ose, sɛ ne kunu ne n'abusuafoɔ ahyɛ no anuonyam sɛɛ a, ɛnde ɔno nso kura ne nsam* **hamper** *yi, ɔde da ɔbarima no ne ne nsenom nyinaa ase.*

'Elders, this is what the beautiful lady who is the cause of our gathering says; for this honour done her by her husband and his family, she also presents this hamper in appreciation to him and all her in-laws'.

Ceremony 6 (Adenta-Accra, January, 2015)

Ɔkyeame O. K.: *Yoo, afei a moate me din ne me diberɛ wɔ dwumadie kɛseɛ sei mu no, me nso mɛsrɛ na mahu kyeame a ɔwɔ ɔbaa no fam ɛne ne din.*

'Alright, now that you have heard my name and the role I play in this august ceremony, I will plead that I also get to know the spokesperson for the bride's family and his/her name'.

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Agoo! ansa na ɔbaa no kyeame bɛbɔ ne din no, moka kyerɛɛ yɛn sɛ mobɛba 9:00am nanso 11:20am ansa na moabɛdu enti yɛ krado sɛ wobɛ*-pacify *no ama n'akoma atɔ ne yam.*

'Attention! But before the spokesperson from the bride's family introduces himself/herself, you agreed to be here at 9:00am but you actually got here at 11:20am so be ready to pacify him/her'.

Ɔkyeame O. K: *Ɛyɛ nokware! Nanso biribi na esiankaa ewie mu na ɛmaa mmere etiaa yɛn kakra. Ne nyinaa mu mpo no, momma yɛmmfa aseda mma Onyankopɔn efisɛ ɔno na onim nea ɛye na ɔyɛ ma ne mma.*

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

'It is true! But something beyond our control kept us a bit late. Even in this, let's still give thanks to God for He knows and does what is good for His children'.

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Mepa wo kyɛw, mɛnnbɔɔso me efisɛ merennte ase.*
'Please, don't try to convince me because I won't agree.'

Ɔkyeame O. K: *Aoo, Ɔhemmaa! Wo ho yɛ fɛ enti tɔ wo bo ase. Ka w'akoma to wo yam na yɛaba yi na yɛaba!*
'Ao, queen mother! You are beautiful so calm down. Relax, for we have indeed come!'

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Dabi! Mokae sɛ naano no mokae sɛ 8:30am pɛpɛɛpɛ na mo wɔ ha?*
'No! do you remember you said the other day that you will be here at exactly 8:30am'?

Ɔkyeame O. K: *Nya abotare, Ɔhemmaa, nya abotare! wokɔ nnomaa nnomaa kurow mu, na wotete berebuo wɔ kwan mu! Ka w'akoma to wo yam na yɛaba no na yɛaba! Hwɛ, yɛne Asona nsia a obi nkɔ nsuo nngu y'ahina mu. Aberewa Dokuaa nananom! Yɛaba no na yɛaba!*
'Be patient, queen mother, be patient! There is no point in rushing. Calm down for we have indeed come. Look, we are those from the Asona clan; the grandchildren of Grandmother Dokuaa! We have indeed come'!

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: *Yoo, mpanyimfo se, ɔdɔ kata bɔne nyinaa so enti yɛde akyɛ mo.*
'Alright, the elders say, love covers all mistakes; so you are forgiven'.

Ɔkyeame O.K.: *...Aboa no, ɔkɔ akyire ba ansa na woapem.*
'The animal retreats before it comes to butt'

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ɔkyeame Dɔ Me: …*Saa nhwiren yi deɛ, ɛyɛ* **more than hibiscus.**

'As for this flower, it is more than hibiscus'.

Ceremony 7 (Kaneshie-Accra; October, 2014)

Ɔkyeame M.K.Y.: …*Baabi a ɔdɔ wɔ no, abufuw nni hɔ*.

'Where there is love, there is no anger'.

Ɔkyeame M.K.Y.: Presby *ne* Methodist *nnwom deɛ, ebubu* Jericho *afasu*.

'As for Presby and Methodist hymns, they pull down the walls of Jericho'.

