

Offers and Offer Refusals

A postcolonial pragmatics
perspective on World Englishes

Eric A. Anchimbe



John Benjamins Publishing Company

Offers and Offer Refusals

Pragmatics & Beyond New Series (p&BNS)

ISSN 0922-842X

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Volume 298

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Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/pbns.298

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:
LCCN 2018034766 (PRINT) / 2018047711 (E-BOOK)

ISBN 978 90 272 0173 7 (HB)

ISBN 978 90 272 6328 5 (E-BOOK)

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Preface

This study does two major things: it contributes to theory formation on the emerging pragmatic framework, *postcolonial pragmatics*, and then applies this theory to data collected from two postcolonial societies, Ghana and Cameroon. Because I focus on the functioning of the theory, I have used copious examples to clearly illustrate how postcolonial societies realise various pragmatic phenomena, in this case the offer-refusal communicative act. Through these we see how postcolonial social interaction norms – often hybrid in composition – weigh on speakers' choices in interaction and how these choices are accompanied by particular behavioural patterns. I, therefore, propose that any investigation of interaction in these societies should take into account the complex history of their evolution, contact with other systems during colonialism, and the heritages thereof. By factoring in these elements, we get a more complete picture of the motivations behind the linguistic choices, the illocutionary forces driving them and the intended perlocutionary effects sought after.

The work is among the first to extensively apply the postcolonial pragmatics framework, and it is my fervent wish that more would follow. A few already exist. For instance, Mulo Farenkia (2014a) combines postcolonial pragmatics and variational pragmatics in studying politeness and speech acts in Cameroon French and Canadian French. The recent edited collection by Schubert and Volkmann (2016), *Pragmatic Perspectives on Postcolonial Discourse* also adopts postcolonial pragmatics as one of its major theoretical bases. Mulo Farenkia's (2016) edited volume also partially builds on postcolonial pragmatics. With these studies, postcolonial societies will no longer be investigated using the lenses of Western pragmatics theories and data specimen but with lenses and datasets that take into account their internal structural compositions and speakers' preferences as they are.

I must mention here that I do not define 'the postcolonial' in line with postcolonial theory as developed in literary and cultural studies where it depicts an awareness of, and movement towards, consciously challenging (de)colonisation and the power echelons that it engendered. In order to describe the linguistic strategies in social interaction in postcolonial societies freely without having to factor in the power ramifications of (de)colonialism, alterity, the periphery, race, ambivalence, language hegemony and the many other core concepts of postcolonial theory, I have

used the term ‘postcolonial’ as an era, time-defining concept. This is consistent with its use in the theoretical framework postcolonial pragmatics.

I benefitted from various forms of support in the course of this research. I wish to thank Susanne Mühleisen and Martina Drescher whose intercultural experience with offer refusals in Cameroon served as a starting point for this research. I am also grateful to Gabriele Sommer for input in the initial phase. During my fieldwork stays in Ghana, I made many wonderful friends. My hosts Jemima A. Anderson, Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie and Charles Marfo and their families took great care of me as I found home in the comfort of their families. George Frimpong of the Department of English, Legon, Accra and all the student assistants who helped me with the questionnaires both at the university and in the churches in Legon are heartily commended here. Bismarck Dzahene-Quarshie devoted whole afternoons to taking me from one research location to another and introducing me to respondents from different walks of life. I am really grateful.

In Cameroon, my colleagues Gratien G. Atindogbé (Buea), Valentine N. Ubanako (Yaounde) and Stephen A. Mforteh (Yaounde) facilitated the data collection process and have consistently – rather persistently – encouraged me all these years. To them all, I say, thanks. I extend heartfelt thanks to Anita Fetzer, the series editor, Isja Cohen and Susan Hendriks at John Benjamins for the smooth production process. Comments by two anonymous reviewers helped me sharpen the arguments made in this book. I am grateful to them. I am equally grateful to Uche Oyali for carefully checking the proofs. All remaining shortcomings are mine, of course.

My kids Adaya, Thalia, Ryan and Angelo have been a great source of inspiration and motivation. You are so adorable.

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List of abbreviations

Assu	Assurance
Attn-get	Attention getter
CaF1	Cameroonian female respondent 1
CaF-I1	Cameroonian female interview respondent 1
CaM1	Cameroonian male respondent 1
CamE	Cameroon English
CaM-I1	Cameroonian male interview respondent 1
Compl	Compliment
CPE	Cameroon Pidgin English
DCT	Discourse completion task
Fmls	Females
GaF1	Ghanaian female respondent 1
GaF-I1	Ghanaian female interview respondent 1
GaM1	Ghanaian male respondent 1
GaM-I1	Ghanaian male interview respondent 1
Ind.L.	Indigenous language
Interj	Interjection
JC	Junior colleague
Mls	Males
PM	Politeness marker
Pref	Preference
Refu-Acc	Refusal acceptance
Refu-Accept	Refusal acceptance
SC	Senior colleague

Introduction

Offers, refusals in postcolonial multilingual societies: New research directions

Offers index different facets of social relationships across cultures and communities. In predominantly monocultural and monolingual communities, offers, like most other speech acts, attend exceedingly to individuals' (i.e. both speakers' and listeners') (face) needs and preferences (cf. literature on Western politeness and face), whereas in multicultural and multilingual communities, offers serve both individual needs and collectivist social and/or ethnic group codes of social conduct. These facets are central to linguistic and extra-linguistic behaviour in these societies and are observable in speakers' choice of words and the linguistic form of their utterances, i.e. both offer and offer refusal utterances as in Examples (1) and (2) below.

According to Searle (1976: 11), offers are commissive speech acts since they commit the offerer to some future action deemed to be beneficial to the offeree. The duration of that future action is generally determinate and could interfere either positively or negatively with the offeree's and the offerer's future plan of action. Wunderlich (1977: 32) rather classifies offers with conditional speech acts like warnings, threats, advice and extortions, which as he explains "interfere with the addressee's planning of action: The propositional content, which is a conditional, supplies the addressee with a certain cognitive premise that he can use in his practical inferences." What this means, as Barron (2005: 142) says, is that "the execution of an offer is always conditional on the reaction of the hearer." These Western perspectives illustrate that the completion of an offer-exchange depends on the acceptance or refusal of the offer by the offeree. They emphasise the offeree's individual rights of action and claim to face that must be respected by the offerer.

The perspective on offers adopted in this study goes beyond the individualistic level. Here, offers do not always only satisfy individual needs but also help interlocutors enact their belonging to a collectivist in-group, construct in-group identities, play the social roles expected of them by society, and protect the group-face of their group. For instance, by offering your seat to an old person, you observe social rules

about respect for the old and project yourself as a respectful member of the society. In some of these collectivist societies, as I explain in Chapter 6, the act of offering is interpreted as a cyclic experience in which the more you give to others the more you receive from other people. So, by giving one does not indebted the offeree (i.e. offeree beneficial) but rather maximises the chances of receiving in the future (i.e. offerer beneficial). Refusing an offer, therefore, could be interpreted as breaking this cyclic experience. This explains why, as shown in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, offerees use strong and convincing reasons and excuses to refuse offers. Offerees are sometimes obliged by the social norms of society to accept offers which they do not need in order to avoid disruption to social cohesion, especially where such offers are considered as default behaviour. It is not their individual personal decision or preference that counts but the expectations of the society, often reinforced by the bystander effect (Anchimbe 2011a).

In (1) below culled from Barron (2003: 173) and based on Ireland – a Western individualistic context – the uncle and nephew do not give away the social or kinship relationship between them. They use pronominal address forms, i.e. *I, you*, which suggest they have no desire to show their kinship closeness. In (2) from Cameroon, the interlocutors are indeed strangers linked by no kinship relationship, yet they make use of the parent-child kinship relation.

- (1) You: Would **you** like to come in and have a cup of tea? They should be back in an hour or two?
 Uncle: Thank you very much but I can't, I'm due back in the office. I was down here on business so I decided to call in.
 You: Are **you** sure?
 Uncle: Positive. I'll see **you** again... (Barron 2003: 173)

In (2) taken from Anchimbe (2011a: 429), a younger person decides to offer her seat to an older person in a church. By virtue of the older person's age, the offerer adopts a natural parent-child asymmetrical kinship relationship by calling the offeree *Ma* (mother, mom). This moves the interaction into the family domain where strict sociocultural rules and obligations apply. In order not to cause a breakdown in this respect system, the older person accepts the role and status of a parent and hence addresses the other *my daughter, my child*. It becomes easier to turn down an offer from one's own child. Clearly, the older person puts in a lot of effort to refuse the offer – which in this case is not a ritual offer – in order to persuade the younger person to accept the refusal.

- (2) You:¹ Ma, please sit here.
 Old person: No, thanks. I'd rather stand.
 You: Ma, there aren't any seats, besides, I'm younger. Please!
 Old person: It's ok **my daughter**. Don't worry.
 You: Well, if you insist.
 Old person: I'm ok **my child**. (Anchimbe 2011a: 429)

From the attribution of kinship roles and the acceptance of these roles in (2), we gather that in most postcolonial African societies, individual face wants are often submerged into the society's or group's respect for sociocultural codes of conduct. This study investigates this line of thinking deeper and seeks to provide answers to questions like: Since most of these societies have collectivist cultures, what happens if the offeree decides not to accept the offer? How does the exchange flow? What interactional strategies (e.g. respect, politeness, (group) face-maintenance, identity construction, defence of group cohesion, etc.) are mobilised to ensure the exchange does not degenerate into unwarranted conflict or disappointment? Answering these questions will shed light on how certain offers function as social cohesive strategies which help interlocutors avoid conflict.

It also has to be taken into account if the offer, in the context in which it is made and by the offerer making it, is not *normal* or *routine* behaviour² – i.e. a default pattern of behaviour – from the point of view of cultural and societal norms. In this case, under what circumstances would such offers be refused? The postcolonial context, with its mix of cultures, languages, ethnicities and religions, is delicate as far as cultural contact and linguistic behaviour are concerned. For instance, in most indigenous cultures in Cameroon and Ghana, it is normal for males to offer to help females, for the young to offer their seats to the old, and for socially inferior persons to offer to do things for the socially superior. Where this default behaviour is violated or simply does not happen, the male, youth or inferior, could be said to have exhibited inappropriate behaviour which is tantamount to a breakdown in societal cohesion.

From a general standpoint – to be substantiated later in the analysis – in these two communities, offers tend to be accepted or refused based on factors such as: the norms guiding (ethnic or social group) interaction, the social distance between

-
1. The respondent is a 35–45 year old female Cameroonian.
 2. Routine offers often end after the first offer utterance, but if there is a reoffer or insistence by the offerer, then it might no longer be a routine offer. So, the sociocultural norms of society and the postcolonial pragmatic components mobilised by speakers must be factored in to understand the offer sequence.

offerer and offeree, the need to open or close (ethnic or social) group boundaries to non-members and the choice of language used in the offer utterance.

Offers are of various types and range from direct offers to more mitigated offers like what Hancher (1979) terms “commissive directives.” Because they are not always clearly definable, Aijmer (1996: 189) cautions about the “fuzzy nature” of offers. Schneider (1980, 2000) and Barron (2003) identify offers of assistance, hospital offers and gift offers as the most recurrent types. Figure 1.1 broadly illustrates the main types of offers solicited for this study. Two of them, gifts and services, are investigated deeper in Chapters 3 and 5 which deal with offers of gifts, i.e. a drink and food, and Chapter 4 which focuses on the offer of services, i.e. a seat in a church, taking into account speaker statuses.

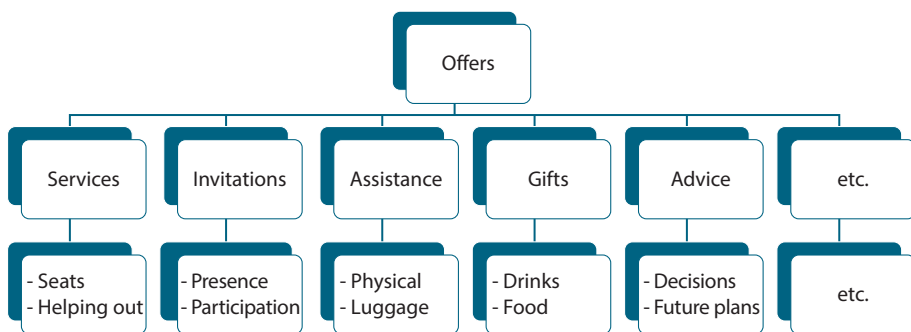


Figure 1.1 A broad categorisation of offer types

Although most of these offers resemble hospitable offers in the way they are framed, i.e. as ritual offers, the use of insistence and other moves in the dialogues analysed here shows that they indeed are always not. Hospital offers are generally refused without any further insistence or reoffering by the offerer. But in most of the dialogues used here, what at first seems to be a hospitable offer of a drink in a bar is followed by a tough insistence and a face threatening question challenging the offeree’s refusal thereby forcing the offeree to promise to accept the offer some other time – even if it is simply a polite promise, one that is not intended to be fulfilled.

In (3)³ from the data collected for this study, the senior colleague (SC) lets the offeree off the offer hook only when the junior colleague (You) invokes religion as the reason for refusing the offer of a drink. Here, the relationship between the two is threatened by the refusal of the offer. However, since religion is an accepted reason in the society for abstinence from beer or alcohol, the senior colleague

3. The respondent who constructed this dialogue is a 35–45 year-old Ghanaian male: code GaM5.

immediately accepts it, and even apologises “Oh! Sorry.” for insisting (cf. Anchimbe 2011a: 426–427), hence preventing a breakdown in this societal norm.

- (3) GaM5 *Offer & Offer refusal head act*⁴
 Age: 35–45 SC: Please, have a drink
 Ind.Lang: Fula You: Thank you sir, but I’m already leaving.
 L1: Hausa *Insistence supportive act 1*
 Often: Seldom SC: Are you refusing my drink?
 Town: Accra You: Oh, not exactly sir.
 Edu. – *Explication supportive act*
 SC: What do you mean by ‘not exactly’?
 You: Because it is time for me to go.
 Insistence supportive act 2
 SC: But just one drink will not take any time.
 You: I am a Muslim so I don’t drink.
 Refusal acceptance act
 SC: Oh! Sorry. See you another time.

The example above shows that offers – by implication, most other speech acts in postcolonial multilingual societies – are not always realised in the Searlean sense of a typical speech act but rather as communicative acts (see 1.6 below) since such acts often consist not only of the offer minimal head act unit but also of other acts which serve as preparatory and supportive acts (see Trosborg 1995). In (3), the offer utterance and the refusal utterance are reinforced and mitigated by three supportive acts, i.e. the insistence, explication and refusal acceptance acts. In the insistence adjacency sequence, the offerer insists on the offer being accepted while the offeree insists on refusing. In the explication act, the offerer asks for a reason for the refusal which the offeree effectively gives. Because the reason is plausible, the offerer then accepts the refusal in the ensuing turn.

What this study adds to extant research on the speech act of offering is that it does not limit its analysis to the minimal head act unit that realises the offer as posited by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b) but includes the whole offer utterance with all its internal modifications as well as the external modifications which, according to the concept of the communicative act adopted in this study, comprises the preparatory and supportive acts used to upgrade it. Again, focus is not only on offer utterances alone but also on offer refusal utterances since both contribute to the progression of the communicative act. This line of thinking is taken up again in the analysis

4. The labels in italics refer to the illocutionary intents of the adjacency sequences. Since they come after the head act, they are called here supportive acts (see Section 1.6 below).

chapters, i.e. Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Having established the perspective on offers adopted in this study, the next section reviews the rather small pragmatics research on postcolonial varieties of English, to which Cameroon English (cf. Simo Bobda 1994, Anchimbe 2006a) and Ghanaian English (cf. Sey 1973, Dako 2001) belong.

1.1 Pragmatics and research on Postcolonial Englishes

Research on Postcolonial Englishes (also called New Englishes, Indigenised varieties of English, Nativised Englishes, etc.) has generally focused on processes of nativisation or indigenisation and *deviations* from, or preferably *innovations* of, especially British and American Englishes in these contexts at the level of phonology, lexis, syntax and semantics (cf. Schneider et al. 2004, Kortmann et al. 2004, Kachru et al. 2009, journals like *World Englishes*, *English World-Wide*, *English Today*, *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, etc.). Pragmatics has significantly remained less investigated resulting in a general dearth of research in this domain. This dearth does not apply only to Postcolonial Englishes but also to Pidgins, Creoles and bilingual mixed languages spoken in postcolonial communities. Yamuna Kachru's (1991a, b) guest-edited symposium in the journal *World Englishes* is among the first endeavours in pragmatic research on Postcolonial Englishes (cf. also Nelson 1991, Tinkham 1993).

For Janney (2009a: 203), several interesting facets of social interaction in post-colonial contexts which could be described using pragmatic frameworks have remained under-investigated.

Communication in postcolonial contexts has received surprisingly little attention in pragmatics up to now. The pragmatic literature on Africa, South Asia, and other formerly colonised regions is thin, and there has been almost no research at all on the question of how discourse styles and strategies in postcolonial varieties of European languages are influenced by pragmatic practices in indigenous languages and pidgins. Just as colonisation led to the emergence of new varieties of European languages throughout the colonised world, it also led to new patterns of interaction *in* these varieties. Relations between pragmatic practices in European and indigenous languages in postcolonial contexts pose interesting, worthwhile, and in part perplexing, questions for pragmatic study. (Janney 2009a: 203)

Various aspects of these societies, given their uniquely complex and multifaceted nature, could provide new insights and new directions in pragmatic theory and research. One study that investigates the influence of pragmatic practices in indigenous languages on a postcolonial variety of English, i.e. pragmatic transfer, is Kasanga's (2006) study of requests in Black South African English. According to

him, the pragmatics of Postcolonial Englishes is special in its incorporation of forms and patterns from both English and the indigenous languages. In the case of Black South African English, he declares that

the pragmatics of the variety of South African English commonly referred to as black South African English (BSAE) have been shaped, over time, by educated bilinguals, through a transfer of features from African languages. Transfer of syntactic forms, now firmly established in the variety, is evidenced by, among other things, the preferred use of forms dispreferred in requesting formulae in the native varieties of English. (Kasanga 2006: 65)

One reason for the dearth of pragmatic studies on Postcolonial Englishes could be the absence of an appropriate theoretical framework that accommodates the unique multilingual and multiethnic hybridic nature of these societies. Western pragmatic models (e.g. Goffman 1967, Searle 1969, Grice 1975, Leech 1983, Brown and Levinson 1987, etc.) are readily available but are often unable to explain the complex networks of hybrid linguistic, social and ethnic structures in these societies. This study proposes the recent framework, postcolonial pragmatics (Janney 2009a; Anchimbe and Janney 2011a, b, 2017) as a suitable basis for understanding and analysing social interaction in postcolonial societies.

In Kasanga's (2006) excerpt above, the hybridism of foreign, ex-colonial linguistic patterns and South African indigenous language structures in BSAE could be effectively studied from a postcolonial pragmatic perspective that takes into account the place of colonial contact, colonial linguistic, social, political and religious heritages and the emergence of hybridic patterns. A mainstream pragmatic model would certainly not adequately explain, for example, why direct requests in the Sesotho sa Leboa language (a South African indigenous language) would be a respect and politeness strategy (Kasanga 2006). Furthermore, a major form-function specificity of requests in this (language) community, Kasanga (2006: 82) explains, is "the irrelevance...of the notion of 'indirectness' as an unmarked form to minimise the imposition of the force of a request. The interrogative form in particular tends to produce the opposite effect of what it would in native varieties of English." How bilingual speakers in this community cope with such potentially contradictory patterns of social and linguistic behaviour is an issue of relevance to postcolonial pragmatics research. It is also the ultimate goal of this study to attract more emic pragmatic research attention to these societies and their rich, hybridising and multilingual social interaction systems. This would resolve the mismatch in earlier research between Western-based approaches and the objects of study in postcolonial societies, as the next section illustrates.