Ɔkyeame M.K.Y.: *Adaka yi, biribiara a ɔbaa de siesie ne ho ɛwɔ mu bi. Emu yɛ duru paa efisɛ*, **microwave, rice cooker, blender** *ne* **deep-freezer** *nyinaa hyɛ mu bi.*

'This suitcase contains everything a woman uses to dress. It is very heavy because it contains microwave, rice cooker, blender and deep-freezer'.

Ɔkyeame D. D.: *Sɛ wote ha na womfaa Kristo sɛ wo kra agyenkwa, na mmom wokɔ asɔre kɛkɛ deɛ a*, **omale**.

'If you are here and have not taken Christ as your saviour but you just go to church, then you are deceiving yourself'.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

REFERENCES

Abdi, Morteza and Behnam, Biook. 2014. Cross-Cultural analysis of hedges in English and Persian medical journals. *International Journal of Language and Applied Linguistics World* 7 (1). 92-107

Abigail, Ruth and Cahn, Dudley. 2011. *Managing conflict through communication.* 4th ed. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Abrams, Meyer H. 1999. *A glossary of literary terms.* Boston: Heinle and Heinle.

Abubakre, Samiat O. 2011. A stylistic analysis of language use in selected music of Jesse King ('Buga') and Abolore Akande ('9ice'). *Cross-Current in Language, Literature and Translation*. 261-269

Acheampong, George K. 2010. *Marriage among the migrant Kwawu community in the Cape Coast metropolitan area*. M.Phil thesis, University of Cape Coast.

Agha, Asif. 1994. Honorification. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23. 277-302

Agyekum, Kofi. 2013. *Introduction to literature.* 3rd ed. Accra: Adwinsa Publications (Gh.) Ltd.

Agyekum, Kofi. 2012. Akan proverbs and aphorisms about marriage. *Research Review* 27 (2). 1-24

Agyekum, Kofi. 2010a. The sociolinguistics of thanking in Akan. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 19 (2). 77-97

Agyekum, Kofi. 2010b. *Akan verbal taboos: In the context of ethnography of communication.* Accra: Ghana Universities Press.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Agyekum, Kofi. 2008a. The language of Nsawa: Akan funeral donations. *Issues in Intercultural Communication* 2 (2).155-174

Agyekum, Kofi. 2008b. The pragmatics of Akan greetings. *Discourse Studies* 10 (4). 489-512

Agyekum, Kofi. 2006a. The sociolinguistics of Akan personal names. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15 (2). 206-235

Agyekum, Kofi. 2006b. Aspects of Akan semiotics. In Samuel Gyasi Obeng & Cecilia Sem Obeng (eds.), *From Linguistics to Cultural Anthropology: Aspects of Language, Culture and Family Issues in Ghana (West Africa)*, pp. 121-133. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.

Agyekum, Kofi. 2005a. The pragmatics of requests in Akan communication. *Legon Journal of Humanities* 16. 1-26

Agyekum, Kofi. 2005b. Polysemy and metaphorical extensions of hunu 'vision' verb in perception in Akan. *Studies in the Languages of the Volta Basin* 4. 147-162.

Agyekum, Kofi. 2005c. An Akan oral artist: The use of proverbs in the lyrics of Kwabena Konadu. *Research Review NS* 21 (1). 1-17

Agyekum, Kofi. 2004. Aspects of Akan persuasive language. *Journal of Language and Communication RASK* 21. 63-96

Agyekum, Kofi. 2003. Honorifics and status indexing in Akan communication. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 24 (5). 369-385.

Akindele, Dele Femi. 2007. Lumela/Lumela: A socio-pragmatic analysis of Sesotho greetings. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16 (1). 1-17

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Akporobaro, F. B. O. 2008. Introduction to Poetry. Lagos: Princeton Publishing.

Alimi, Sabitu. A. 2012. A study of the use of proverbs as a literary device in Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Arrow of God. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 2 (3). 121-127

Asemah, Ezekiel S. 2012. Integrated marketing communication as a strategy for persuading consumers towards product purchase. *Benin Mediacom Journal* 5. 120-136

Bauman Richard. 1983. *Let your words be few: Symbolism of speaking and silence among seventeenth-century Quakers*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Berg, Bruce. 2007. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences.* 6th ed. Boston: Pearson Education.