1.2 Theoretical approaches in past research

In the past three decades (since the 1990s), a few pragmatics-related studies were published on certain aspects of social interaction in postcolonial societies. As far as Africa is concerned, in the 1990s, the works of Nwoye (1992) and de Kadt (1992, 1994, 1998) were the initial investigations that challenged the applicability of Western theories in African contexts. They were followed in the 2000s by Kasanga's (2003, 2006) and Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu's (2007) studies of requests and politeness in Southern Africa, Anchimbe's (2008) analysis of politeness and kinship address forms in Cameroon, and in the 2010s by Anchimbe's (2011a, b), Mulo Farenkia's (2014a) investigations of address forms, respect and politeness in indigenised varieties of European languages in Africa, among a few others. Some of these studies adopt the cross-cultural pragmatics framework of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989a, b), and compare pragmatic practices in an indigenous language or an indigenised variety of English and (British or American) English.

However, the bulk of works published since the 1980s adopt a predominantly mainstream Western pragmatic approach hence giving the erroneous impression that the "multilingual discourse [of these postcolonial African societies is] pragmatically explainable only in terms of monolingual [Western] discourse" (Janney 2009a: 210). This is because most of these studies do not factor in the complex multilingual and multicultural natures of these societies. The obvious outcome is that "[m]ajor issues and theories of pragmatics are discussed in a monolingual framework lacking or excluding any explanation of or reference to the applicability of ideas, theories, and research findings to multilingual scenes" (Kecskes 2004: 2), making the need for new emically-based frameworks indispensable.

One of the studies that relies on Western models to describe African realities is Adegbija (1989a) who uses Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as a basis for comparing politeness phenomena in Nigerian English and two Nigerian indigenous languages, Yoruba and Ogori. He applies the notions of positive and negative politeness, among others, to Nigerian datasets and finds many mismatches, leading to the conclusion that "in Nigerian English, Yoruba and Ogori (but certainly more so in the latter two), the greater the age and the higher the cultural and social status attained by an addressee, the greater the need the speaker feels to employ politeness strategies" (Adegbija 1989a: 78). In Western societies, politeness is a co-operative game driven by respect for each individual's positive self-image and is not determined by the society's norms about the addressee's age and sociocultural status as in the postcolonial Nigerian society.

From a similar analytical perspective, Mboudjeke (2010) applies Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Kerbrat-Orecchionni's (1992) politeness models to job applications written by semiliterate speakers of French in Cameroon. In his take on linguistic politeness in these applications, he concludes that the applicants' culture

and their poor mastery of the French language are responsible for the face threats encoded in them. An emic approach, e.g. postcolonial pragmatics, which incorporates the salience of the applicants' cultural expectations, would certainly have yielded different results, for instance, results that are based not on individual face wants but on individuals' attempts to respect social norms so as to be treated as good members of the society.

Still on Western theories for African postcolonial societies, Anderson (2006, 2009) uses Brown and Levinson (1987), Goffman (1969), Ervin-Tripp (1976) and Walters (1981) – all based on Western specimens and frameworks – in her investigation of the syntactic forms of requests in English in Ghana. Although she finds extensive Ghanaian pragmatic features in her data, these are interpreted from a Western theoretical perspective.

While Brown and Levinson's (1987), Goffman's (1967), Searle's (1969), etc. theories have been central to most of these studies, some researchers have found them less suited for postcolonial African contexts. For Nwoye (1992: 310),

Brown and Levinson's view of politeness, especially their notion of negative face and the need to avoid imposition, does not seem to apply to the egalitarian Igbo society [Nigeria], in which concern for group interests rather than atomistic individualism is the expected norm of behaviour.

Nwoye (1992) investigates politeness and socio-cultural variations of the notion of face among the Igbos in Nigeria. He finds Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of face too limited and atomistic to be applicable in Nigeria because "the notion of face in Igbo has a dual manifestation: 'group' and 'individual' face" (Nwoye 1992: 309).

Similarly, de Kadt (1998) finds shortcomings in the application of Goffman's (1967) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) notions of face in non-Western contexts like the Zulu in South Africa. However, while their "face-construct remains of interest for the analysis of [Zulu] politeness", de Kadt (1998: 189) cautions, it must be revised and adapted to suit the Zulu societal structure. She, therefore, proposes a 'public' version of Goffman's (1967) individual face-construct which is more suited to pragmatic choices in Zulu interactions based on the Zulu *hlonipha* system.⁵ After analysing her role-play data, she concludes that "A 'public' version of this construct based on Goffman's work was shown to facilitate the analysis of Zulu interactions and the elucidation of Zulu respect strategies" (de Kadt 1998: 189). These two studies, Nwoye (1992) and de Kadt (1998), illustrate clearly that the notion of "face is actually found to wear different cultural faces" (Nwoye 1992: 328) and for it to be understood it must also be viewed through the cultural lenses of each culture.

5. Beattie (1980) offers a succinct account of the representations of self in traditional Africa. de Kadt (1998) also makes reference to these representations.

Egner's (2006) study of the speech act of promising in Ivory Coast (West Africa) applies a cross-cultural pragmatic approach (Wierzbicka 1991) that relies on Grice's (1975) conversational maxims and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions of promise (commissive speech acts). In her comparison of the West African and Western promises, she realises that contrary to the Searlean promise which is speaker-oriented "the polite African promise is mainly hearer-oriented with its emphasis on the expression of cooperativeness and respect of the hearer's desire" (Egner 2006: 453). Although Egner (2006) implicitly suggests that the West African promise⁶ is somewhat a deviation from the Western "ideal person" verbal behaviour of Brown and Levinson (1987), she nevertheless signals the limitation of this Western-based approach to her West African data.

Frameworks like postcolonial pragmatics and the World Englishes⁷ paradigm provide a more realistic platform for studying the interactional specificities of postcolonial societies and their group-based sociocultural systems (see Chapter 2). A number of works have already incorporated the multilingual and multicultural structures of postcolonial communities into their analysis of social interaction. Kasanga (2006), for instance, signals the potential of pragmatic transfer from indigenous background languages into English; Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu (2007) study apologies in English and Setswana by looking at the coexistence of these languages and their cultures within the same space; Anchimbe (2007a, 2008, 2011b) emphasises the strong presence of indigenous sociocultural kinship and respect systems in address strategies in Cameroon, and how these index social relationships and replicate societal stratification thereby forestalling potential social conflicts both at individual and group levels (Anchimbe 2016a); Mulo Farenkia (2014a) focuses on speech act realisation and politeness in French in multilingual Cameroon and Canada, etc.

1.3 Directions in past research

In this section, I identify the major directions in pragmatic research on African postcolonial societies this far. The question I pose here is: With many co-existing languages and cultures, what are the objects of study or discourses investigated? Four main directions of research can be found: (1) studies of pragmatic phenomena

6. West Africa here is a broad category that is too heterogeneous to be treated as an entity. This is a common problem in the literature.

7. The contributions in Anchimbe and Janney (2011b) try to bring together these two frameworks as well as creolistics into a consistent *postcolonial pragmatics* theory for postcolonial societies.

in African indigenous languages and cultures, (2) comparative cross-cultural studies of pragmatic practices in indigenised ex-colonial languages and one or more indigenous languages, (3) studies of pragmatic phenomena in indigenised varieties of ex-colonial languages, and (4) contrastive analyses of pragmatic features of a postcolonial indigenised variety and a Western qua native variety of ex-colonial languages. These directions are not exclusive since some studies can be found to incorporate more than just one of them.

The main concern of research on pragmatic phenomena in indigenous African languages and cultures is how these phenomena are realised in interaction and how they support social cohesion. As hinted on above, mostly Western theories are used yielding results that are not representative of these cultures and languages. Nwoye (1992), for example, does not find a direct term or expression for politeness and face in the Igbo language. The closest gloss for politeness is the Igbo expression “*ezigbo omume* – good behaviour” (Nwoye 1992: 315). Similarly, in Zulu, the notions of politeness and face do not reflect the patterns of social and cultural interaction common among the people. These patterns are rather encompassed in the Zulu notions of *ubuntu*⁸ (being considerate out of solidarity with others) and *hlonipha* (verbalised and non-verbalised respect-based avoidance). In order to effectively explain the centrality of these concepts to communication in Southern African cultures, de Kadt (1998) introduces the noun *inhlonipho*, derived from *hlonipha*, which stands for ‘respect, politeness’. Within these cultures, the functions of *ubuntu* and *hlonipha* are based on “the strongly collectivist thrust of Zulu society, in which behaviour is regulated, in the first instance, by clear expectations as to what is fitting for the various societal groups” (de Kadt 1998: 175). Like the Igbos’ *ezigbo omume*, these two concepts expect members of the society to abide by the rules embodied in the social roles they play in a bid to maintain and foster societal cohesion.

Other studies that describe pragmatic phenomena in indigenous ethnic languages and cultural groups include Obeng (1994) on verbal indirection in Akan informal discourse in Ghana, de Kadt (1992, 1995) on requests as speech acts and directives in Zulu, Dlali (2001, 2003, 2004) on negative politeness, requests, complaints and apologies in isiXhosa, Gough (1995) on deference and directness in Xhosa performative requests, Schottman (1995) on daily greeting rituals among the Baatombu of Benin, Mba (2008) on politeness in the Ghómala culture and language in Cameroon, Ameka (2009) on access rituals in some West African languages (especially Ewe), Kießling et al. (2011) on requests, complaints and apologies in the Isu and Men communities of the Cameroonian grasslands, Goron (2016) on greeting

8. For more on *ubuntu* see de Kadt (1998), Kamwangamalu (1999), and Bonn (2007); and for *hlonipha* see Zungu (1997), de Kadt (1998), and Finlayson (2002).

rituals among the Bororo in Northern Cameroon, Nguewo (2016) on thanking among the Bamileke in Cameroon, among others (see Table 1.1).

In the second research direction, inspired by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues of the Cross-cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP), pragmatic phenomena in one or more indigenous languages in postcolonial African societies are compared with, or contrasted to, similar phenomena in English, French or other ex-colonial languages. The bulk of studies are on the realisation of speech acts from a predominantly mainstream Western pragmatic perspective. The aim very often is to “demonstrate the intersection of face and politeness [or any other pragmatic aspect] with the enactment of social acts in African languages or African varieties of English” (Kasanga 2011: 41).

The irony here is that Western pragmatic theories are applied to data collected from the nativised or indigenised varieties of English or French in postcolonial societies rather than to data collected from the Western societies. Access to such data is often limited. We, therefore, end up with contrastive studies of speech produced by the same speakers but in two languages: an indigenous language and an indigenised ex-colonial language, with the latter passing for a foreign language.

The most common issues contrasted in these studies include politeness systems (Adegbija 1989a, Dassi 2008, Boukari 2016), naming and address strategies (Anchimbe 2011b, Mulo Farenkia 2011a), speech acts like apologies (Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu 2007), etc. The authors generally aim at explaining how these processes in indigenous African cultures and languages are replicated in, transferred into, or merged with processes in English or French. For instance, Lwanga-Lumu (2000) discusses the pragmatic transfer of Luganda request and apology strategies into English by Luganda speakers of English. What this research direction projects is the emergence of a hybrid system of social interaction in these contexts, being the outcome of colonial contact and the creation of postcolonial states consisting of different ethnicities and languages. This postcolonial social interaction system, Anchimbe (2007b: 2) upholds, “covers the microscopic and macroscopic social, cultural and linguistic aspects that make these communities the complex entities that they are.”

The third research direction focuses directly on the ex-colonial language, e.g. Ghanaian English or Cameroon French, but treats it as an indigenised entity that belongs to the new community in which it is now spoken. It possesses a local standard or norm determined by the ecological realities and communicative priorities of speakers in that ecology. The current study positions itself in this category. The works of Kasanga (2006) on requests in Black South African English, Echu (2008) and Anchimbe (2008) on address forms and naming choices in Cameroon Pidgin English and Cameroon English respectively, Anchimbe (2016a) and Nkwain (2016) on greetings in Cameroon English and Cameroon Pidgin English respectively,

Ouafeu (2006) on pragmatic particles in Cameroon English, Mulo Farenkia (2014a) on speech acts in Cameroon French, Klaeger (2010) on discourse markers in Burkina Faso French, etc. all fall directly under this category.

The fourth research direction adopts a similar approach like the bulk of studies on indigenised varieties of English, i.e. contrasting and comparing pragmatic behaviour in a Postcolonial English or Postcolonial French variety to similar behaviour in Western, mostly British, American and Australian varieties of English and French French or Canadian French. Implicitly, some studies in the other three directions above also make reference to British English in portraying the specificity of the variety they are studying. Studies that do a strict comparison are few but prominent. As a clear example, Hodge (1990) describes the realisation of requests between South African native speakers of English and Australian native speakers of English. The variations between the two groups are attributed to cultural differences.

While focusing on Nigerian English patterns in the realisation of compliment response, Mustapha (2011) uses British English as the centre away from which the Nigerian features move. In a number of studies, Mulo Farenkia (2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a) compares various aspects of social and linguistic behaviour in French between Cameroonians and Canadians. He finds different but also systematic patterns in compliment responses (Mulo Farenkia 2011b, 2012a) and the expression of admiration in Quebec French and Cameroon French (Mulo Farenkia 2012b). The studies that adopt this approach could be placed under the new, emerging field of variational pragmatics (Schneider and Barron 2008a) which studies variation within the same language across geographical locations – a pragmatic version of variational sociolinguistics, if one can put it this simply. The studies also make use of postcolonial pragmatics procedures.

1.4 Pragmatic phenomena studied in past research

It is important at this point to identify the most investigated pragmatic phenomena in the pragmatics literature on postcolonial communities. Some directions have been discussed above but with little input on the social interaction processes described. Three main phenomena⁹ have received extensive attention from researchers: (1) politeness and face, (2) speech acts, and (3) naming, address forms and group and individual identity. I will focus briefly on each of them below.

9. There are isolated studies on other pragmatic practices, e.g. pragmatic particles (see Ouafeu 2006 on discourse markers in Cameroon English).

1.4.1 Politeness and face

Most studies that investigate politeness and face in postcolonial African contexts apply Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of negative and positive politeness strategies to data collected in postcolonial societies. Adegbija (1989a), for instance, uses this theory as the basis for comparing English and two Nigerian languages. Later studies (e.g. Nwoye 1992, de Kadt 1998, Kasanga 2006, Anchimbe 2008, etc.), though relying minimally on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory illustrate that it does not completely explicate how these pragmatic phenomena work in these postcolonial communities. African research in this direction comes on the heels of pragmatic research in Asia on Eastern politeness (e.g. Matsumoto 1988, Ide 1989, 1992, Gu 1990, Mao 1994, Fukushima 2000, etc.). These Asian studies prove that in the collectivistic Asian (like the African) politeness and face-constructs, the individual's personal autonomy, however natural in the individualistic cultures of the West, is only minimally important and is embedded in the group's overall social esteem vis-à-vis other groups.

To overcome the mismatch between Western theories and postcolonial African data, Nwoye (1992) and de Kadt (1994, 1998) have introduced Igbo (*ezigbo omume*) and Zulu (*ubuntu* and *hlonipha*) terms for politeness and face, since equivalents for the English terms do not exist in the social respect systems of the Igbo-speaking and Zulu-speaking communities. Other studies focus on speech acts as politeness strategies or as face maintenance or face threatening acts in these communities, e.g. Lwanga-Lumu (2000, 2005) on requests and apologies in Luganda and English.

Though not directly at the core of this research, I illustrate in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 that the way offers and offer refusals are enacted in Ghana and Cameroon is not always for politeness but especially for realising respect in line with the sociocultural norms of these communities. In this regard, Eelen's (2001) comment on the centrality of the "society's wants" in face threats is absolutely valid for postcolonial contexts: "Face is threatened not when people's individual wants are not met, but rather when they fail to live up to social standards, i.e. when they fail to fulfil society's wants" (Eelen 2001: 10).

1.4.2 Speech acts or speech events

The most investigated phenomenon in pragmatic research on postcolonial African communities is speech acts. They are researched both in their structural composition and in their pragmatic and functional relevance in communication. Ameka (2009) cautions that Anglo and Western attitudes towards speech acts, e.g. routinised greetings that syntactically take the form of questions, should not be extended

speciously to other contexts. Focusing on access rituals, especially greetings and farewells, he explains that “in some cultural linguistic groups in West Africa, greeting questions are genuine questions that have to be faithfully and felicitously answered” (Ameka 2009: 129), contrary to English where greeting questions like “How are you?” are not questions as such (Leech 1983), and are often answered by lying (Sacks 1975), or are Pollyanna questions that expect positive answers (Wierzbicka 2003).

As discussed above, three foci are dominant in the research on speech acts: (1) investigating speech acts in indigenous African cultures and languages, e.g. Igbo greetings (Nwoye 1993), greetings, felicitations and condolences in four Ethiopian languages: Amharic, Oromo, Wolayita and Nuer (Yimam 1997), greetings among the Bororo (Goron 2016), thanking among the Bamileke (Nguewo 2016); (2) comparing speech acts in English and indigenous African languages, e.g. Luganda and English requests and apologies (Lwanga-Lumu 2005), promising in West Africa and the West (Egner 2006), English and Setswana apologies (Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu 2007); and (3) speech acts in a particular postcolonial variety of English or French, e.g. requests in Ghanaian English (Anderson 2006, 2009), English greetings in Ghanaian English (Sekyi-Baidoo and Koranteng 2008), greetings in Cameroon English (Anchimbe 2016a) greetings in Cameroon Pidgin English (Nkwain 2016), compliment response patterns in Nigerian English (Mustapha 2011), compliments and ethnic stereotypes in Cameroon French (Mulo Farenkia 2009; 2011a), compliments and face in Cameroon Pidgin English (Nkwain 2011), etc.

Again, although Western theories are applied in the study of these speech acts, they are often found to be insufficient. This explains why some of these authors prefer to call their objects of study speech events, communicative acts, communicative events (cf. Sommer and Vierke 2011, Anchimbe 2013a, 2016b) rather than as speech acts in the Searlean sense of it. In postcolonial societies, communicative acts could consist of many speech acts, which function as preparatory and/or supportive acts that externally modify the head act. As mentioned above, I have expanded on the theory of communicative acts (Trosborg 1995) taking into account its applicability to multicultural postcolonial contexts (cf. also Blum-Kulka et al. 1989a, Kießling et al. 2011). According to Anchimbe (2013a: 227), the extensive use of external modification preparatory and supportive acts could be the impact of “the cultural communicative habits of Cameroonian cultures characterised by elaborate decorum and extensive use of proverbs” and other stylistic devices that show respect, index social identities, etc. Postcolonial pragmatics incorporates this cultural premise as well as other salient variables or components such as age, gender, socio-ethnic group values and language(s) in explicating pragmatic choices in these societies.

1.4.3 Naming, address forms and individual and group identity

The studies placed in this category are mid-way between sociolinguistics and pragmatics. They could be treated as a form of anthropological pragmatics in which choices in verbal and non-verbal behaviour are directed at maintaining or improving upon social cohesion in the group. The entire group is often conceived of as a family and address forms, naming strategies, in-group identity markers, etc. “constitute part of the linguistic negotiations for harmonious living in the family. They are required as part of the sociolinguistic and cultural ideology of the people” (Ugorji 2009: 61).

In studying naming strategies in Cameroon English, Anchimbe (2008, 2013b) discovers that “the use of kinship terms in naming people [who may be strangers] is attributed to the close social and cultural links that keep community members together irrespective of the kinship relationship between them” (Anchimbe 2013b: 193). Also, in Nigerian cultures, “an elder is usually not referred to by name by a younger person; doing so would be considered rude and uncouth” (Adegbija 1989b: 169). To avoid being rude, Kouega (1998), explains that in Cameroon, elderly persons’ names are affixed kinship honorifics like *Pa*, *Ma*, *Uncle*, *Aunty*, etc. Afful (2006a, b, 2007) describes various ways in which “highly educated youths in a post-colonial contemporary society” like Ghana use address terms (Afful 2007: 180). Depending on the addressee, they select from a range of neutral friendship terms like *mate*, *roommate*, school alumnus terms like *Achimota mate*, indigenous language address forms for grandfather like *Nana*, for the head of a family clan like *Ebusuapanyin*, for an ethnic group elder like *Opanyin*, and professional titles like *reverend* etc. Through these address terms various in-group identities are created, e.g. education, family, clan, religion, etc.

An interesting study by Ribbens (2004) on address forms in apartheid South Africa depicts how ethnic and racial groups, further demarcated by power strata, address each other. From the strict linguistic and non-linguistic patterns of in-group and out-group delineation, Ribbens (2004: 358) concludes, after studying the contexts of usage of forms like *sir*, *baas*, *mister*, etc. that the data collected in 1993 “is a record of the past, a snapshot of the way ‘it was then’” and it is understood that things might have changed now that apartheid has ended. Here address forms index social status, racial and ethnic origin and societal stratification.

Apart from ensuring societal cohesion or portraying societal stratification as shown above, address forms could also be used to close group boundaries to non-members and to stigmatise other groups. According to Mulo Farenkia (2010, 2011a), Cameroonians use ethnic and social group stereotypes to pre-determine verbal and non-verbal interaction or reactions. In dialogue (4) below, the two vendors use ethnic group stereotypes and denigratory names for ethnic groups to create

out-groups and to insult each other. The Eton vendor constructs the Bamileke ethnic group as witches and wizards (*famla*) while the Bamileke vendor describes the Eton ethnic group as lazy and worthless (*nkwa*).

- (4) Interaction in an open market in Yaounde, Cameroon. Two female vendors quarrel over a potential buyer:

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

Bamileke vendor: Les nkwa! Vous êtes très égoïstes. Pour un client, tu m'agresses comme-ca? (*The Nkwes! You are very egoistic. Because of one client, you are attacking me this way?*)

(Mulo Farenkia 2011a: 1488) *my translation*

Interestingly, the women do not insult each other as individuals, but instead target their ethnic groups: cf. use of the plural pronouns *vous*, *vos* (plu. *you* and *your*). The words that carry the insult are realised in the language of the group being insulted, e.g. *famla* is from a Bamileke language and *nkwa* from Eton. This indicates the extent to which the ethnic group is a sacred entity in these communities. Insults directed at the group are more painful than those directed at individuals. Such an anthropological perspective on pragmatic phenomena in postcolonial communities is certainly relevant to our understanding of social communication under different conditions.

Whereas it is true that African communities rely on their group and collectivist structures for social interaction, Lienhardt (1985) cautions that such a collectivist thrust should not completely blind us from the possibility of individual-based experiences. The fear is that we could place “too much one-sided stress on the collectivist orientation of African ideas of the person” (Lienhardt 1985: 145) which could “deflect interest from this African concern, also, on occasion, with individuals as individuals” (Lienhardt 1985: 143). This is a valid concern which, however, also confirms the multiplicity and expansiveness of individual identity and the possibility of individuals to belong to different identity groups within the society. For instance, the identity layers of most African multilingual communities illustrated by Anchimbe (2013b: 152–153), provide individuals with various linguistic and non-linguistic tools with which to project both their personal individual priorities and those of the group(s) they wish to manifest belonging to at any given moment. So, switching identities, languages and social roles is normal since this qualifies one as a competent member of the postcolonial society.

In Table 1.1, I summarise the major pragmatic phenomena and authors in pragmatic research on postcolonial African communities. The table is not exhaustive but only indicative of the work that has been done so far.

Table 1.1 Overview of pragmatic research in African Postcolonial communities

Pragmatic phenomenon	Major authors	Country or ethnic group studied
Politeness and face	Adegbija (1989a), Nwoye (1992), de Kadt (1994, 1998), Lwanga-Lumu (1999), Dlali (2001), Finlayson (2002), Bonn (2007), Anchimbe (2008), Mba (2008), Mashiri (2009), Mboudjeke (2010), Grainger et al. (2010), Mulo Farenkia (2008a, 2014a)	Nigeria (Igbo), Uganda (Luganda), South Africa (Zulu, Xhosa), Southern Africa, Shona, Cameroon (Ghomala)
Speech acts	Requests	de Kadt (1992), Gough (1995), Obeng (1999a), Kasanga (2003, 2006), Anderson (2006, 2009)
	Apologies & complaints	Obeng (1999b), Lwanga-Lumu (2000, 2005), Dlali (2003, 2004), Kasanga & Lwanga-Lumu (2007), Kießling et al. (2011)
	Promises	Egner (2006)
	Directives & thanks	de Kadt (1995), Mulo Farenkia (2013)
	Compliments	Mustapha (2009), Mulo Farenkia (2010, 2011a, 2014a), Nkwain (2011), Boukari (2016)
	Offers	Anchimbe (2011a, forthcoming)
	Greetings, access rituals	Irvine (1989), Nwoye (1993), Schottman (1995), Yimam (1997), Sekyi-Baidoo & Koranteng (2008), Ameka 2009, Anchimbe (2016a), Nkwain (2016), Goron (2016)
	Condolence, felicitation	Yimam (1997)
	Proverbs	Lawal et al. (1997), Odebunmi (2008)
	Advice	Dlali & Mogase (2009), Drescher (2012)
Naming, address forms & identity	Offers & offer refusals	Anchimbe (2011a, 2016b), Farenkia (2016b)
		Obeng (1997), Ribbens (2004), Afful (2006a, b, 2007), Anchimbe (2008, 2011b), Echu (2008), Ugorji (2009), Mulo Farenkia (2011a), Nkwain (2014)
Discourse markers	Ouafeu (2006), Klaeger (2010)	Ghana (Akan), South Africa (Sotho, Shangaan, Tswana, Xhosa & Zulu), Cameroon (Pidgin), Nigeria
		Cameroon, Burkina Faso

It is clear from the review above that the offer-refusal communicative act has not yet been investigated within postcolonial African communities. This study seeks to fill a gap in this direction by expanding upon the lines of argument adopted in Anchimbe (2011a, forthcoming).

1.5 Aims and research questions

Combining methods in pragmatics, with special focus on postcolonial pragmatics (see Janney 2009a, b, Anchimbe and Janney 2011a, b, 2017, Anchimbe 2011a), the notion of communicative acts (see Trosborg 1995) and World Englishes paradigm, this study aims to do four things. Firstly, it investigates and analyses the structures and ways in which offers of services and gifts are performed and how these are refused in two postcolonial communities, Ghana and Cameroon, and in the indigenised varieties of English spoken there, i.e. Ghanaian English and Cameroon English. Secondly, it explores and accounts for the impact of postcolonial collectivist or group cultural systems and norms on offers and offer refusals by factoring in variables such as ethnicity, linguistic identity, religious background, age, gender, sociocultural respect norms and language choice. Thirdly, it verifies if the choice of a particular language in these multilingual postcolonial societies (e.g. indigenous language, official language or Pidgin English) influences speakers' reaction to offers. And lastly, it seeks to redress, however slightly, the dearth of pragmatic studies on social interaction in postcolonial societies.

In order to achieve these aims, three research questions have been formulated based on the types of data collected and the frame of analysis adopted here. The free discourse completion task (DCT) questionnaire administered in Ghana and Cameroon is mostly used to illustrate the linguistic form of offer and offer refusal utterances and the conversational exchange (vertical) structure of the offer-refusal communicative act, while the interview data are used to account for or corroborate speakers' motivations and choices in offers and offer refusals.

- What linguistic forms or strategies do interactants use to make or refuse offers? Concern here is on the choice of words and the linguistic form of utterances. To be more precise, the complete structures of an offer-refusal communicative act (vertical structure) and of the offer and offer refusal utterances (horizontal structure) will be categorised. The analysis is based on the free DCT questionnaire.
- How are offers that if directly refused may threaten the offerer's or the group's face turned down? Attention here is on the impact of collectivist group values or cultures in linguistic behaviour, i.e. the respect of unwritten codes of behaviour of the society or ethnic group.

- Does it make any difference if the offer is made in an indigenous language, English or Pidgin English? Here I find out if the multilingual and multiethnic nature of the societies plays any role. The analysis here is based mostly on the interviews.

1.6 Analytical frameworks in this study

For any analysis of postcolonial multilingual contexts that seeks to appropriately and effectively represent them, the analytical frameworks used must be designed according to their complex internal compositions. I try to do exactly this in this book with a mixed methods approach that combines three frameworks. The emergent framework, postcolonial pragmatics (cf. Anchimbe and Janney 2011a, 2017) is the main framework used in the analysis of the data (see Chapter 2). It is complemented by two other frameworks: the World Englishes paradigm and Ana Trosborg's (1995) theory of communicative acts, albeit with modifications that accommodate the sociocultural ecology of postcolonial contexts. In the following sections, I will present each of these frameworks in the way I apply them in this book.

1.6.1 Postcolonial pragmatics

As mentioned above, the main analytical framework adopted in this study is the emerging postcolonial pragmatics framework. Since the premises and functioning of postcolonial pragmatics are extensively explained in Chapter 2 I will not deal with them here. However, I will like to clarify how the term 'postcolonial' (i.e. as in postcolonial pragmatics) is used in this work. As stated in the preface, the use of the word 'postcolonial' here is independent of how it is used in postcolonial theory propagated in the work of theorists like Bhabha (1994), Spivak (1988) and by the foundational authors on decolonisation such as Fanon (1952) and Said (1979). For the analysis in this book, 'postcolonial' denotes a period marked by changes in political order in hitherto colonised communities. Although the temptation to bring in postcolonial theory is high the possible yields would be low given the criticisms it has received and also given the rather 'normal' patterns of social interactions in postcolonial contexts, in spite of the power imbalances decried in postcolonial theory. Postcolonial pragmatics focuses on these natural interactions as they are produced in their sociolinguistic ecologies, taking into consideration the fact that any transplanted colonial language in postcolonial contexts has by now been adequately indigenised that it now sufficiently projects the desires and aspirations of their users (cf. Anchimbe and Janney 2017, Anchimbe

2018). This consideration is one of the major tenets of the World Englishes paradigm to which I now turn.

1.6.2 World Englishes paradigm

The World Englishes paradigm acknowledges the emergence of norms and standards for regional or national varieties of English spoken around the world. It goes beyond such dichotomous distinctions as native vs. non-native Englishes, L1 vs L2 Englishes, Old vs. New Englishes, legitimate offspring vs. illegitimate offspring Englishes, international vs. localised/indigenised Englishes, core English-speaking countries vs. periphery-English countries, etc. to attribute equal status to varieties of English around the world. Free of these asymmetrical categorisations of English tongues, “[t]he strength of the world Englishes paradigm has lain and continues to lie in its consistent pluralism and inclusivity” (Bolton 2005: 78).

Arriving at this somewhat neutral, horizontal categorisation of English (see Figure 1.2) as it is spoken in the world has taken various turns and twists since the 1970s when Braj Kachru started writing about non-native and new Englishes. Kachru’s (1985) Concentric Circles model identified three poles of English: the inner circle, outer circle and expanding circle. This was at a time when the standard distinction pitted native English, considered the desirable and legitimate universal standard against non-native English, the approximative, non-standard, undesirable and learner variety. The struggle for acceptance of the non-native standards saw memorable phrases like “liberation linguistics”, “liberation theology”, “half-baked quackery” and also personlaised ones like “the Quirk concerns” (cf. Quirk 1990, Kachru 1991) and the “the Kachru catch” (Abbott 1991) injected into academic intellectual discourses and publications (cf. Bamgbose 1998, Bolton 2005). Besides descriptions of features, especially phonological and lexical features, of these varieties, these phrases above were motivated by attitudes towards, and social conceptions of, English outside its historical native countries. Quirk’s (1990: 10) remark about the pluralism of English standards summarises this: “Certainly, if I were a foreign student paying good money in Tokyo or Madrid to be taught English, I would feel cheated by such a tolerant pluralism.” This pluralism, Bolton (2005) notes, is the core of the World Englishes paradigm. Figure 1.2 represents this pluralism and the recognition of regional standards for each variety.

Today, attention has moved to internal linguistic descriptions of Englishes and the possibilities of grouping them together according to patterns of their emergence and evolution. Major lines of investigation looked at include indigenisation, acquisition and functional appropriation, as these Englishes are grouped into such historically-determined categories as postcolonial, post-protectorate Englishes

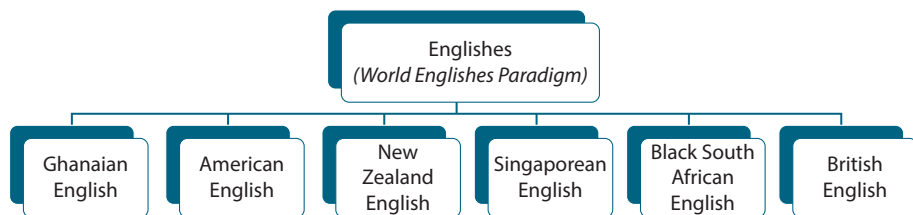


Figure 1.2 The World Englishes paradigm

(Mufwene 2001; Schneider 2007; Meierkord et al. 2016). In recent publications, the horizontal perspective of the world Englishes paradigm is increasingly moving the field away from the strict area or historical dimensions of postcolonialism into linguistics as a whole (see Low and Pakir 2018). The strength of this, I emphasise in line with the analysis in this book, is that there are important geographical and historical distinctions that define the linguistic contexts in which language takes shape in postcolonial societies, and while the particular instantiations may differ in given locations, the underlying postcolonial triggers remain similar.

The perspective of varieties of English I adopt in this book is aligned with the World Englishes paradigm. Using its horizontal categorisation (cf. Figure 1.2), I treat the two postcolonial or indigenised varieties of English described here, i.e. Ghanaian English and Cameroon English, as norm-setting standard varieties for their speakers. I, therefore, do not compare them to a so-called reference variety. Without necessarily describing the individual discerning features of these varieties, the analysis, where need arises, makes allusion to such features and the status of each of these varieties in the countries in which they are used.

1.6.3 Theory of communicative acts

The third framework adopted in this book is founded on Searle's (1969) speech act theory but follows Trosborg's (1995) theory of communicative acts, which she defines thus:

A theory of communicative acts should be able to account for the speaker's intentions and tacit assumptions on which a particular communicative act is based, just as it should describe the linguistic realisations of these intentions. If we accept that language users perform communicative acts not only to be understood, but also hope to achieve an intended outcome of the acts they are performing, this must be accounted for within the theory. (Trosborg 1995: 21)

Since overall postcolonial pragmatics seeks to explain speakers' tacit assumptions as embedded in their societal experiences, the theory of communicative acts is a natural companion for this study. I have, however, re-adapted and expanded certain aspects of it to suit the specificities of postcolonial societies. A communicative act, therefore, includes not only the syntactic unit that realises a particular head act but also other units within the same speaker's turn (which could be complete utterances, phrases or simply address forms – internal modification), as well as other units that are not part of the head act turn but that are other speakers' turns (which could be complete adjacency pairs or single turns – external modification). Here, therefore, my concept of the communicative act refers to the entire range of exchanges or adjacency pairs that contribute to realising a specific communicative intent, for instance, an offer and/or offer refusal as in (2), (3) above and (6) below. These would include preparatory and supportive speech acts, which precede and follow the head act respectively (6). Sommer and Vierke (2011), Kießling et al. (2011), etc. prefer the term speech events.

This expanded version of the communicative act is the most appropriate method of describing the interactions in the data since the Searlean notion of the speech act is limited to sentence-based units. But because the act of offering is realised in these interactions in more than one Searlean speech act and also often in more than one syntactic unit or adjacency exchange, a typical Searlean speech act analysis would be limited. A typical communicative act consists of a head act, preparatory acts and supportive acts (6). The role of the latter two – which are not always obligatory – is to either mitigate or aggravate the communicative intent of the head act either internally, i.e. internal modification or externally, i.e. external modification.

For Trosborg (1995), Barron (2003), Schneider (2003), etc. internal modification refers to mitigation or aggravation within the head act utterance itself. Modification functions through modality markers (House and Kasper 1981: 166) which could either be downgraders or upgraders. External modification, which could include what Trosborg (1995) calls preparatory and supportive acts, are generally realised in the same speaker turn, for instance, in the form of grounders (Barron 2003: 141).

In my analysis, I have re-focused the notion of internal and external modification. Here, internal modification refers to all units or moves within the head act turn. These would include Trosborg's (1995) internal and external modifications. Here, my focus is not only on the minimal unit which realises a given speech act (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b: 275) but also on the entire turn of the speaker which in some cases could comprise several utterances. The coding in (5) below reflects the redefinition of internal modification of the head act adopted in the analysis of

offer head acts and offer refusal head acts in the data. The conversation is between a senior and a junior colleague in a bar.

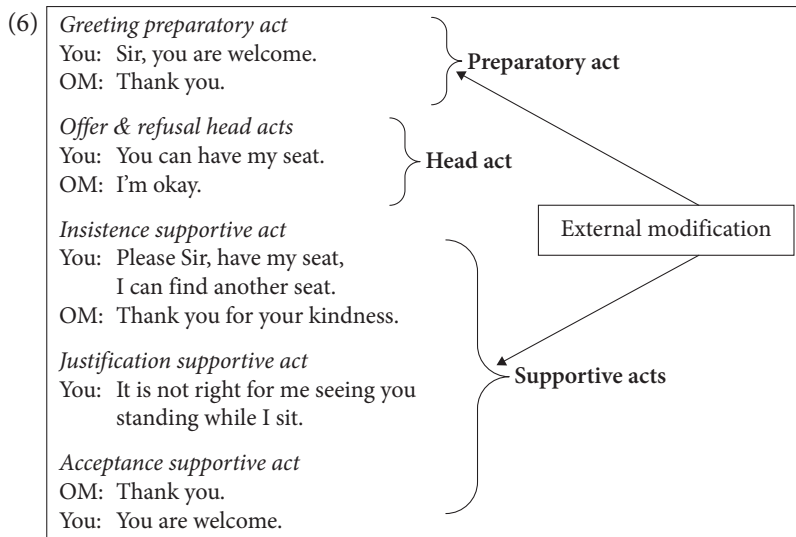
- (5) Senior C: Take something to drink [*offer*] + my dear [*address form*].
 Junior C: Oh [*interjection*] + I'm sorry [*apology*]. + I would have loved to
 but [*conditional*] + I'm late for lectures [*reason*]. (CaF26)

The address form in the first turn above is an internal modification of the offer unit, while in the second speaker's turn the offer refusal unit is internally-modified by an interjection, an apology and a reason. In previous coding systems, these latter modifications are treated as external modification. But in this study, while internal modification is realised in the head act turn, external modification is realised in other adjacency exchanges in the form of preparatory and supportive acts (6).

For the type of data described in this study, external modification refers to all co-textual adjacency pair utterances that come before and/or after the head act. It is not realised within the speaker's head act turn – that would be internal modification – but involves all preparatory and supportive adjacency pairs that upgrade, downgrade, mitigate, foreground, etc. the head act's illocutionary intent. Barron (2003: 132ff.), following Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981), terms these supportive acts, i.e. those that come after the head act exchange sequence – what she calls *Initiate* – as *Contra* and *Satisfy*. Here, I adopt a terminology based on the illocutionary functions of each of these pre- and post-offer head act utterances and/or adjacency pairs.