Billikopf, Gregorio. 2014. Party-directed mediation: Facilitating dialogue between individuals. *Revista de Mediacion* 7 (2). 36-46

Blommaert, Jan and Jef Verschueren. 1998. The role of language in European nationalist ideologies. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard and Paul V. Kroskrity. (eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, pp. 189-210. New York: Oxford University Press.

Boomie, O. (2010). Marriage and Family. <www.motherlandnigeria.com/life.html>. 23rd August, 2014.

Brett, M. Jeanne. 2007. *Negotiating globally: How to negotiate deals, resolve disputes and make decisions across cultural boundaries*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Briggs, Xavier de Souza. 2003. *We are all negotiators now: An introduction to negotiation in Community Problem-Solving Project*. Cambridge: Havard University.

Brown, Penelope and Levinson, Stephen. 1987. *Politeness*: *Some universals in language usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Byon, Sangpil A. 2004. Sociopragmatic analysis of Korean requests: Pedagogical settings. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36 (9). 1673-1704

Carnevale, J. Peter and Pruitt, G. Dean. 1992. Negotiation and mediation. *Annual Reviews* 43. 531-582

Chandler, Daniel. 2007. *Semiotics: The Basics*. London: Routledge.

Cheng, Stephanie W. 2005. *An exploratory cross-sectional study of interlanguage pragmatic development of expressions of gratitude by Chinese learners of English*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa.

Cook, Guy. 1989. *Discourse and language teaching: A scheme for teacher education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crawford, Charles B. 1994. Theory and implications regarding the utilization of strategic humour by leaders. *Journal of Leadership Studies* 1 (4). 53-67

Cresswell, John W. 1994. *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* California: Sage.

Crystal, David. 1991. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Dawson, Catherine. 2002. *Practical research methods: A user-friendly guide to mastering research techniques.* Oxford: Deer Park Productions.

De Pablos-Ortega, Carlos. 2010. Attitudes of English speakers towards thanking in

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Spanish. *Pragmatics* 20 (2). 149-170

Denzin, Norman and Lincoln, Yvonna (eds.). 1998. *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Diez, Thomas, Stetter, Stephan and Albert, Mathias. 2006. The European Union and border conflicts. *The Transformative Power of Integration International Organization* 60 (3). 563-593

Dzameshie, Alex K. 2002. The forms, functions and social value of greetings among the Ewes: In Felix K. Ameka and Emmanuel K. Osam (eds). *New Directions in Ghanaian Linguistics*, pp. 381- 408. Accra: Black Mask Ltd.

Eco, Umberto. 1976. *A Theory of Semiotics.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Egblewogbe, Eustace Y. 1990. Social and psychological aspects of greetings among the Ewes of West Africa. *Research Reviews* NS 6 (2). 8-18

Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and power*. Longman: London.

Fairclough, Norman**.** 1995. *Media Discourse.* London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, Norman. 2001. Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, pp. 121-38. London: Sage.

Fontana, Andea and Frey, James H. 2005. The interview: From neutral stance to political involvement. In Norman Denzin & Yvonna Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 695-728. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Gal, Susan. 1991. Between speech and silence: The problematics of research on language and gender. In Micaela di Leonardo (ed.), *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Post-Modern Era*, pp.175-203. Berkley: University of California Press.

Galperin, I. R. 1977. *Stylistics.* Moscow: Higher School.

Gesinde, T. (2010). Wedding: Doing it the traditional way. <http://tribune.com.ng/sun/conjugal-affairs/2261-wedding-doing-it-the-traditional-way. 23rd August, 2014.

Ghana Statistical Service. 2012. 2010 Population and Housing Census Report. <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/census/phc2010.pdf>. 20th November, 2014.

Goodman, Brenda. 2007. The art of negotiation. *Psychology Today* 40 (1). 134-159

Gruner, C. R. 1 978. *Understanding laughter: The working of wit and humor*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall

Hobert, Carl F. 2008. Preventive diplomacy: Training a new generation for peace. *Independent School Magazine*. Washington, DC: Association of Educational Publishers.

Huckin, Thomas N. 1997. Critical discourse analysis. In Tom Miller (ed.), *Functional Approaches to Written Text*, pp. 78-92. Washington, DC: United States Information Agency.

Irvine, Judith T. 1995. Honorifics. In Jef Verschueren, Jan-Ola Östman and Jan Blommaert (eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics*, pp. 1-22. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Kaplan, Robert. 1990. Concluding essays on applied linguistics and discourse analysis. In Robert Kaplan (ed.), *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 2. 202-203

Kasper, Gabriele. 2004. Linguistic etiquette. In Florian Coulmas (ed.), *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, pp. 374-38. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kazarian, Shahe S. 2011. Humor in the collectivist Arab Middle East: The case of Lebanon. *Humor* 24 (3), 329–348

Kenechukwu, S. A., Asemah, Ezekial S. and Edegoh, Leo. 2013. Behind advertising: The language of persuasion. *International Journal of Asian Social Science* 3 (4). 951-959

Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lawal, Adebayo. 2003. Aspect of stylistic theory and implications for practical criticism. In Adebayo Lawal (ed.), *Stylistics in Theory and Practice*, pp. 25-47 Ilorin: Haytee Press.

Ledgerwood, Alison, Chaiken Shelly, Gruenfeld, Deborah H. and Judd, Charles M. 2006. Changing minds: Persuasion in negotiation and conflict resolution. In Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, and Eric C. Marcus (eds.), *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, pp. 455-485. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass.

Leggitt, John S. and Gibbs, Raymond W. 2000. Emotional reactions to verbal irony. *Discourse Processes* 29 (1). 1-24

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Leppihalme, Ritva. 1997. *Culture bumps: An empirical approach to the translation of allusions topics in translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Levine, Alaina G. 2011. Negotiation strategy and tactics: Basic principles before you begin. Career Centre-American Geophysical Union.

Levinson, Steven. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Makino, Seiichi and Michio Tsutsui. 1986. *A dictionary of basic Japanese grammar*. Tokyo: Japan Times.

Malmkjaer, Kirsten. 2001. *The linguistics encyclopeadia*. New York: Routledge.

Martin, Rod A. 2007. *The psychology of humor: An integrative approach*. New York: Academic Press.

Matthews, Peter H. 1997. *Concise Oxford dictionary of linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University press.

Mayer, Bernard. 2000. *The dynamics of conflict resolution: A practitioner's guide*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

McGlone, Matthew S. 2007. What is the explanatory value of a conceptual metaphor? *Language and Communication* 27. 109-126

McGregor, Sue L. T. 2003. Critical Discourse Analysis - A primer. *Kappa Omicron Nu Forum*. <http://www.kon.org/archives/forum/151/ mcgregorcda.html> 25th August, 2014.

McKinney, Carol V. 1992. Wives and sisters: Bajju marital patterns. *Ethnology* 31 (1). 75-87

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Miall, Hugh, Ramsbotham, Oliver and Woodhouse, Tom. 1999. *Contemporary conflict resolution: The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Milroy, Lesley and Muysken, Pieter. 1995. Introduction: Code-switching and bilingualism research. In Lesley Milroy and Pieter Muysken (eds.), *One Speaker Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*, pp. 1-14. New York: Cambridge University Press

Mora, Laura Cano. 2004. At the risk of exaggerating: How do listeners react to Hyperbole? *Anglogermanica Online: Revista Electrónica Periódica de Filología Alemana e Inglesa* 2. 2-13.

Mouraz, Ana, Pereira, Ana V. and Monteiro, Raquel. 2013. The use of metaphors in the processes of teaching and learning in higher education. *International Online Journal of Educational Sciences* 5 (1). 99-110.

Nartey, Mark and Yankson, Ebo Ferguson. 2014. A semantic investigation into the use of modal auxiliary verbs in the manifesto of a Ghanaian Political Party. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4 (3). 21-30

Nelson, Michelle R. and Otnes, Cele C. 2005. Exploring cross-cultural ambivalence: A netnography of intercultural wedding message boards. *Journal of Business Research* 58. 89-95

Nilep, Chad. 2006. Code switching in sociocultural linguistics. *Colorado Research in Linguistics, Boulder* 19. 1-22

Nukunya, G. K. 2003. *Tradition and change in Ghana: An introduction to sociology* 2nd. Ed. Accra: Ghana University Press.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Nwoye, Onuigbo G. 1993. An ethnographic analysis of Igbo greetings. *African Languages and Cultures* 6 (1). 37-48