As the analyses in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 show, several preparatory acts were used to prepare the ground for the offer head act. These include greeting, familiarisation, grounder and introduction preparatory acts. As far as supportive acts are concerned, even more were used, since interlocutors tried to upgrade their offers or back up their refusals. Supportive acts used include insistence, justification, explication, deferral, solidarity, refusal acceptance (similar to Edmondson's (1981), etc. *Satisfy* move), promise (of acceptance), postponement, alternative offer, and closing. Example (6) is a typical communicative act consisting of a head act and its preparatory and supportive acts. In the dialogue,¹⁰ an old man (OM) is offered a seat in church by a younger person (You) (cf. Chapter 4).

10. This dialogue is constructed by the female Ghanaian respondent GaF2, aged 26–34. Her indigenous language, also her L1, is Krobo, and she uses it very often. She lives in Accra and holds an Advanced Level certificate, i.e. university qualifying certificate.



In the data analysed here, almost all offers or offer refusals were externally modified through other utterances or exchange sequences which served to ground the offer or refusal, to create a common ground or familiarisation between the offerer and offeree, to explain why an offer is being refused, to oblige the offeree to respect social norms by accepting the offer, and so forth. The elaborate structure of communicative acts (as in Example 6) makes it possible for the extensive social decorum and respect system of Cameroonian and Ghanaian (and by extension most African) cultures – often reflected in social interactions – to be appropriately accounted for in the analysis of offers and offer refusals in the later chapters.

1.7 The data: Ghana and Cameroon

Although naturalistic data could have been most ideal for a study like this, getting such is always difficult. In order to fulfil the empirical demands of postcolonial pragmatics, I, therefore, settled on two main sources of data for this study: a free discourse completion task (DCT) questionnaire and individual and group interviews (Appendix 1). While they may not always be natural, they at least offer solid glimpses into people's choices in interaction. The DCT questionnaire was administered to 100 respondents in each country: 50 males and 50 females (Table 1.1). 20 interviews each were conducted in the two countries: 10 of them with individuals and 10 with groups ranging from two to five interviewees.

The DCT questionnaire consisted of three parts: personal information, the DCT section and an opinion section. In the DCT section, respondents were presented

three offer situations and were asked to construct possible dialogues. The situations were described thus:

- Situation 1. Offering a drink: A senior colleague offers you a drink in a bar. You cannot stay any longer to drink.
- Situation 2. Offering a seat: An old man enters the church and you decide to offer him your seat but he prefers to stand.
- Situation 3. Offering food: You are on the bus to another city and the person sitting next to you, who is in the same age range as you, offers you some of his/her food. You don't trust the person.

The DCT questionnaire is used to elicit the linguistic realisation of the offer-refusal communicative act in these two societies. The dialogues were analysed for the structure of a typical communicative act, its constitutive parts, the structure and composition of offer and offer refusal utterances and the types of modifications used. Traces of the impact and instantiations of gender, religion, age, professional and social status in the linguistic realisation of offers and offer refusals were also sought for in these questionnaires. Table 1.2 captures the distribution of respondents according to country and gender, which were the major variables used in quantification in the study.

Table 1.2 DCT questionnaire respondents according to country, age and gender

Country	Age range	Females		Males	
		No.	%	No.	%
Ghana 100	17–25 years	36	72%	28	56%
	26–34	4	8%	11	22%
	35–45	5	10%	7	14%
	46+	5	10%	4	8%
Total		50	100%	50	100%
Cameroon 100	17–25 years	38	76%	36	72%
	26–34	5	10%	5	10%
	35–45	3	6%	4	8%
	46+	4	8%	5	10%
Total		50	100%	50	100%

More than half of the respondents were in the age range 17–25 years. The 46+ age group were difficult to find and although many questionnaires were distributed to them, only a few were returned. This disequilibrium does not affect the results of the study because the phenomena analysed were produced by both the younger and the older respondents in both countries.

The interviews used open-ended questions and were intended to serve as qualitative evidence of speakers' communicative choices, the norms of their societies and their linguistic behaviour in offer situations under particular conditions, such as, choice of language, ethnic origin of interlocutor, impact of social factors like religion, age, status and gender. The lead questions used were:

1. Did you find yourself refusing an offer from someone?
 - What exactly was the offer?
 - Why did you refuse it?
2. Do you remember offering someone something, e.g. a drink, food, your seat, and s/he refused?
 - Why do you think they refused? What reason did they give?
 - Were you disappointed by the refusal?
 - Would you do the same offer again to the same or similar person?
3. Would your acceptance or refusal of an offer be determined by the ethnic group from which the person offering comes?
4. If you found yourself in a town far away from yours and someone you don't know offers something to you in your indigenous language. Would you readily accept the offer?

Though the interview data are not extensively quoted in the three analysis chapters (3, 4, 5), they indeed partially inform some of the detailed understanding of the social norms of these societies and the postcolonial pragmatic components that speakers invoked in their dialogues. Chapter 6, however, makes adequate use of excerpts from some of these interviews.

1.8 Outline of chapters

This book is divided into seven chapters which include the introduction and the conclusion. Chapter 2 develops a theoretical basis for the analysis by identifying the premises, analytical components and procedures of postcolonial pragmatics. Above all, it situates and illustrates the salience of postcolonial pragmatic components like history, age, ethnicity, kinship, gender, linguistic background, religion, identity, social class or status, and collectivist cultural norms and expectations in the analysis and understanding of discourses and social interaction in postcolonial societies.

The analysis of the offer-refusal sequences is carried out in three chapters (3, 4 and 5) using data collected through the DCT questionnaire. Each of these three chapters factors in a societal variable or component and traces its potential impact on the realisation of offers or offer refusals. The chapters follow a similar analytical

procedure consisting of three levels: (1) establishing the vertical structure of the offer-refusal communicative act, i.e. identifying the head act, the preparatory and supportive acts and illustrating how these three are combined in the structure of the act; (2) describing the strategies used in framing the offer and offer refusal head act utterances, e.g. preference, imperative, declarative and execution strategies for offer utterances and impediment, direct refusal, preference, inability, return offer and postponement strategies for offer refusal utterances; and (3) explicating the postcolonial pragmatic components speakers make use of to upgrade or mitigate their illocutionary intents in offers or refusals, e.g. the prevalence of age, social status, religion, gender and collectivist cultural norms.

Chapter 3 is based on offer situation 1, and establishes the impact of professional status on offers and offer refusals. Here, apart from following the analytical procedure outlined above, focus is also on how speaker statuses and societal norms and expectations work to accord specific non-negotiable roles to interlocutors during interaction. From a similar perspective, Chapter 4, based on offer situation 2, examines the pervasiveness of the natural variable of age in the realisation of an offer of a seat in church. Here, the age difference between the offerer and the offeree accords the older interlocutor more power which he uses to strategically turn down the offer. Here a natural parent-child kinship relationship is built as the interaction is relocated to the family domain. Chapter 5, based on offer situation 3, investigates whether some of the strategies in the previous two chapters are also used in interactions between peers. While such strategies seem to be used, they are, however, realised differently; social norms and expectations are applied more loosely between peers than in the other asymmetrical offer situations.

To corroborate speakers' choices of strategies in the offer situations, Chapter 6 explores the place of hybrid postcolonial social structures in social and linguistic behaviour. Using interview excerpts, it scrutinises speakers' adaptive strategies in their multilingual, multiethnic and heteroglossic societies. In other words, it studies the impacts of language identities, ethnic in-group relationships, social roles and collectivistic expectations and religious belonging in interlocutors' linguistic and extra-linguistic behaviour. For instance, could an offer refusal be motivated by the offerer's religion, ethnic background, choice of language, etc?

The conclusion, Chapter 7, revisits the main findings in the light of future research on postcolonial multilingual societies using emic approaches like postcolonial pragmatics. It issues a call for more illustrative empirical investigations like the present one that enhance theory formation based on postcolonial data specimens.

Postcolonial pragmatics

A theoretical framework for postcolonial multilingual societies

The aim of this chapter is to outline the premises and analytical procedures of postcolonial pragmatics as the theoretical framework used in analysing the data collected for this study. As a new field, not much has been written on it yet. However, to make the analysis accessible I have expounded on the main defining assumptions and the central analytical components of postcolonial pragmatics. At least at this stage of theory formation, I foreground the part played by (colonial) history, ethnicity, age, gender, cultural norms, social status and collectivist cultures in shaping social interactional strategies in postcolonial societies.

In the field of pragmatics, several frameworks and theories have emerged in the past 50 years and have been applied to different contexts, datasets and discourses. The abundance of frameworks and theories is evidence of the prolific and dynamic nature of human communication and the vivid interest linguists have in describing and accounting for it. Some of these theories have also been used in other subfields of linguistics as well as in neighbouring disciplines like psychology, sociology, anthropology, media studies, communication studies, literary studies and cultural studies. Other disciplines have also contributed to theories in pragmatics. A number of pragmatic frameworks build on processes in linguistic-pragmatics and other disciplines or subfields of linguistics, for example, historical pragmatics (history), intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics (sociology and cultural studies), cyber pragmatics (computer-mediated-communication), contrastive pragmatics (contrastive linguistics), interlanguage pragmatics (second language acquisition), variational pragmatics (dialectology and variational sociolinguistics), Creole pragmatics (creolistics) and postcolonial pragmatics (postcolonial linguistics).

The question one may ask is: why these diverse theoretical perspectives? A possible answer lies in the underlying differences in social and cultural systems across the world. Besides, the reliance on neighbouring disciplines expands the spectrum for investigating and explicating phenomena that had for long been interpreted predominantly through monolingual, monocultural and universalist Western frameworks and datasets. The huge literature on Eastern pragmatics and the emerging literature on African pragmatics (especially on politeness and face)

make the need to integrate local or emic perspectives in the analysis of interactions and discourses an urgency.¹¹ The emerging field of postcolonial pragmatics seeks to fill a theoretical gap in the study of societies that were affected linguistically, culturally, socially, politically, etc., by colonial incursions. Postcolonial pragmatics is chosen here because it explains several facets of these societies that cannot be adequately explained using other new or mainstream Western pragmatic theories and frameworks.

Before verifying the suitability to postcolonial societies of some of the pragmatic frameworks listed above, it is not out of place to first of all briefly describe the major lines of analysis adopted in pragmatics this far. Direct focus here is on the impact of Western notions, theories and data samples on the field of pragmatics.

2.1 Western pragmatics in non-Western pragmatic phenomena

For a long time, the field of pragmatics was dominated by a single school of thought informed by Western societies and their monolingual and monocultural structures. These structures provided data samples for the supposedly universal theories of pragmatics. The seminal work of Katz (1977) and Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) follow this tradition. Levinson (1983) and Huang (2007) refer to this school as the Anglo-American School, which according to Huang (2007: 4) considers pragmatics as “the systematic study of meaning by virtue of, or dependent on, language use.” Here, attention is on pragmatic phenomena like implicature, presupposition, deixis and speech acts. This school considers pragmatics a core subfield of linguistics in the same strength as syntax, semantics, morphology, phonetics and phonology. Such an autonomous linguistic perspective makes it possible for micro-pragmatic features like diminutives, connectives, discourse anaphora, echo utterances, interjections, discourse makers and all speech acts to be investigated at utterance level.¹² Meta-pragmatic investigations rooted in formal logic and philosophy thrived significantly within this school. As stated above, this meta-pragmatic perspective was also based on monolingual and monocultural Anglo-American social structures.

Emerging alongside the Anglo-American school, but only blossoming later is the inter-disciplinary pragmatic approach which combines methods in other disciplines (especially the social sciences) with pragmatics. Levinson (1983: 2), Huang (2007: 4) and Jucker (2008) call this school the European Continental School. This

11. For Eastern pragmatics, see the works of Ide (1989, 1992), Matsumoto (1988), Gu (1990), Mao (1994) etc. and for Africa, see Nwoye (1992), de Kadt (1994, 1998), Kasanga (2003, 2006, 2011), Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu (2007), Anchimbe (2011a, b), etc.

12. For more on micro-pragmatic features, see Asher (1994).

school envisions pragmatics as a broad subfield of linguistics that incorporates processes and frameworks from other linguistic subfields like sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, contact linguistics, conversational and discourse analysis as well as other social science disciplines especially sociology, anthropology and philosophy. The foundations of this school were laid in the 1960s and 1970s not by linguists as such but by philosophers like John L. Austin (1962) in his book *How to Do Things with Words*, John R. Searle (1969, 1975, 1976) and Paul H. Grice (1968, 1975). Its earliest assumptions about pragmatics as part of other social processes of meaning can be found in the volume of the *Journal of Pragmatics* edited by Wunderlich (1977) as well as in earlier volumes of the same journal.¹³

This non-autonomous linguistic perspective on pragmatics situates pragmatic investigation in a broader spectrum of analysis of meaning since, as Verschueren (1999: 7) explains, pragmatics “constitutes a general functional (i.e. cognitive, social and cultural) perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in the form of behaviour.” More specifically, this school treats pragmatics as “the study of the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of the society” (Mey 2001: 6) and as “the study of meaning in relation to speech situations [...especially] utterance meaning” (Leech 1983: 6). It, therefore, includes issues of individual and group identities, politeness and impoliteness, societal structures, cognitive states, language learning, etc. treating them as relative to specific societies, languages and speech situations and not always as universal givens in all cultures and societies.

These dominant, mostly Western, schools of pragmatics pay only little attention to societies whose social structures differ fundamentally from the Western, i.e. both the Anglo-American and the Continental European. The latter, however, remains true to the career of pragmatics outlined by Morris (1938: 30) in the 20th Century as

the science of the relation of signs to their interpreters [...] Since most, if not all, signs have as their interpreters living organisms, it is a sufficiently accurate characterisation of pragmatics to say that it deals with biotic aspects of semiosis, that is, with all the psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena which occur in the functioning of signs.

However, the bulk of Eastern (e.g. Asia, South East Asia, Pacific Islands) and Southern (e.g. Africa, South America, Caribbean) cultures and languages do not seem to fit into these schools of thought, although they have often been used to analyse data from these areas. The recent literature on Eastern (Asian) pragmatics extensively illustrates the specificity of these collectivist cultural contexts and the

13. Levinson (1983: 1–45) offers a succinct overview of the beginnings of pragmatics up till the 1980s, while Huang (2007: 1–9) adds a more contemporary account of the evolution of the field.

inadequacy of Western pragmatic approaches in investigating and accounting for them. For instance, certain pragmatic phenomena supposedly considered to be universal in the Anglo-American perspective lack direct equivalents in these cultures. The nearest possible equivalent for politeness in Japan is the Japanese notion of *wakimae* (discernment), which according to Ide (1989: 230) is

the practice of polite behaviour according to social conventions ... To behave according to *wakimae* is to show verbally and non-verbally one's sense of place or role in a given situation according to social conventions. In a stable society, an individual is expected to behave according to the status and the role of various levels ascribed to or acquired by that individual.

Similarly, for Chinese, Gu (1990: 238) introduces the Chinese word *limào* which "morphologically means 'polite appearance'" as the equivalent for Western politeness. This concept, just like *wakimae*, views polite behaviour as indexical of vertical relations in communication. So, the thrust of the Eastern pragmatic enterprise lies in the vertical structures of social relationships, the collectivist nature of societies, how individuals fit into it, and how social interaction replicates these structures and relationships. Specific applications of Eastern approaches to face, politeness, deference and respect can be found in Matsumoto (1988), Ide (1989, 1992) on Japan and Gu (1990), Mao (1994) on China.

African contexts have only recently been studied within pragmatics. They too have a similar fate like the Eastern contexts in that Western approaches have often been applied to processes based in their collectivist multiethnic and multilingual societies. As mentioned above, this has led to a misrepresentation of the social structures of, and linguistic behaviour in, these societies through the *forceful* interpretation of their social interactional processes using foreign (Western) frameworks. Most of the initial works on Africa, though signalling the insufficiency of Western theories, still made use of them since no consistent framework existed. Nwoye (1992) and de Kadt (1994, 1998) have, in this regard, proposed more suitable concepts for the Western notions of face and politeness, i.e. *ezigbo omume* (good behaviour) among the Igbo in Nigeria and *hlonipha* and *Ubuntu* among the Zulu in South Africa.

Postcolonial pragmatics complements the earlier endeavours of Nwoye (1992), de Kadt (1998), etc. in the search for a consistent framework for analysing social interaction in multilingual postcolonial societies. By placing colonial history and heritages at its core, postcolonial pragmatics seeks to account for contemporary instantiations of pragmatic phenomena in postcolonial contexts taking into account the hybridism they have undergone since colonialism. Like Eastern pragmatics studies, it adopts an emancipatory stance which accords previously silenced voices

a space within pragmatics. Emancipatory pragmatics, Hanks et al. (2009a: 1–2) proclaim, has been long due in rescuing pragmatics from

views of language derived from Euro-American languages and ways of speaking... While these research traditions have enriched the field of pragmatics, they also have tended to rely uncritically on the common sense of speakers of modern Western languages, with the attendant premises of individualism, rationality, and market economy. That is, while they are presented as general models of rational language use, they in fact rely heavily on the native common sense of their authors and practitioners. To move beyond this, we need to return to the token level and actual speech practices in multiple languages. Not only do we need more comparative work on a wider range of languages, but also we need descriptive frameworks and research programs that give closer attention to other ways of speaking and other ways of describing speech. (Hanks et al. 2009a: 1–2)

In the following sections, I review some *new* pragmatic frameworks, establishing at what level they are apt in studying patterns of social interaction in postcolonial contexts. Not that postcolonial pragmatics stands exclusively on its own, but that there are a number of other pragmatic approaches whose overall aim is similar to or corroborates that of postcolonial pragmatics. Some of these corroboratory frameworks include historical pragmatics, intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics and variational pragmatics. While they all adopt an empirical dimension to data analysis, postcolonial pragmatics additionally targets communities with peculiar (colonial) historical trajectories and unique multilingual structures.

2.1.1 Interlanguage pragmatics

Selinker (1972) introduced the concept of interlanguage to capture a stage in the second or foreign language learner's performance in a new language. This stage generally bears traces of the learner's first or native language and the new language. Ellis (1985: 42) describes interlanguage as "the systematic knowledge of language which is independent of both the learner's L1 and the L2 system he is trying to learn." Interlanguage, therefore, is only a stage in the language learning process because as the learner acquires more competence in the target language, interlanguage features tend to disappear. The notion of interlanguage applied in interlanguage pragmatics is similar to Selinker's (1972) initial definition and Ellis's (1985) later refinement of the concept. Hence, interlanguage pragmatics deals with second or foreign language acquisition involving bilingual speakers in mainly immigrant situations. So, for Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993: 3), interlanguage pragmatics is "the study of nonnative speakers' use and acquisition of linguistic

action patterns in a second language (L2).” It is situated at the interface of second language acquisition and pragmatics.

As Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993: 1) say in the opening line of their book on interlanguage pragmatics, “Interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) is a second-generation hybrid.” This statement places (im)migration and hybridism at the core of ILP analysis. The main procedure has been contrastive, i.e. of non-native speakers’ and native speakers’ speech in various languages, for instance, English and Greek (Tannen 1981), English and German (House and Kasper 1981) Hebrew and English (Blum-Kulka 1983), etc. Later investigations have moved the analysis into classroom contexts and study abroad programmes (see Trosborg 1995, Barron 2003) where there is no immigration.

Trosborg’s (1995) exemplary book on requests, complaints and apologies in interlanguage pragmatics follows the second language acquisition scheme but extends it further by proposing an interactional framework of illocutionary acts – a framework which, through its notions of preparatory and supportive speech moves, is also suitable for analysing speech events or communicative acts in postcolonial societies since these societies are often typified by narratives, extensive decorum systems of respect, thanking, etc. Anchimbe (2013a) applies an expanded version of the framework to the communicative act of thanking in political discourse in Cameroon.

Whereas interlanguage pragmatics has been a salient addition to the interlanguage linguistic enterprise (cf. e.g. interlanguage phonology, syntax, semantics or morphology) applying it to certain contexts of social interaction is difficult, even when the learning or acquisition of a new language is involved. A peculiar aspect of most postcolonial multilingual societies is that two or more languages may be acquired or learned at the same time, especially in childhood, without any clear distinction as to which is native and which is not. Even when a second language is learned in adulthood, this is often orally and not through formal instruction, thereby limiting the use of formal language in informal settings or vice versa or written style in oral situations or vice versa as it is often the case in the formal language learning cases studied under interlanguage pragmatics.

Applying this framework to postcolonial contexts may, therefore, pose difficulties in explicating divergent forms as well as hybrid interaction strategies which borrow from the pragmatic repertoires of the co-existing languages acquired in childhood. Often these hybrid patterns are not interferences but rather full-fledged systems known to competent members of the community who use them on a daily basis.

2.1.2 Intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics

From the work of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989a), the Cross-cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP), Wierzbicka (1991), Sifianou (1992), Kecskes (2004, see also the journal *Intercultural Pragmatics*), etc., the references ‘intercultural pragmatics’ and ‘cross-cultural pragmatics’ have often been used interchangeably. Taking up the cue from contrastive pragmatics (see Pütz and Aertselaer 2008), the overall initial aim of cross-cultural pragmatics, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989c: 1) explain, was to integrate variations across cultures, i.e. “their interactional styles leading to different preferences for modes of speech act behaviour”, into pragmatic investigations of speech acts, since as they further claim, speech acts are “one of the most compelling notions in the study of language use” Blum-Kulka et al. (1989c: 1). In a bid to assess cross-cultural variation in interaction, cross-cultural pragmatics investigates “the similarities and differences in the realisation patterns of given speech acts across languages, relative to the same social constraints” (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989c: 12).

From a similar point of view, Wierzbicka (1991: 69) in describing the relevance of cross-cultural pragmatics, points out that, “Different ways of speaking, different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of, in terms of independently established cultural values and cultural priorities.” These two positions open cross-cultural pragmatics to almost all types of societal constellations, including postcolonial communities. However, special attention has to be granted to hybrid patterns that no longer belong, strictly speaking, to one of the cultures in contact or co-existence in these postcolonial contexts. The two positions are probably at the base of the recently reinvigorated field of ethnopr pragmatics which, according to Goddard (2006: 2), works from “the premise that speech practices are best understood from a culture-internal perspective” supported by the existence of a universal natural semantic metalanguage (see Wierzbicka 1996).

Recent investigations that use the term intercultural pragmatics (e.g. Kecskes 2004, Mey 2004) seem to prioritise globalisation and immigration rather than differences in cultures as in earlier studies (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989a, c and Wierzbicka 1991) that preferred the term cross-cultural pragmatics.

The advent of globalisation and with it quicker mobility of people and assets and the shrinking of national and regional frontiers triggered new perspectives in most social science disciplines. Linguists have been interested in the growing multilingualism of previously predominantly monolingual metropolises through (labour) migrations and immigrations. The terms *intercultural*, *cross-cultural* and *trans-cultural* have become central in describing the various mixes of cultures, peoples, languages and lifestyles in spaces (e.g. cities, countries, regions and even continents) that have become technological, academic, political, military and economic hubs. Within pragmatic research, the term *intercultural pragmatics* has since

then been used to encapsulate globalisation-related and immigration-related social changes within certain societies. *Intercultural pragmatics*, as Istvan Kecskes explains below in his introduction to the inaugural volume of the journal *Intercultural Pragmatics*, was founded to attend to these new developments in the new era of globalisation.

The journal “Intercultural Pragmatics” has been founded to address the challenges of a new era. We live in an age of globalisation that is characterised by rapid changes in every field of life. This is resulting in a revision of theories and ideas in several branches of the humanities and science, including pragmatics. The existing paradigms cannot always accommodate new research. This is especially true for pragmatics, which is considered a perspective on language and communication rather than the study of a particular aspect of language. (Kecskes 2004: 1)

Apparently, if globalisation had not happened, there would have been no need to study interculturality or multiculturalism. What the excerpt above also suggests is that the object of study in intercultural pragmatics is mainly Western metropolises and the aim is “bringing a multilingual angle into the overwhelmingly monolingual research paradigms, and directing special attention to the dynamic nature of meaning and culture” (Kecskes 2004: 2), since as Kecskes (2004: 18) further contends,

We do not live in a world in which a person normally has one language and belongs to one culture. Speaking more than one language and crossing cultures is an essential part of our life. Technology and people’s global mobility bring together representatives of cultures from all over the world.

Here again, cultural contact or intercultural co-existence is construed exclusively from the migratory perspective. For Mey (2004: 27), this pragmatic approach is concerned with, “How not to lose your soul when your body is crossing boundaries [...given the] current, massive displacement of populations world-wide, with the accompanying problems of adjustment, physically, economically, culturally, as well as psychologically.” These positions exclude communities that are built on multicultural and multilingual structures, for instance, postcolonial communities which are made up of various cultural and ethnic groups forced into nation-states at the end of colonialism. With technology and mobility, people have a choice but with postcolonial communities, there is often no choice as to which culture and language to belong to within the nation-state.

In spite of these shortcomings, cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics tackles similar phenomena as postcolonial pragmatics. The major difference is that postcolonial pragmatics limits its analysis to societies affected by colonialism, imposed power structures, unequal empowerment and stratification of languages, patterns of social strata and issues of identity multiplicity and how these impact on communication.

2.1.3 Historical pragmatics

Historical pragmatics is a relatively new field which interestingly has spread very rapidly; see, for instance, the number of edited volumes, e.g. Jucker (1995), *The Handbook of Historical Pragmatics* (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2010), and the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*. Simply put, Jucker (2006: 329) defines it as being at the “intersection of historical linguistics and pragmatics.” Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 6) offer a more encompassing definition of historical pragmatics as the study of “changes in the linguistic structure resulting from altered communicative needs which are due to changes in the social structure...or...changes in traditions of language use resulting from changes in the situational context.” They distinguish two approaches to historical pragmatics: (1) *pragmaphilology*: the study of pragmatic phenomena in a language at a given period in time, e.g. Old English polite requests, and (2) *diachronic pragmatics*: change in pragmatic strategies in a language across time.

From a broader perspective, historical pragmatics follows the European Continental tradition described above. It covers three main areas: the use of language in the past, the development of language use, and lastly the principles guiding the development of language use. The principal objective of the field, Jucker (2008: 895) says is to “understand the patterns of intentional human interaction (as determined by the conditions of society) of earlier periods, the historical developments of these patterns, and the general principles underlying such developments.” While this is an interesting endeavour, the question of the unavailability of oral or spoken data for pragmatic analysis has often been raised. Though this, somehow, limits the extent of certain analysis that prioritise spontaneous natural speech, the analysis of historical documents that report verbatim speech, e.g. court minutes, fills this oral data gap (see Jucker 2006).

Postcolonial pragmatics obviously shares the historical background projected in historical pragmatics. A potential obstacle to a thorough historical pragmatic investigation of postcolonial contexts is the dearth of consistent and complete written logs or accounts of events in the colonial history and immediate postcolonial era of these contexts. This notwithstanding, a number of interesting written sources exists in colonial archives on which a historical postcolonial pragmatics analysis could be carried out, e.g. colonial official and personal letters.¹⁴

14. This is an ongoing domain of research in which I investigate patterns of power enactment, identity construction and indigenous administrative vs. colonial government structures in colonial British Southern Cameroons through letters exchanged between the local administration in Buea and the colonial offices in Enugu, Nigeria and London.

2.1.4 Variational pragmatics

Of the four pragmatics approaches reviewed here, variational pragmatics is certainly the closest in aims, objects of investigation and analytical procedures to postcolonial pragmatics. Having emerged in the early 2000s, through the relentless efforts of Anne Barron and Klaus P. Schneider, the field of variational pragmatics, just like historical pragmatics, has enjoyed a considerable degree of success. For Schneider and Barron (2008b: 1) variational pragmatics is “a twin discipline of historical pragmatics...conceptualised as the interface of pragmatics and variational linguistics, i.e. with modern dialectology, as a branch of contemporary sociolinguistics” (cf. also Schneider 2010). Its main focus is on intra-lingual pragmatic variation across geographical boundaries (i.e. regional variation) and social groups (i.e. social variation) in varieties of the same language and also in pluricentric languages. Since it relies on sociolinguistic methods for both data collection and analysis, all sociolinguistic variables are essential, including especially age, gender, region, dialect and social class, and how these influence communicative practices.

Several studies within the variational pragmatics tradition have investigated various pragmatic phenomena especially speech acts, across geographical regions in varieties of the same language, e.g. offers and requests in Irish and British English (Barron 2005; 2008), gratitude in Britain and New Zealand (Jautz 2008), apologies in French French and Canadian French (Schölmberger 2008), admiration in Québec French and Cameroon French (Mulo Farenkia 2012b), responding to thanks in Ireland, England and the USA (Schneider 2005), and requesting in Mexican, Costa Rican and Dominican Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer 2009). The concentration on modern dialectology in variational pragmatics has recently expanded into other paradigms like World Englishes, for example, Barron (2008) on Inner circle Englishes, Mühleisen (2011a) on Caribbean English-lexified creoles, and Ouafeu (2006) on Cameroon English, and postcolonial and pluricentric languages, for instance, Mulo Farenkia (2014a) on Cameroon French and Canadian French, etc. The field of pragmatics, which for a long time was neglected in the study of varieties of English around the world, is gradually being represented in the literature.

In order to further represent not only varieties of English but also varieties of other pluricentric languages, postcolonial pragmatics positions itself side-by-side with variational pragmatics. It factors in all aspects and variables of sociolinguistic variation in societies that witnessed colonialism in order to properly explicate individual and group choices in language use. Unlike variational pragmatics, however, postcolonial pragmatics builds strongly on (colonial) history, i.e. the specific trajectories of colonial contact, the complete array of human and non-human elements involved, the cultural, linguistic, social and political dispensations of the groups that came into contact and the political and linguistic nature in which colonialism

ended (since it set the tone for postcolonial life). This strongly evolutionary focus on society gives postcolonial pragmatics the analytic space to seek for answers to linguistic issues in the sociopolitical and ethnic domains of these new nation-states.

Again, whereas variational pragmatics adopts a comparative-contrastive approach, postcolonial pragmatics deals with all instantiations of language use in social interaction in these communities without necessarily comparing or contrasting them to others. The general objective is to illustrate how communicative acts (or speech acts) and other pragmatic practices work in postcolonial contexts with an underlying attention being paid to patterns of hybridisation of the different systems that came into contact. Hence, varieties of ex-colonial languages (see e.g. Anchimbe (2008) on kinship politeness in Cameroon English), pidgin and creole languages (e.g. Echu (2008) on address terms in Cameroon Pidgin English, Mühleisen (2011b) on address forms in Caribbean creoles), indigenous languages (e.g. de Kadt (1992) on requests as speech acts in Zulu), bilingual mixed languages, and all forms of social codes become objects of investigation for postcolonial pragmatics. The next section goes deeper into the functioning of this framework, laying the foundation for the analysis of the data collected for this project in the subsequent chapters.

2.2 Towards a postcolonial pragmatics

Due to the specificity of postcolonial societies and the inadequacy of existing (Western) pragmatics frameworks to investigate them, the need for a postcolonial pragmatics framework for postcolonial spaces is enormous. For this reason, Janney (2006, 2009a, b) and Anchimbe and Janney (2011a, b, 2017) have sketched out the preliminary premises and functioning of postcolonial pragmatics as a framework for investigating and accounting for these specificities. Postcolonial pragmatics in its most basic form assumes that “just as colonisation led to new hybrid varieties of the colonial languages of power, it also led to new, culturally and linguistically mixed, patterns of communication – and to new pragmatic strategies – *in* these varieties” (Janney 2006: 3). However, the expanse of postcolonial pragmatic analyses extends far beyond the ex-colonial language to include all forms of linguistic communication involving all types and mixes of languages co-existing in any given postcolonial community, i.e. indigenous or ethnic languages, indigenised varieties of ex-colonial languages (e.g. Nigerian English, Cameroon French, Singapore English), pidgins and creoles (e.g. Sierra Leonean Krio, Tok Pisin, Jamaican Creole), bilingual mixed languages (e.g. Camfranglais, Sheng, Nouchie), as well as other forms of social codes (e.g. youth languages).

Postcolonial pragmatics assumes that, (1) colonialism created sociocultural and political mixes in many areas: Africa, South Asia, Caribbean, etc., (2) pre-colonial

cultures and colonially-introduced cultures (including languages, religions, political administrative systems, formal education, etc.) merged into new hybrid patterns, and (3) the outcomes include, among others, hybrid identities and hybrid languages yielding hybrid communication patterns. How all these aspects function together in these complex multilingual and multicultural spaces is worthy of research from emic perspectives, especially taking into account that most pre-colonial cultures have collectivist structures or are group-based. The following Excerpt (7) from a group interview I conducted in September 2009 with two 35–40 year-old female Cameroonian respondents (coded: CaF-I1, CaF-I2) in Yaounde succinctly portrays the interplay of various factors – most of them the outcome of colonial contact, i.e. colonial linguistic background (anglophone vs. francophones) and religion – in the negotiation of social meaning in interaction, and in this specific case in the acceptance or refusal of an offer.

(7) CaF-I1 & CaF-I2 (both 35–40 years), Yaounde

Q: If you met someone on the bus and the person spoke to you in English, would you move closer to the person or will you still stay far away until you know where exactly that person is from?

CaF-I1: Considering the context in which we are in Cameroon, you know, there is that division, francophone and anglophone, so when we are traveling and you identify your **brother anglophone or your sister anglophone**, you will find yourself relating more to that person. Because you really identify with the person, so, it is very difficult to refuse an offer from such a person because you already know this is **my brother, my sister** from the same zone. So, you will, I think for me, I will not refuse any offer but then considering the fact that **I am a Christian**, so, anything that I receive I pray and I know nothing evil can happen to me. So, I don't have that much fear.

The respondent's decision on where, how, from whom and under what circumstances to accept an offer reflects the macro-linguistic, sociolinguistic and socio-political choices speakers have to make during social interaction. These are also at the centre of postcolonial pragmatic analysis. Anchimbe (2011a: 421) identifies the different postcolonial specificities highlighted by the respondent above thus:

The construction of in-groups and in-group identities, e.g. anglophones and francophones, the reliance on God and religion, cf. "I am a Christian", the recasting of interaction within family or kinship space, e.g. use of the kinship terms *brother* and *sister*, and the description of the 'other' as a potential source of evil, all embodied in the respondent's turn above, reveal the pressures that weigh on postcolonial interactants as they choose one language rather than another, one interlocutor instead of others, and one topic instead of another in their daily communications.

It seems evident from the excerpt above that choices in lingual interaction are guided or influenced by social beliefs, stereotypes, stigmas as well as other societal, religious and cultural pressures and norms. Being an anglophone Cameroonian, and conscious of the colonially-introduced division into anglophones and franco-phones, the respondent (CaF-I1) finds herself bound by this division to accept an offer from an anglophone, whom she refers to as “brother anglophone or ... sister anglophone.” Additionally, religion and the notion of nation-states, which she refers to, were introduced by colonialism. The use of the kinship terms, *brother* and *sister* for fellow anglophones could be traced to indigenous social systems where these terms extend beyond blood relations to include tribal members, cousins, in-laws, half-brothers or half-sisters, etc. These terms signal in-group identity construction around family kinship relationships. The complex instantiation of social communication above can best be explained using a framework that integrates the colonial past and its heritages and indigenous collectivist structures into any synchronic investigations of social interaction patterns in these societies; postcolonial pragmatics attempts to do this.

2.2.1 Some defining premises in postcolonial pragmatics

Postcolonial pragmatics deals with the colonial-intermixture of languages and communicative practices in postcolonial contexts, investigating them from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives while paying particular attention to the different forms, functions and effects of hybridic discourse(s), conceptualisations, identities and societal practices in postcolonial speech contexts. Hybridism in these contexts was and is still facilitated by the underlying structure of these societies before colonialism; multilingualism, multiculturalism and multiethnicity were not introduced by the colonialists but were already part of these societies. So, the new facets brought in by colonialism were easily accepted and integrated since the base structure of the societies was open to new cultures, languages, religions, etc. In the case of the Caribbean, Mühleisen (2011b: 1460) cautions that

the fact that these cultural/linguistic influences are commonly derived from different European, indigenous as well as (forced or voluntary) migrant cultures, traditions [...] also implies that the researcher deals with modes of verbal behaviour which are implicitly or explicitly associated with different levels of power.

Postcolonial pragmatics, therefore, focuses on the lives and experiences of post-colonial users of languages “whose identities, relationships, living conditions, communicative needs, and social perceptions and expectations have been shaped historically by the complex social environments into which they were born” and

attempts thereby “to explain hybridic postcolonial pragmatic practices in terms that are understandable within the societies in which they occur” (Anchimbe and Janney 2011a: 1451).

A major issue in postcolonial pragmatics is the collectivist or group-based constitution of cultures in postcolonial societies. In these societies, an individual is first of all a member of a social, ethnic or linguistic group whose values and esteem they defend above their individual face wants. We could talk of collectivist selves in this case. Hence, praises or insults make a deeper impact on the individual if they are directed at the group to which s/he belongs. The Bamileke and Eton vendors in Example (4), Chapter 1, adopt this strategy in their verbal violence in the open market. The implication for pragmatic analysis is that Western frameworks which prioritise individual wants become inadequate and could misrepresent speakers’ intentions if interpreted from the atomistic perspective of the West. By incorporating these collectivist thrusts, postcolonial pragmatics effectively accounts for these choices by rooting them in the sociocultural behavioural system that informs them.

Beyond the complex structure of postcolonial societies, postcolonial pragmatics also takes into focus the multilingual repertoires, multiple (social and linguistic) identities and in-group belonging of members of these societies, and how these enable them become competent members (both in linguistic behaviour and social interaction) of their societies. The ability to choose the right language, accent, words or linguistic strategies and the appropriate accompanying identity are part of the adaptive choices members make in order to be accepted within different contexts of interaction in the society. As in Example (7) above, the respondent’s acceptance of an offer is determined by who the offerer is and the language s/he uses in making the offer. Just the choice of language could signal belonging to the same group, e.g. English indexes anglophoneness in Cameroon (7).

Based on the above issues, postcolonial pragmatics adopts strictly-speaking neither a comparative nor contrastive procedure, but rather a constitutive one. Its aim is not to “eliminate differences between multilingual non-Western pragmatic practices and monolingual Western ones in search of underlying pragmatic universals; rather, it seeks to focus precisely on these variant features and explain their social and cultural significance” (Anchimbe and Janney 2011a: 1451). This, therefore, entails investigating postcolonial interaction in its own right, on its own terms, free of the conceptual constraints of monolingual, monocultural Western pragmatic analytical frameworks. The scope of postcolonial pragmatics includes all manifestations and instantiations of discourse (spoken, printed, audiovisual, internet, etc.) in which interlocutors’ social and lingual behaviour is influenced by, or explainable by reference to, transfers or mergers of pragmatic assumptions, expectations or strategies from one ethnic, cultural or lingual frame of reference

to another – including, of course, colonially-introduced frames of reference. Anchimbe and Janney (2011a: 1451–1452) list the following as potential discourse manifestations that can be studied from a postcolonial pragmatic perspective:

- influences of indigenous pragmatic practices on European language use and vice-versa
- pragmatic functions of choices of languages, code-switching and code-mixing in both intralingual and interlingual discourse (situated language preferences and strategies)
- discursive constructions of social roles, identities, ethnic alignments and group allegiances (strategies of self-presentation and other-presentation, identity opportunism, social inclusion/exclusion, linguistic victimisation (see Anchimbe 2012))
- all forms of interlingual and interethnic accommodation and non-accommodation
- postcolonial ‘refunctionalisations’ of Western pragmatics speech acts (or communicative acts), discourse markers, contextualisation cues and conversational routines
- influences of indigenous notions of decorum, respect and proper behaviour in face-to-face conversation (floor rights, turn-taking rules, politeness routines, avoidance strategies, etc.)
- individual and group preferences in situated acts of speech, conversational exchanges, discourse patterns, interactional routines, participation frames, interpersonal displays, interpretive inferences, etc.
- shared assumptions, common ground, interactional expectations and conversational inferences in interethnic contexts (interlingual pragmatic reasoning)
- lingual and ethnic participation in, and exclusion from, postcolonial media
- etc.