Okamoto, Shigeko. 1999. Situated politeness: Manipulating honorific and non-honorific expressions in Japanese conversations. *Pragmatics* 9 (1). 51-74

Okpewho, Isidore. 1979. *The Epic in Africa*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Oladosu, Abdul-Ganiy Abdus Salaam. 2003. A stylistic analysis of the Quranic verse of the throne. In Adebayo Lawal (ed.), *Stylistics in Theory and Practice*. Ilorin: Haytee Press. 217-230

Omobola, Odejobi C. 2013. Influence of socio-economic change on marriage norms in the Yoruba society in Southwest Nigeria. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 2 (3). 139-146

Patton, Michael Q. 2002. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Pruitt, Dean G. and Peter J. Carnevale. 1993. *Negotiation in social conflict. California:* Open University Press.

Remenyi, Dan. 2011. *Field methods for academic research - Interviews, focus groups and questionnaires in business and management studies.* London: Academic Publishing International.

Richard, Jack C., Platt, John T. and Weber Heidi. 1985. *Longman dictionary of applied linguistics.* London: Longman.

Rossi-Landi, Ferruccio (1992). *Between signs and non-signs.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Sert, Olcay. 2008. An interactive analysis of hyperboles in a British T. V. series: Implications for EFL classes. *ARECLS* 5. 1-28

Sharndama, Emmanuel C. and Mohammed, Ibrahim. 2013. Stylistic analysis of selected political campaign posters and slogans in Yola Metropolis of Adamawa State of Nigeria. *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 1 (3). 60-68

Siantova, Gabriela. 2014. Phonetic stylistic devices employed in fictional prose stylistic analysis based on a chosen literary piece. *International Journal of Science, Commerce and Humanities* 2 (3). 123-130

Skolnick, Arlene. 2006. Beyond the 'M' Word: The tangled web of politics and marriage. *Dissent* 53 (4). 81-87

Smith, Daniel J. 2001. Romance, parenthood and gender in modern African society. *Ethnology* 40 (2). 129-151

Tewksbury, Richard. 2009. Qualitative versus quantitative methods: Understanding why qualitative methods are superior for criminology and criminal justice. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology* 1 (1). 38-58

Toraskar, Hellen B. 2006. Strategies in the negotiation of conflicts in a Marathi wedding ritual. *International Journal of Language, Society and Culture*. Issue 16. 1-11

Turner, George W. 1973. *Stylistics*. London: Longman.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Ubong, Bassey. 2010. Traditional marriage ceremonies among the Ibibio people of Nigeria: A study in theatrics. *Belogradchik Journal for Local History, Cultural Heritage and Folk Studies* 1(3). 330-346

Udezo, Benson O. S. 2009. Concepts and methods of conflict resolution and peace-building: Imperatives for religious leaders in Nigeria. *Journal of Religion and Human Relations* 1 (2). 1-22

Van der Vliet, Virginia. 1991. Traditional husbands, modern wives? Constructing marriages in a South African township. *African Studies* 50 (1-2). 219-241

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1995. Aims of critical discourse analysis. *Japanese Discourse* 1. 17-27

Wales, Katie. 2001. *A Dictionary of Stylistics*. 2nd ed. New York: Pearson.

Weiss, Gilbert and Wodak, Ruth. 2002. *Visions of European Identities*. Frankfurt : Velbrück.

Wetzel, Patricia J. 1994. A movable self: The linguistic indexing of uchi and soto. In Jane M. Bachnik and Charles J. Quinn Jr. (eds.), *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language*, pp. 73-87. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wodak, Ruth and Ludwig, Ch. (eds.). 1999. *Challenges in a changing world: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis* , Vienna: Passagenverlag.

Wilmot, William and Hocker, Joyce. 2011. *Interpersonal conflict*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Woolard, Kathryn A. and Schieffelin, Bambi B. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Reviews Anthropology* 23. 55-82

Yankah, Kwesi. 1989. *The proverb in the context of Akan rheroric: A theory of proverb praxis*. New York: Peter Lang.

Yefimov, L. P. 2004. *Practical style of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zaidi, Abbas. 2012. Language of ideology/ideology of language: Notes on theory and practice. *Journal of Postcolonial Cultures and Societies* 3 (1). 71-88