Like in historical pragmatics and variational pragmatics, any postcolonial pragmatic approach used to investigate these discourse and interactional strategies in postcolonial communities must be solidly rooted in pragmatic empirical descriptive practice, using naturalistic and/or elicited data that reflect people’s choices and preferences. It should also adopt perspectives that prioritise the local, situated, emic and hybridised forms rooted in these societies.

2.2.2 Analytical components relevant to postcolonial pragmatics

Since postcolonial pragmatics relies on naturalistic data, certain postcolonial pragmatic components¹⁵ which grant access to speakers' social and linguistic backgrounds, the social organisation of society and the interlingual and intralingual choices available to speakers need to be described here. The most prominent of these components are history, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, kinship, linguistic background, identity, social class or status and culture (i.e. collectivist cultural laws and expectations). By integrating these components in its analysis of communication and interaction, postcolonial pragmatics sets for itself an agenda drastically different from the Anglo-American pragmatics school which uses "introspective data such as episodic, intuitive or fabricated examples" (Schneider 2010: 252). This agenda makes it possible for many components to be combined in explicating the motivation and structure of an utterance or a communicative act or an entire communicative exchange. In Example (7) above, for instance, at least three postcolonial pragmatic components are needed to clearly understand or interpret the respondent's decision to accept or refuse an offer. These are history (colonialism: anglophone vs. francophone division), religion (cf. reference to Christianity), and language (English vs. French).

A sound knowledge of the social norms, relationships and expectations of these multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic societies is, therefore, important if these components have to be integrated into pragmatic analysis. In order to facilitate the analysis carried out in this study (cf. Sections 3.4, 4.4, 5.4 and Chapter 6), the following postcolonial pragmatic components are discussed in brief with the help of illustrative examples from the DCT questionnaire and interview data: history, age, ethnicity, kinship, linguistic background (indigenous vs. official language vs. pidgin or creole), social class (i.e. social echelon: professional, traditional, economic, educational, etc.), religion, culture (i.e. cultural laws vs. administrative, national laws), gender, and identity (multiple, individual, linguistic, ethnic, etc.). The aim here is to illustrate how each of these components is a building block in the making of meaning out of the microcommunicative strategies used in postcolonial societies.

15. I prefer the word *components* here instead perhaps of *variables* because as opposed to *variables* which is strongly linked to sociolinguistics, dialectology and variation, *components* suggests that these factors all function together; i.e. it is normal for many of them to be at work in the realisation of any given communicative act or utterance in postcolonial contexts. In (7), for instance, history + ethnicity + religion + language are indispensable to understanding or interpreting the respondent's decision to accept or refuse an offer. In sociolinguistic research, most of these variables are activated and studied independently.

I revisit these components again in Chapters 3–6. The examples below are just a hint of the direction the later analyses would take.

a. *History*

Postcolonial societies are like any other communities in that they are sociohistorically complete, i.e. they have a history, function according to certain internal rules and laws, and adhere to a common unifying entity, e.g. nation-state, province, state, clan, ethnic group or village. But what makes them peculiar for linguistic analysis is the specific impact of colonialism which interfered with the course of their evolution. Colonialism brought in new languages (e.g. English in Ghana, English and French in Cameroon) which now function as official languages, redefining the functions of indigenous languages which today serve mostly local functions. It introduced new religions, new forms of (formal) education and further exacerbated power differences by according more power to the educated and religious elite. Furthermore, the forceful grouping of diverse ethnic groups and communities into structures called *nation-states* is a heritage of colonialism. The outcomes of these changes are enormous and can be felt in the extensive patterns of hybridism in most aspects of life in postcolonial societies.

As illustrated in Example (7), it is only by referring back to the historical background of anglophones and francophones in Cameroon that one clearly understands why an anglophone would accept offers only from his or her “anglophone brothers and sisters.”

In Ghana, while English continues to be the official language, speaking it in certain situations, instead of a widespread indigenous lingua franca like Twi (Akan), is interpreted as showing off. During my fieldwork in Kumasi in 2010, I had the following encounter with a twelve-year old boy. I and my Ghanaian colleague had stopped him to ask for directions. I spoke English and the colleague spoke Twi. The boy answered all along in Twi. Suddenly, he took a stern and sustained look at me and turned to my colleague and said in Twi “Why is he trying to impress me with his English?” When his dissatisfaction with my choice of language was translated to me, I apologised directly to him that I could not understand or speak Twi. Interestingly, he felt insulted that I was in Kumasi and had refused to learn Twi. This encounter tells us a lot about the refunctionalisation of languages through colonialism – something which seems to be contested by this young boy, who in this instance could be said to somehow represent the larger postcolonial community. Understanding the young boy’s disposition requires, first of all, understanding this refunctionalisation and how it has engendered attitudes towards languages within the community. Saah and Baku (2011: 74) provide a glimpse into how these attitudes evolved:

...colonial Ghanaians initially uncritically mimicked European lifestyles after European intrusion into Africa and...the unbridled adoption of European languages, clothing and cultural norms were some of the ways in which this was manifested. However, upon consolidation of colonialism, and after being edged out in the competition for colonial resources and recognition, early Ghanaian nationalists asserted their Ghanaian roots and urged their countrymen to adopt Ghanaian languages as one of the strategies and, indeed, basis for creating the Ghanaian nation.

So, even before the creation of nation-states at the end of colonialism (independence), as in Ghana above, language was already at the centre of sociolinguistic and political debates. A history of these debates, speakers' attitudes and the corresponding response (e.g. through language planning and policy decrees) of both pre-colonial and postcolonial administrations¹⁶ provide potential clues to speakers' choices in daily interactions.

b. Age

The importance of age in social interaction and communication in most postcolonial societies is certainly borrowed from, or a hybrid involving, indigenous cultures and lifestyles. In most Cameroonian and Ghanaian cultures, older people, by virtue of their age, deserve respect from younger ones who are expected to treat them as their own parents. With this goes respect-laden patterns of communication, e.g. address forms, that index addressees and meanings beyond their normative meanings.

Respecting age in postcolonial contexts works in two directions: (1) the younger persons are obliged to respect and honour the old, and (2) the old have a social obligation to ensure the young adhere to the society's code of conduct. So, both have social roles they are expected to play in order to save the public self-image of the group they belong to. As I explain elsewhere (Anchimbe 2011a: 427), this works effectively because of the "third-party effect or onlooker response", which simply means that other people present during an exchange serve as judges of whether the younger person fulfils their societal responsibility or not.

In Example (8) (Situation 2) constructed by a 17–25 year-old female Ghanaian respondent (GaF10), after unsuccessfully trying to fulfil the role expected of her by society, the younger person exonerates herself of the third-party effect by saying: "Alright then my mind is now at ease." Anyone who saw her offer her seat to the old man (OM) will consider her a *good* child of the society, and anyone who enters the room afterwards and sees the old man standing will be told by onlookers she played

16. For an in depth description of colonial and postcolonial governments' approach to language policy and language planning in Cameroon, see Anchimbe (2013b) *Language Policy and Identity Construction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

her role. Being aware of this, the OM, therefore, considers his refusal as “trouble” for the younger interlocutor.

- (8) You: Good morning **daddy**, kindly take my seat.
 OM: **Dear daughter** this is so kind of you but I am fine.
 You: Oh no, no. I would not feel comfortable if I leave you to stand.
 OM: **My daughter**, don't worry about me since I have been sitting for a long time and therefore need to stretch my bones.
 You: Alright then my mind is now at ease.
 OM: Oh sorry for my trouble.

In (8), the younger person creates an asymmetrical kinship relationship by calling the old man “daddy.” The old man accepts this relationship and the role of a father by calling her “dear daughter” and “my daughter.” Moving the interaction, which in effect takes place in a church, to the family circle creates a closer relationship between the two – a level where the father remains father and hence has the power to turn down his child's offer since he has certainly accepted offers from her in the past or will certainly do so in the future.

As far as older peoples' age-based roles are concerned, I will illustrate this using an Excerpt (9) from the radio programme “Happy Birthday” of the Bamenda station of the Cameroon Radio and Television Corporation (CRTV). The presenter, herself a mother of four in her early fifties, immediately moves from the role of journalist to that of mother when she realises the young mother she is talking to had to drop out of school because of pregnancy. She feels obligated to first of all chastise her and then advise her, just like any mother would do. Interestingly, the young mother accepts the chastisement and advice and calls her “Aunty” – which indicates she values her advice construed here as equivalent to that of an aunt (family). She does not insist on her individual face rights nor does she object to her personal story being played out in public on radio. This would certainly not be the case in a Western context.

- (9) Happy Birthday on CRTV Bamenda
 Presenter: (to audience) Our first mother on today's edition is on bed 23. She is so young and she is the mother of a baby boy. Who is this young lady? Good morning.
 Lady: Good morning, Madame. I am called N.E.
 Presenter: How old are you?
 Lady: 22 years.
 Presenter: (switches to CPE) Na your first pikin this? *Is this your first child?*
 Lady: Yes.
 Presenter: You marry? *Are you married?*

- Lady: No.
- Presenter: (pause) You di go school? *Do you go to school?*
- Lady: Yes.
- Presenter: Wusai you di school? *Where do you go to school?*
- Lady: Step by Step Secondary School
- Presenter: Step by Step, form weti? *Step by Step, what form/level?*
- Lady: Form five.
- Presenter: Weti happen? You know say e no easy for start born pikin wey you di still go for school, no be so? *What happened? You know it is not easy to start having children when you are still in school, don't you?*
- Lady: Yes Auntie.
- Presenter: How, you glad witam? Na mistake you be make? *Well, are you happy about this? Was it a mistake?*
- Lady: Yes. Na mistake. We just takam as it come. *Yes. It was a mistake. We just have to accept it.*

(cf. also Anchimbe and Janney 2011a: 1455)

The switch to CPE in (9) is important from a postcolonial pragmatic perspective. This is because languages in postcolonial societies have social functions. The presenter maintains the formal, distant and professional relationship expected of her job when she speaks English but as soon as she switches to CPE – a code that plays mostly interpersonal social functions – she adopts with this switch the role of a mother, an aunt or an older person who is obligated by social norms to ensure that the younger ones do not go astray. In order for their community not to lose the public face attached to this social norm, the young lady also cooperates in spite of the fact that the interaction takes place in the public domain and she is no longer anonymous since she gave her full names already. These two examples show how age is a huge component in communication in these collectivist cultures. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the centrality of age in the two postcolonial contexts, Cameroon and Ghana.

c. *Ethnicity*

Ethnicity is another postcolonial pragmatic component that speakers often rely on to make choices in interpersonal communication and social behaviour. Given that colonialism ended by creating multiethnic nation-states in the colonised world, competition and conflicts between these diverse groups were an expected outcome. Such conflicts abound in many postcolonial communities today and have forced these groups to consolidate their ethnic identities as part of a survival strategy. Language is part of this identity, and is often stigmatised along with the ethnic group that uses it (see Adegbija 1989a, Mulo Farenkia 2014b, Anchimbe forthcoming).

Since ethnic group circles constitute a deeper and exclusive level of in-group identity, they are used both as icons for in-group identification and esteem and as outposts for out-group stigmatisation and stereotyping. Ethnic group stigmatisation is a common phenomenon in Cameroon and Ghana. The stigmas or stereotypes also influence people's decisions to either accept or refuse offers from members of particular ethnic groups (10). Common social issues and behavioural traits used to stigmatise ethnic groups include prostitution, adultery, theft, gossiping, witchcraft, reincarnation (10), violence, arrogance, etc.

In Excerpt (10) taken from an interview with two respondents – male, a 35–40 year-old teacher and female, a 25–30 year-old journalist – in Bamenda (Cameroon) in 2009, it is clear that the ethnic origin of the offerer, if known, is crucial to whether an offer is accepted or not.

(10) CaF-I3 (25–30 years) & CaM-I2 (35–40 years), Bamenda

Q: So you will turn it [the offer] down if you knew that person is from a given ethnic group?

CaM-I2: (male) Good, from a particular ethnic group that is, let's say, is suspicious, I will not consume the offer.

Q: Just tell me, any ethnic group?

CaM-I2: No, I don't have any (laughs).

CaF-I3: (female) (smiles) You know, it is not good calling names here, but ehh, you know, it is a matter of research, research purpose?

Q: hmm, yes.

CaF-I3: I will say; we get to the South West, the Bayangis. I fear that tribe wholeheartedly from what I have been hearing and they confirm it themselves. Like, you know, when they die, they go, they come back. I don't know how far that is true. But coming from their mouth, I would say, they usually say, get the news from the horse's own mouth. When I get to areas like that I am very very scared. My acquaintance to people, my approach, my manner of approaching to people changes automatically.

Q: So you would think of turning down an offer if you knew this is a Bayangi person?

CaF-I3: From that zone, from that area. Even you are from the North West Region or you are [from] my tribe and you've been living there for over 15, 20 years, I am just going to be scared. I will be scared all through until I get out of that place.

The reason the female respondent CaF-I3 gives has nothing to do with the type of offer (i.e. food, drink, lift in car or seat in church or bus) but rather with the ethnicity of the offerer. By declaring that "I am just going to be scared" if the offer

were to be made by someone from the Bayangi ethnic group, the interviewee links the stereotype of reincarnation about this ethnic group to individual members of the group and any other person who has lived in that ethnic community for over 15 to 20 years. Her behaviour, both linguistic and physical, hinges on this ethnic stereotype. Postcolonial pragmatics, therefore, tries to provide an analytical basis for including such components into the investigation of communication.

d. *Kinship*

The collectivist nature of most Ghanaian and Cameroonian (and by extension African) cultures could be best illustrated using the elastic use of kinship terms. By saying that “kinship is an elastic category” in African cultures, Anchimbe (2011a: 427) hints at the group-based conceptualisation of kinship in which being a brother, sister, mother, father, uncle or aunt, does not depend exclusively on blood relationship but also on social relations and the social roles members of the society are expected to play in their interaction with others. The presenter in Example (9) above observes this role expectation even on radio and advises the young mother as if she were a member of her own family. Similarly, in (8), kinship roles are adopted by the two interlocutors, i.e. daughter and daddy, even though they are strangers and are meeting in a public space. Interestingly, as illustrated in (7), even members of a huge sociohistorical group like *anglophones* in Cameroon regard each other as *brothers* and *sisters*.

The types of relationships embodied in kinship terms in postcolonial societies reach beyond nuclear family relations. They index closeness, cooperativeness, in-group belonging and language identities depending on the addressee and context. In Figure 2.1, a *brother* or *sister* could be: (1) a blood relation (including cousins, half-brothers or half-sisters, nephews or nieces), (2) ethnic or tribal acquaintances (people from the same tribe), (3) social relations (e.g. close friends), (4) in-laws (i.e. family members of a brother-in-law or sister-in-law), (5) speakers of the same language, and (6) people from the same country (especially when abroad). Similar relations could be found for *mother* and *father*, *uncle* and *aunt*, which are equally as elastic as *brother* and *sister*. Significant in the use of *mother*, *father*, *uncle* and *aunt* are age and social roles which make it possible for the same person to be an *aunt* in certain contexts and a *mother* in others.

The importance of kinship redefinition of roles and relationships to postcolonial pragmatics lies in the fact that, by moving interaction into the family or kinship space, interlocutors find it easier to play certain roles defined by age, natural order (e.g. father, mother), social order (parental responsibility), and the need to maintain societal cohesion and hierarchy. It is by factoring in these aspects that the utterance “Alright then my mind is now at ease” (Example 8) could be properly understood, i.e. in relation to the onlooker response or third-party effect discussed above.

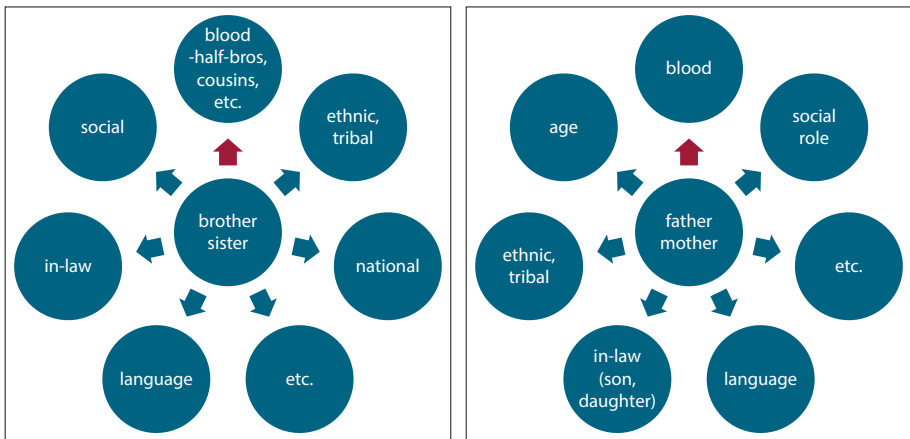


Figure 2.1 Kinship relations in postcolonial collectivist cultures

e. *Linguistic background: Indigenous vs. official language, etc.*

The relationship between languages and their (normative) speakers in postcolonial contexts plays a role in speakers' choice of languages and communicative strategies in given interactional situations. Whether the society is diglossic, heteroglossic, bilingual or multilingual, languages tend to be identified with, linked to, or indexical of certain historical, ethnic, occupational and religious undertones. Choosing one language in a specific context could suggest an undertone that fits that context, for instance, the choice of an indigenous language signals the type of relationship that exists between interlocutors, i.e. ethnic or tribal closeness. English and French in Cameroon, for instance, normatively identify the anglophones and francophones respectively and further regurgitate the history of colonialism and its cultural and linguistic heritage. Example (7) above, confirms that the choice of language during interaction influences interlocutors' lingual and physical behaviour through the indexical meanings attached to the language in the society.

The categorisation of languages in postcolonial contexts into official, national, indigenous, pidgin and creole languages is also central to speakers' pragmatic choices during communication. This is because this categorisation matches contexts (formal, informal, intimate, estranged, home, tribal, social, etc.) and functions (education, family, friendship, etc.) for which the languages are supposed to be used. Using an indigenous language in a formal context reserved for an official language could be for various pragmatic reasons, e.g. achieving social closeness, consolidating in-group identity or closing linguistic boundaries to others. An interaction in which this happens could, therefore, be appropriately investigated from a post-colonial pragmatics perspective informed by the historical origins and normative functions of the languages within the society.

f. *Religion*

Religion is a prominent component in most postcolonial societies. It is a platform for various forms of conflict and the construction of religious in-group identities. These religious conflicts (or the conscious avoidance of such conflicts) and religious identities are replicated in discourse and interpersonal interactions. Unlike in most Western societies where religion is simply another space for another type of interaction, in most postcolonial societies, religion is fully integrated into most other aspects of life.

In Example (11), analysed above as Example (3) but repeated here for convenience, the senior colleague only stops insisting that the junior colleague takes a drink – interpreted here to be a beer – only when the latter invokes religion as the reason for his refusal of the drink. The senior colleague then apologises, “Oh! Sorry”, because s/he would be accused of flouting the social norm that treats religion as sacred and unchallengeable. The SC quickly initiates the closing move “See you another time” as a way of showing that his or her insistence has not hurt their relationship or the cohesion of the society or the face of their in-group.

- (11) SC: Please, have a drink
 You: Thank you sir, but I’m already leaving.
 SC: Are you refusing my drink?
 You: Oh, not exactly sir.
 SC: What do you mean by ‘not exactly’?
 You: Because it is time for me to go.
 SC: But just one drink will not take any time.
 You: **I am a Muslim** so I don’t drink.
 SC: Oh! Sorry. See you another time.

In this interaction constructed by a 35–45 year-old Ghanaian male respondent (GaM5), the pragmatic component religion is used as a justification for refusing an offer since refusal in itself, within this hierarchical constellation, would be considered rude. Any further insistence or threat to the religious identity of the junior colleague is avoided. Relying only on the context in which the interaction takes place, as Western politeness theories require, to analyse the exchange above runs the risk of misinterpreting or completely ignoring the salience of religion. Such a risk is inexistent if a postcolonial pragmatic analysis were to be undertaken.

g. *Identity: Multiple identities*

The desire to create a distinct identity based on language in postcolonial societies is a natural adaptive response to the heteroglossic nature of the society and the exigencies of reacting appropriately to changes in interlocutor constellations or topics during interaction. It could also be claimed that certain choices in language use are

driven by the need to create or exercise a linguistic, social, religious and ethnic identity that suits a particular situation. The outcome is multiple identities, which like the layers of an onion, can be pulled off each time they are not needed. What makes identity construction peculiar in postcolonial societies is the normalcy of multiple and accumulated identities by individuals and groups. It is not an exception but rather the rule that in response to changes in interactional expectations, speakers switch to identities that help them save their group face, turn down offers without engendering a breakdown in the social hierarchy, integrate other groups through what Anchimbe (2006b) refers to as identity opportunism, indicate cooperativeness or aloofness, close or open in-group boundaries, etc.

In Example (11), also Example (3) above, from Ghana, the junior colleague switches from his professional identity, i.e. as colleagues, which does not help him get off the offer hook, to his religious identity, “I am a Muslim”, which quickly forces the senior colleague to accept his refusal. It is worth mentioning that the religious identity is used here only as a last resort – it appears in the last adjacency pair of the dialogue. Besides the religious identity, members of postcolonial societies have other identities they resort to during interaction, e.g. (see Chapter 6):

- ethnic identity: based on belonging to an ethnic group, its language and cultural patterns
- linguistic identity: based on a given language that is the tool of an in-group, e.g. English is the in-group language of anglophones in Cameroon
- social group identity: based on social groups, e.g. youth groups, professional groups, political groups, etc.
- gendered identity: based on ethnic, societal or group expectations of males and females, including ways of speaking and even choice of words, rights to taking and keeping the floor, etc.
- religious identity: based on religion, principally Christianity and Islam
- social class or status identity: based on individuals’ special social status accrued through wealth, riches, education, traditional authority, social position (e.g. village or town elite, entrepreneur), etc.
- individual identity: based on individuals’ desire to project an aspect of themselves that sets them apart, e.g. international travel, ability to use foreign accents (see Anchimbe’s (2005) notion of pride foreign tongues or Tabouret-Keller (1998: 317) who says “a single phonemic feature may be sufficient to include or exclude somebody from a social group.”)

Since these identities can be accumulated they are, therefore, malleable and combinable with other identities and qualities that lie outside language but which find linguistic expression in the form of acts of identity (cf. LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985).

h. *Social class or status*

As hinted at under social class identity above, social class or social status (i.e. professional, traditional, economic or educational) is a component that attracts deferential patterns of interaction. This is because the social status of a person is generally drawn into the ways they present themselves and are addressed by others. By social status, reference is made here to new social achievements that grant an individual access to a higher social echelon in society, e.g. wealth, riches, social position, educational achievement or political advancement. In the field of education, Mulo Farenkia (2008b) explains that in Cameroon, as soon as someone enrolls into a PhD programme, s/he is called by others as *doctor* and anyone who teaches at the university is addressed *Prof* even if they are not yet doctors or professors.

Social statuses from traditional and cultural systems of ethnic groups also play into the use of language in postcolonial communities. It is common to see titles like *Chief Dr* wherein *chief* (ruler of a village) refers to the traditional status and *Dr* to the academic; or *Dr Mfo* wherein *Mfo* is the hereditary chieftaincy title of the ruler of a village. Knowledge of these social status hierarchies is necessary to understanding speakers' choices in communication.

i. *Culture: Cultural laws and expectations*

As already explained in Chapter 1, several (unwritten) cultural laws and norms guide verbal and physical behaviour within postcolonial societies. These include patterns of name calling, e.g. Adegbiya (1989b: 169) who explains that in Nigeria, "an elder is usually not referred to by name by a younger person; doing so would be considered rude and uncouth", taking and keeping the floor, eye contact, turn-taking, etc. A reason for this is the collectivist nature of most cultures in postcolonial contexts which accord more importance to the defence and cohesion of the group than to individual face wants.

In most of the examples presented above (cf. 7, 8, 9 and 11), there are various cultural laws and expectations at work, ranging from those that require members to maintain the group's face (9), ensure social hierarchy is respected (8), to those that safeguard the co-existence of various identities (11) within the community. Ignoring some aspects of this pragmatic component, culture, could limit understanding of speakers' intentions and the corresponding perlocutionary impacts.

j. *Gender*

The mix of cultures during colonialism led, in the case of many postcolonial communities, to a hybrid pattern of gender differentiation. Two gender conceptualisations came into contact: one based on indigenous cultural systems in which the woman's role is mostly limited to the private domain of the home with very little access to the public domain; and the other based on Western concepts of gender equality

through which access to education, for instance, supposedly grants both males and females equal access to the public domain. In postcolonial societies, the Western gender ideology seems to have been simply idealistic, since, as Atanga (2010) illustrates in her investigation of gendered discourses in the Cameroonian parliament, female parliamentarians strive to project a 'model traditional Cameroonian woman' identity (Atanga 2010: 93) for themselves by not being overtly subversive and by choosing discursive strategies that seek to maintain solidarity between political parties. Similarly, Oduol (2007) finds huge conceptual gaps between Western and Luo (Kenya) concepts of gender and how these gaps make Kenyan women's gender discourses irreconcilable with Western gender discourses and debates.

Today, most women in postcolonial societies have a hybrid response to gender expectations: where indigenous gender roles are expected, they perform them accordingly, e.g. motherhood, and where the Western are expected, they perform them as well, e.g. in formal education and employment, as in the case of female parliamentarians (Atanga 2010). Sometimes, they simply adaptively merge both into some form of a hybrid system that accommodates both gender conceptualisations. Given that gender roles are learned in childhood, even in urban multilingual centres, they easily find expression in language. Postcolonial pragmatics also integrates, where evident, gender-based triggers or signals in the explanation of variation in discourses and interactions in postcolonial societies.

2.2.3 Relevance to Cameroon and Ghana

In the exemplification of postcolonial pragmatic components above (Section 2.2.2), no clear differences have been shown between Cameroon and Ghana. Both are treated as postcolonial societies with predominantly similar base structures. This allows for cautious generalisations on issues that belong to this base structure. The fact that both have a colonial heritage bequeathed by the same coloniser (Britain) already indicates that postcolonial and post-independence policies are potentially similar (see 2.3 below). Below are some of the major aspects that make these two countries describable together as postcolonial entities:

- both countries experienced British colonisation: Cameroon: 1919–1961 and Ghana: 1874–1957.
- they have the same colonial linguistic heritage, i.e. English – though Cameroon additionally has French from French colonisation of part of the country.
- English is the language of instruction at all levels – until 2002, Ghana had a regional indigenous language as medium of education for up to the first three years of primary education.

- the classification of languages is according to functions: official vs. local languages: Cameroon calls indigenous languages ‘national languages’ and in Ghana, those languages used for education are called ‘government-sponsored languages’ (i.e. Akan, Ewe, Dagbani, Dangme, Dagaare, Ga, Nzema, Kasem and Gonja).
- an English-lexified pidgin is spoken: in Cameroon, it has expanded significantly and can be treated as a Creole (see Atindogbé and Chibaka 2012, Anchimbe 2013b).
- both countries are multilingual: Cameroon has 280 living languages (Lewis 2014) while Ghana has 81 living languages (Lewis 2014).
- ethnic group allegiance is strong in both countries, and is often used as a basis of identification both at individual and institutional level.

The similarities listed above do not exclude dissimilarities or major aspects that make the two countries different. The differences still belong to the complexity of postcolonial communities described by Anchimbe and Janney (2011a). Some of them include:

- Cameroon has two official, ex-colonial languages (French and English) but Ghana has only one (English).
- Cameroon was divided into two and handed over to two new colonisers after WW1 by the league of nations, but Ghana had the same coloniser (Britain) right after 1874 when the Dutch withdrew, i.e. when it was declared a ‘Crown Colony.’
- Cameroon had German colonisation (1884–1916), potentially making its post-colonial admixture more complex – this is not really the case because Britain and France worked hard to erase traces of Germany.
- Ghana has a longer tradition of teaching in indigenous languages at the primary level than Cameroon – potentially playing into the extent of pragmatic hybridism.

In spite of these differences, their postcolonial evolutionary trajectory (Mufwene 2001; Schneider 2007) has predominantly been similar. The specific mix of languages and cultures during and after colonialism has resulted in outcomes that are peculiar to each country, but which can be studied cautiously under postcolonial pragmatics. For instance, while French is an adstrate ex-colonial language with the same postcolonial ramifications in terms of language policy and influence on English in Cameroon, such an adstrate co-official language is absent in Ghana. Similarly, while Akan (Twi) is a dominant indigenous lingua franca in most of Ghana, Cameroon does not have such a widespread indigenous lingua franca. In the analysis later on, where specific differences occur, these are discussed and

accounted for by relying on relevant pragmatic components and their possible impact on discourses and interactions. Through them we get an emic perspective to patterns of social interaction in these societies.

2.3 A brief colonial history of Cameroon and Ghana

In order to contextualise the impact of colonial contact on current postcolonial communities, I will narrate in brief the history of colonialism in both Cameroon and Ghana. It is this historical past that qualifies them for the category, postcolonial, which is central to the postcolonial pragmatics framework. I limit the discussion below mostly to European exploitation colonialism of the 19th century, making only isolated references to the earlier trade colonialism that started around the 15th century and the slave trade, mostly along the coast. The 19th century colonial incursion bequeathed or reshaped most of the current postcolonial heritages we have today: education, religion, political systems, languages, etc.

2.3.1 Cameroon

The colonial history of Cameroon is complex. Between 1884 and 1961, the territory now known as Cameroon was ruled by three colonial powers: Germany, Britain and France. The three left various marks on the territory and its people. Shortly after the Berlin Conference in 1884, precisely on 12 July 1884, Germany declared *Kamerun* a German Protectorate and ruled over it till 1916 when they lost the First World War. Their colonial policy prioritised economic interests and only minimally focused on instituting German as the official language of the Protectorate. Proof of these economic interests can be found in the extensive rubber, cocoa and banana plantations they opened and the railway they built to transport these goods to the coast.

In the domain of education, the Germans tried to impose German as the medium of education, but were not very successful. They were “impaired in different ways by prior linguistic activities by Christian missionaries and the widespread Pidgin English that had emerged in the 15th Century” (Anchimbe 2013b: 22). Baptist missionaries operating in the region had adopted English and local languages as medium of instruction in their schools. It took more than a decade for a language policy based on German to be introduced in the educational system. In 1910, the policy document, “*Schulordnung und Lehrplan für die Missionschulen in Kamerun*” was drawn up as guide for instruction in mission schools, since the government did not own schools of its own. Two main conditions were set for mission schools to receive government’s grant-in-aid: (1) that they accept the colonial government’s educational curriculum sanctioned by an official examination for

students, as detailed out in the *Schulordnung*, and (2) that they use German as medium of education from the third year of school and only teach the local indigenous language of the village or German as school subject (cf. Anchimbe 2013b: 23, Wolf 2001, Tabi-Manga 2000). German was declared the exclusive medium of education in post-primary education. This policy significantly reduced teaching in English and indigenous languages but did not live long since WW1 broke out a few years later.

As far as religion is concerned, the Germans sent away Baptist missionaries from Cameroon when they colonised the territory. They replaced them with the Basel Mission in 1886 and the Catholic Pallotine Fathers from Germany in 1890. The missionaries were also in charge of education besides their religious duties. This may explain why religion is so central in postcolonial contexts today – it was built into formal education during colonialism.

Replacing and erasing the policies and legacy of the Germans became central to British and French colonial administrations when they took over the territory under a League of Nations' mandate after WW1. In 1916, France took over about 4/5th of the territory while Britain took the remaining part.

France immediately applied its assimilationist *mission civilisatrice* to the territory by completely banning the use of German and imposing French as the only language of administration, education and religion. As Wardhaugh (1987: 172) explains, “under the French, the [French] language alone became the language of primary education, and the vernacular and Pidgin English were banned from schools as obviously as German.” Besides formal education, the French also opened adult schools where French was taught to people above school age. The outcome of this onslaught was that “by the early 1920s, many prominent, formerly German-speaking, Cameroonians were fluent in French” (Vernon-Jackson 1967: 14). It is, therefore, not surprising that even after independence Cameroonians still strongly identified themselves as francophone – not simply because of the language but because of the assimilationist policies pursued by the French colonial government.

In relation to religion, the French progressively weakened the missionaries' grip on education. While some resisted the shift to French, they had no other choice but to follow or leave. One strategy used by the French colonial government was to impose a 12.8% tax on non-French textbooks imported into the territory. The tax on French text books was thrice as small, i.e. 4% (see Stumpf 1976: 82).

On their part, the British adopted a more liberal approach based on their indirect rule method. Although they also banned German, they still allowed Cameroonian children to be taught in indigenous languages, English or both. The “*School Ordinance*” of 1926 established by the Education Department of the British administration did not declare English as the exclusive medium of education. So, as opposed to the French where French became the sole language, the British created some space for indigenous languages on the education platform.

During British colonialism, the missionaries still had considerable control over education. Like with the Germans, education and religion went hand in hand. But as opposed to the Germans and French, the missionary schools in British-ruled Cameroon could choose the language of instruction in their schools. Under the British, the Catholic Mill Hill Brothers replaced the Pallotine Fathers invited by the Germans while the protestant Basel Mission and the Baptist Mission ejected by the Germans were allowed to return in the 1920s. Around the same time some American evangelical missions also arrived Cameroon.¹⁷

In the three colonial administrations, education, political system, religion and language policy were central to the success of the colonial mission. This explains why these components ended up as the major legacies and heritages of colonialism. Postcolonial pragmatics uses the history of these legacies as a springboard for understanding interaction in these contexts. Worthy of note here is the status of Pidgin English. Under the Germans, it was unofficially allowed as *lingua franca* in the plantations since most labourers understood it. The French banned it alongside English and German while the British prohibited its use in schools. The disenfranchisement of Pidgin in this context is similar to other locations where Pidgins and Creoles are spoken, most of which are also postcolonial communities.

2.3.2 Ghana

The colonial history of Gold Coast, as Ghana¹⁸ was called by European traders and colonists, is also complex. Going back beyond the 1884 Berlin conference, Ghana was a trade post and a slave trade transit point for several centuries under Europeans, especially the Portuguese (1470–1600), Dutch, Danes and English (all 17th century). It was officially declared a colony of Britain in 1874 (Huber 1999: 2). Like many other contemporary African countries, what we have today as independent Ghana is a union of the British Gold Coast and part of the UN Trust Territory Togoland that was administered by Britain (Huber 1999). Contrary to Cameroon, there were relatively many Europeans resident mostly in the trade castles and forts in Ghana. The biggest of these castles i.e. Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle and Christiansborg Castle and the forts served both as trade posts and colonial government seats. Though contact between the European traders or settlers and the indigenous population was limited, it nevertheless indicates that cultural contact

17. For more on the colonial history of Cameroon, see Fonlon (1969), Stumpf (1976), Ndam Njoya (1976), Tabi Manga (2000).

18. For more on Ghana's history and colonisation, see Huber (1999), Porter (1974), Spencer (1971), Gocking (2005), etc.

took place. Proof of this is the huge population of interracial children that were born. The impact of the contact might have been minimal but over time and with formal colonisation, this impact spread significantly. Huber (1999: 38), relying on Porter (1974: 15) explains that

Under Portuguese rule there had developed the practice of the white governor presiding over cases that involved Africans of the surrounding settlement. In Elmina, Shama, Axim, and Aioba the Portuguese also levied a fish toll from the local fishermen to feed their garrisons.

Some of these practices continued when the Dutch and English took over the trading posts from the Portuguese in mid 1600s. Trade in slaves had brought together people from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds either on a permanent basis as a labour force to the white merchants or as slaves-in-transit to be sold to other slave traders. Postcolonial pragmatics takes this history of population and culture contact as one of the major triggers of the cultural and linguistic hybridisation found in these postcolonial contexts.

After the Dutch merchants left in 1870, Britain declared the southern territory along the coast a crown colony under the name Gold Coast. The Ashanti Kingdom was only added to this colony in 1902. After the defeat of Germany in WW1 parts of German colonial holdings in Togoland were also taken over by Britain. Like in Cameroon too, the new colonial power worked hard to erase any remaining traces of the Germans. Britain, now the sole colonial power, expanded its indirect rule approach to the whole territory, and stated its major responsibilities to be:

the preservation of the peace, the administration of both civil and criminal adjudication, the enactment of laws, the encouragement of trade commerce, and, most controversial of all, a unilateral abolition of slave trading and the emancipation of existing slaves. (Gocking 2005: 37)

British colonial rule came with various fundamental changes in the indigenous systems. For instance, regions that were initially governed by hereditary indigenous administrative systems were now unilaterally imposed a new political, judiciary and administrative system based on British law. Indigenous languages were reduced to intra-ethnic tools since “English was imposed as the language of administration by the colonialists” (Boadi 1971: 49). Pidgin remained on the side lines as a contact language, and has seen its status and functions dwindle even till today. At the level of administration, although the power of the local kings and chiefs remained visible, they were no longer the top authorities of the new colonial nation-state. The outcome is still noticeable today in the multi-layered structure of these communities, the heteroglossic linguistic situation where languages are attributed specific functions, domains and identities.

During colonialism, education was predominantly in the hands of Christian missionaries. However, by the 1920s, the colonial government had taken over post-primary and tertiary education. Achimota College was founded in 1927, and “rapidly became the foremost educational institution in the colony” (Gocking 2005: 58) and even beyond in other British colonies in Africa. The colony’s governor, Gordon Guggisberg (1919–1927), “envisaged that this elite secondary school would eventually be the nucleus of the colony’s first university” (Gocking 2005: 58). The system and medium of education were all based on Britain, a departure from, or an amalgamation with, indigenous forms of learning.

Religion was also central during colonialism in Ghana. Like in many countries along the west coast of Africa, religion preceded formal colonialism in Ghana. Gocking (2005: xxvi–xxviii) lists the following major dates for the arrival of religious missionaries in the Gold Coast:

- 1828 Basel Evangelical Missionary Society established with Christiansborg as its headquarters.
- 1835 The first Methodist missionaries arrive in Ghana. Cape Coast becomes their headquarters.
- 1880 Arrival of the Roman Catholic Societas Missionum ad Afros (SMA) fathers. They make Elmina their headquarters.

The headquarters of these three religious missions were in the same locations as the European trade and later colonial strongholds. What this indicates is that the political and religious entities were closely related or worked together. Besides education, the missionaries offered employment too, which as Gocking (2005) explains, introduced a new level of social stratification among the locals:

The mission churches were also an important source of employment for educated natives. Many were simple catechists, but as the missions had turned to Africans to replace Europeans, who had great difficulty surviving in the climate, even the hierarchy had become African. (Gocking 2005: 41)

This strong reliance on religion, i.e. Christianity, and its continuous encroachment into Ghanaian colonial and postcolonial life is still visible today. In a recent study on religion and development in Ghana, White (2015: 1) observes that “Christianity has become a potent social force in every facet of Ghanaian life, from family life, economic activities, occupation, and health to education.” A similar observation could be made of Cameroon today. Taking into account the historical and contemporary salience of religion in (post)colonial contexts, it is a central pragmatic component within the postcolonial pragmatics framework.

The brief sketches of colonial contact in Ghana and Cameroon above illustrate the complex constitution over time of these countries. While a number of

differences exist between the two, the fundamental basis of their evolution from trade colonisation (15–18th centuries) and exploitation colonisation (19th century) is predominantly similar. Ghana's connection to the slave trade adds to its population admixture but does not make it significantly different from Cameroon because slaves were held out of the normal society and hence could not integrate it or were simply *en-route* across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and US. Not integrating the outcome of the above histories into any descriptions of these locations runs the risk of being inadequate. Postcolonial pragmatics tries to avoid this risk.

The colonial history narrated above and the functionings of the postcolonial pragmatics framework explained in this chapter will serve as a solid basis for the analysis of offers and offer refusals in the next three chapters. Chapter 3 applies the emic perspective of postcolonial pragmatics to offers and offer refusals involving a senior and a junior colleague in an informal context (in a bar) with the aim of investigating how societal norms about social hierarchy and social status influence choices in offering and offer refusal. The offer utterance, the offer refusal utterance and the flow of the entire offer-refusal exchange will be studied. The aim is to come up with a taxonomy of such exchanges – their structure, the pragmatic functional units and modification moves used and their motivations – in both Cameroon and Ghana.

Offers, refusals and professional status

This chapter describes three major aspects of the offer-refusal communicative act in a power asymmetrical situation involving a senior colleague and a junior colleague in an informal context, i.e. in a bar. Firstly, it tries to come up with a structure or flow of a complete offer-refusal sequence in this situation. The aim is to provide a taxonomy that captures interlocutors' illocutionary intents, choice of words, realisation strategies and moves, and their possible perlocutionary impacts. In this vertical structure, speakers' overall intentions become clearer in the ways they anticipate interlocutors' responses and the sociocultural factors, e.g. religion, cultural norms, social status, gender and ethnic origin, they invoke. While offering is the head act, it is often accompanied by a number of preparatory and supportive acts which mitigate or upgrade the offer. Offer refusals, also head acts, are accompanied by similar mitigating or upgrading acts.

This first part of the chapter focuses on three things: (1) preparatory acts – types, constituent parts, pragmatic functions and examples, (2) head acts – internal modification moves and types. Taking into account the number of internal modifications an utterance can have, three types of offer and offer refusal head act structures were identified: the simple head acts, i.e. those without any internal modification; the mixed head acts, those in which one of the head acts, either offer head act or offer refusal head act, is internally-modified; and the complex head acts, those in which both head acts are internally-modified. (3) Supportive acts – types, constituent parts, pragmatic functions and examples.

Secondly, the chapter describes the strategies used to realise head acts, i.e. offer head acts and offer refusal head acts, by studying the syntactic structure of the utterances and the illocutionary intents transmitted. The major offer realisation strategies include the imperative, preference, execution and declarative strategies. For offer refusals, the strategies employed are the impediment, direct refusal, preference, inability and postponement strategies. Although attention here is on the minimal head act unit, I also, however, describe the internal modifications of these head acts in the entire offer or offer refusal head act turn. These internal modification moves which include address forms (names, honorifics, endearment forms, etc.), the politeness marker *please*, reasons, grounders, greetings, familiarisations, etc. are studied in their functional pragmatic importance within these postcolonial societies. In this horizontal structure of head acts, speakers' microlinguistic choices

are investigated for how offers and offer refusals are mitigated in this asymmetrical offer situation.

Thirdly, the chapter examines the postcolonial pragmatic components that are at work in speakers' choices in offer and offer refusal realisation, for instance, address forms, religion, social status, gender and collectivistic cultural norms. The potential differences and similarities between males and females and Ghana and Cameroon are factored into the analysis as well as the colonial histories and current postcolonial setups of these countries.

The main source of data used in this chapter is the DCT questionnaire. In the questionnaire, the offer situation involving a senior and junior colleague is described as follows (see Appendix 1). The senior colleague (offerer) had the first turn in the interaction.

- Situation 1. Offering a drink: A senior colleague offers you a drink in a bar. You cannot stay any longer to drink.

Besides qualitative statements on the realisation of this act, quantitative statistics are also provided based on the 200 questionnaires, i.e. 100 from each country and 50 each from men and women. The next section focuses on the overall structure of the offer-refusal communicative act, i.e. the preparatory, head and supportive acts. Of interest in the analysis here are level of imposition, sociocultural norms and interlocutor status, and how these impact on the pragmatic choices speakers make.

3.1 Communicative act structure: Preparatory, head and supportive acts

Looking at the data, it is clear that offering is not altogether a single speech act in the Austinean or Searlean sense of it but rather a complex communicative act realised using several speech acts and speaker turns.¹⁹ Before the head act of offering is produced, a number of other speech acts precede it whose pragmatic functions include greeting, familiarisation and grounder. These create a common ground between interlocutors. I refer to these pre-offer moves here as preparatory acts since they serve as external modification of the head act – in line with the definition

19. Anchimbe (2013a) arrives at similar findings after investigating the communicative act of thanking in written political discourse in Cameroon. He studies motions of support letters written by the common people to the head of state to thank him for appointing someone from their town, province, ethnic group or village into the government or for carrying out a development project within their area. As part of the thanking sequence, they profess 'unconditional support' for the president and 'all he incarnates'.

of communicative acts²⁰ proposed in Chapter 1. In most cases, after the head act, other speech acts are used which emphasise the offer, oblige, flatter or persuade the offeree to accept it, or postpone the offer. These post-head act speech acts, referred to here as supportive acts, play pragmatic functional roles like insistence, explication, offer refusal acceptance, postponement, alternative offer, promise and closing. Responses to the offer utterances, i.e. the other part of the adjacency pair, also use similar preparatory and supportive acts although there might be some variations. The offer head act is immediately followed by the offer refusal head act and so forth.

3.1.1 Preparatory acts and professional status

Preparatory acts set the pace for the head act. They function as precursors which prepare the interlocutor positively for the head act. Since the offerer expects co-operation from the offeree, the preparatory act or acts normally tend to create a smooth relationship between the two. Sometimes, preparatory acts are not used or may not be deemed necessary; for instance, in ritual offers or in situations where the offerer wields power that enables him or her 'impose' on the offeree. In line with the latter, preparatory acts function as part of the overall illocutionary intent of the offerer, and are hence relevant for understanding communicative acts like offers, requests, apologies, excuses, etc. especially within sociocultural contexts where power, social status, age and gender determine choices in speech. Postcolonial communities with their mix of cultures and languages are an example of such sociocultural contexts.

In the data on Situation 1, three preparatory acts were identified: greeting, familiarisation and grounder (of the offer). They were realised either as independent turns or adjacency pairs or together with other preparatory acts, e.g. greeting + familiarisation. Where they are realised as independent adjacency pairs, I consider them as simple preparatory acts, and where they are realised together with other preparatory acts, I treat them as complex preparatory acts. Where two preparatory acts are in the same utterance or turn, it is always difficult to say which one modifies the other because both indeed pre-modify the head act. In the next sections, each of these preparatory acts is described in terms of structure, pragmatic function and recurrence in the data.

20. For more on the theory of communicative acts, see Blum-Kulka et al. (1989a, b), Trosborg (1995), Sifianou (1999), etc.

a. *Greetings*

Greetings are perhaps the most ritualised, routinised and conventionalised aspect of human communication. Since “linguistic conventions and routines are essentially a social phenomenon” (Coulmas 1981: 4), the social and pragmatic importance of greetings in communication cannot be overlooked. The decision to preface a message (i.e. a communicative act) with a greeting could suggest the type of response the speaker anticipates. For instance, in order to maximise the chances of the offeree accepting an offer, a greeting might be necessary to create a closer relationship between the two. Here, although the greeting may be formulaic or conventional, the offerer’s illocutionary intent may well be achieved through it.

The greeting preparatory act was realised in 10 structures produced by 32 respondents (Table 3.1). These include both simple preparatory acts, i.e. consisting only of a greeting exchange, and complex preparatory acts, i.e. consisting of greetings and another preparatory act especially familiarisation. In terms of distribution, a small difference can be found between Ghanaian respondents who used greetings 13 times and Cameroonians who used them 19 times. At the level of gender, more females (19 tokens) overall used greetings than males (13 tokens) especially in Ghana: 10 females to three males. In Cameroon, the genders used greetings almost equally: nine females and 10 males (Table 3.1). What this suggests is that female respondents tried to prepare the ground better for their offers using greetings possibly to avoid refusals. It also suggests the desire to be polite, i.e. not to impose on the offeree but to create a closer relationship before offering. This behavioural trait seems to confirm some of the literature on gender and language use, and especially the claim that women tend to be more polite than men.

Table 3.1 Distribution of greeting preparatory act (Situation 1)

Type	Greeting preparatory act structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 13)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 19)			Grand total
		Fmls	Mls	Total	Fmls	Mls	Total	
Simple prep. acts	H-greeting	3	2	5	2	3	5	10
	G-greeting + Name & Name + G-greeting	–	–	–	2	2	4	4
	H-greeting + Name/Dear	3	–	3	–	–	–	3
	G-greeting	–	1	1	–	1	1	2
Complex prep. acts	H-greeting + Address + Familiarisation	3	–	3	3	2	5	8
	H-greeting + Familiarisation	1	–	1	1	1	2	3
	G-greeting + Name + Familiarisation & Name + G-greeting + Familiarisation	–	–	–	1	1	2	2
Total		10	3	13	9	10	19	32

From a total of 200 dialogues, 32 (16%) of them used one of the 10 greeting structures identified in Table 3.1. With 19 (59.5%) of these used by females as opposed to 13 (40.5%) by males, we see a relatively clear gender differentiation in terms of the use of greetings as a preparatory act in this offer situation. As pointed out above, the difference between the two countries is less significant, i.e. 6 tokens, implying a fundamental similarity in their underlying postcolonial setups. For illustration, three of the most recurrent of the structures in Table 3.1 are described below in detail.

i. *H-greeting structure*

The most common simple greeting preparatory act sequence is the “Hello-Hello”, “Hello-Hi”, “Hi-Hello” or “Hi-Hi” exchange, which I refer to here as *H-greeting*. With 10 occurrences, five from each country, it is the most recurrent type of greeting preparatory act in the data. In terms of social status, this greeting format is apparently neutral, especially when compared to the others. The interlocutors are seemingly placed on the same stratum, since this greeting type is mostly identified with people of the same social level or age group. However, a strategic pragmatic reason could be advanced for this. The senior colleague (SC) uses it to create a relationship of equality in order to maximise or upgrade the offer s/he is about to make. Since the offer is in a public space, i.e. a bar, any refusal would be tantamount to a disruption of the social or professional stratification which puts the senior colleague above the other. Adopting a greeting formula that reduces this professional hierarchical stratification certainly makes the offer context a matter of friendship than of hierarchy.

The above notwithstanding, some respondents still retained lexical markers of professional and social hierarchy in the H-greetings in the junior colleague’s (JC) turn. In Example (12) below, by a female Cameroonian respondent (CaF6), the JC’s turn includes the status honorific “sir”, which maintains the asymmetrical relationship that exists between the two. Similarly, in (13) from a 35–45 year-old female Ghanaian respondent, the JC still recreates the professional hierarchical relationship through the use of “Prof” even though the SC goes in for first name address.

The JC’s refusal to accept the new equal relationship proposed by the SC could be explained using the social norms of many postcolonial cultures in which social, professional and age-based hierarchy is non-negotiable and not dependent on context of interaction (cf. Anchimbe 2011b).

(12) CaF43 Age: 17–25 Ind.L: Ngiemboon Usage: Seldom L1: Ngiemboon Town: Buea Edu: A/L	SC: Hello. <i>H-greeting</i> You: Hello, Sir. <i>H-greeting + Address</i>
(13) GaF6 Age: 35–45 Ind.L: Twi Usage: very often L1: Twi Town: Accra Edu: HND²¹	SC: Hello Gina. <i>H-greeting + Name</i> You: Hello, Prof. <i>H-greeting + Address</i>

By sticking to the social norm of not calling seniors by their names (see Adegbija 1989b, Anchimbe 2008) – even when they may want it – the JC in (13) projects herself as a competent member of the society. Using the respect-laden honorific “sir” or the professional title “Prof” enables the offerees in (12) and (13) respectively to pre-emptively mitigate their offer refusals, since these address forms already show respect and deference. Refusing an offer immediately after these respect gestures is certainly less disrespectful.

ii. *Name + G-greeting & G-greeting + name structures*

In order to make the greeting more personal, some respondents used personal names. In this simple greeting preparatory act, interlocutors address each other by name indicating they are not strangers. For the offerer, this upgrades the offer’s worth, but for the offeree, the friendliness or closeness provides an exit path since as friends, there would always be other opportunities in the future to accept the offer. Offerees, therefore, also used the postponement supportive act to reschedule their acceptance of the offer.

All four instances of this structure in the data were found among Cameroonian respondents (two females and two males). Again, as above, the SC decides on what naming strategy to use on the JC. In (14), the SC calls the JC by his name “Bate” without an honorific attached to it. But the JC, like in Examples (12–13) above, sticks to the respect system and rather uses “Mr Mike” in order not to disrupt the social and professional hierarchy.

21. Higher National Diploma is a three-year post-secondary school professional qualification awarded by Polytechnics in Ghana.

(14) CaM24	SC: Bate, good afternoon.
Age: 17–25	<i>Name + G-greeting</i>
Ind. L: Kenyang	You: Good day Mr. Mike.
Usage: Seldom	<i>G-greeting + Name (+ honorific)</i>
L1: Kenyang	
Town: Limbe	
Edu: A/L	

iii. *H-greeting + address + familiarisation structures*

This complex greeting preparatory act is made up of three moves: greeting, address form and familiarisation. Each of these moves contributes to the illocutionary intent of creating a smooth relationship with the offeree. Such a relationship is crucial to the acceptance of the offer. In all, eight tokens were found in the data: three from Ghana (all females) and five from Cameroon (three females and two males) (Table 3.1). Since kinship is an important category in postcolonial societies, it is used here to relocate the relationship between interlocutors to family space. In (15), the SC's attempt to relocate to family space through the term "brother" is not reciprocated by the JC, who like in (12–13) above, reinstates the professional asymmetrical relationship through the choice of the address form "sir."

(15) GaF13	SC: Good afternoon brother and how are you?
Age: 46+	<i>G-greeting + Address + Familiarisation</i>
Ind.L: Twi	You: I am fine sir. Thank you.
Usage: very often	<i>Familiarisation + Address + Thanks</i>
L1: Twi	
Town: Accra	
Edu: Diploma	

The familiarisation move "how are you?" is intended to bring the two closer together. The JC does not react to the greeting move "good afternoon" but rather to the familiarisation, which indicates readiness to cooperate in creating a close relationship. Two address forms are used in Example (15): the kinship term "brother" and the honorific "sir." However, in the data on this offer situation, other address forms were used, among them, polite forms (e.g. young lady) and endearment forms (e.g. dear, my dearest, dear colleague). Interestingly, all of these (except *sir*) are found in the SC's turn. The SC, given the social power s/he embodies, chooses how to address the JC, who bound by sociocultural norms of respect, only has a limited set of honorifics, kinship, professional, etc. respect address forms to choose from.

b. *Familiarisation*

The second preparatory act found to precede the head act of offering in the data is familiarisation. Familiarisation could be a greeting, a question, a statement or any other discourse (e.g. small talk) whose aim is to prepare interlocutors for a longer conversation or to help them know each other better. It builds a bridge between participants by making them feel closer and at ease with each other. In the data, familiarisation could be an independent adjacency pair after the greeting preparatory act, i.e. a simple familiarisation preparatory act, or it could be in the same turn with a greeting move, i.e. a complex familiarisation preparatory act. Since it could also function as a greeting, it sometimes occurs at the beginning of dialogues.

Familiarisation is important in multilingual and multiethnic postcolonial communities because of the multiple identities people construct around their languages, cultures, religions and social groups. Through familiarisation, interlocutors quickly know the identity to adopt that fits the context of interaction and the status of their addressee(s). As shown below with GaF13 (17), familiarisation could entail asking interlocutors their place of origin or ethnic group or language. Depending on the response, the offer utterance or especially the offer insistence utterance could then be framed to suit ideologies or *stereotypes* linked to the offeree's ethnic group, place of origin or language.

From the data, there seems to be no standard way of realising familiarisations. Speakers tend to adopt strategies that suit their specific contextual constellations. However, the most common structure involves “how are you? or “how do you do?” forms of extended greeting rituals (Table 3.2). As with greeting preparatory acts, familiarisation preparatory acts are realised externally of the head act, i.e. as independent adjacency pairs.

In all, five structures of familiarisation were found in the data yielding 26 occurrences (13% of 200 respondents). According to country, with 18 tokens (69% of 26) Cameroonians used far more familiarisation preparatory acts than Ghanaians: eight tokens (31%). At the level of gender, both males and females in the two countries used exactly the same number of familiarisation acts, i.e. 13 tokens each, but the gender distribution within each country is unequal. In Ghana, of the eight occurrences, six are by females and two by males whereas in Cameroon, 11 of the 18 occurrences are rather by males and seven by females (see Table 3.2).

Employed by up to 13% (26 tokens) of the 200 respondents in both countries, familiarisation features as a relatively common pragmatic element for mitigating offers in public places. Taking into account the potentially face threatening questions used for familiarisation (see Example 17), it can be said here that what counts more for interlocutors is some form of cooperation that helps them maintain the sociocultural norms of their society rather than their individual face needs. Similar conclusions have been arrived at by Anchimbe and Janney (2011a: 1455–1456)

Table 3.2 Distribution of familiarisation preparatory act (Situation 1)

Type	Familiarisation prep. act structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 8)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 18)			Grand total
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Simple prep. act	How-are-you & How-do-you-do?	1	2	3	2	6	8	11
	(Self) Introduction & Justification	2	–	2	–	1	1	3
	(Physical) rapprochement	1	–	1	1	–	1	2
Complex prep. act	H/G-greeting + Familiarisation	1	–	1	4	1	5	6
	H/G-greeting + Address + Familiarisation	1	–	1	–	3	3	4
Total		6	2	8	7	11	18	26

who explain that, in Cameroon, young people accept advice and reprimands from older adults as a means of “maintaining the face of their group” and Mulo Farenkia (2011a) who describes situations where insults directed at one’s ethnic group are taken more seriously than insults directed at one’s individual personality.

I will now focus on the three simple familiarisation preparatory act structures from Table 3.2, describing their composition, pragmatic functions and providing, where there is need, illustrative examples. The complex preparatory acts in Table 3.2 are similar to those already described under greeting preparatory acts above and so need no further description here. The only difference here is that they are produced after a greeting preparatory act.

i. *How-are-you? & How-do-you-do? structures*

These are the most common realisations of familiarisation preparatory acts in the data. Taking the form of highly routinised greetings, this structure is used both for routine greetings and also for initiative inquiries seeking content responses. Respondents, therefore, reply using the ritualised form “How do you do?” or with the near ritualised form “I am fine, thank you” or actually give propositional or content answers, as in (16) – constructed by a 17–25 year-old male Cameroonian respondent (CaM3) – where familiarisation extends onto two turns rather than one as in most other cases.

In (16), familiarisation using the “How-are-you?” structure yields content responses from both the SC and JC. There is an implied desire to strike a common level of closeness before the main message of the conversation is introduced. This desire is visible in the length of the familiarisation turns, i.e. the SC finds the need

to also tell the JC how s/he is doing. Here, power still seems to be played out: the JC simply reports on his/her health but the SC reports on his/her activities and ability to handle situations – showing clearly that s/he is in charge.

(16)	CaM3	SC:	How are you doing?
	Age: 17–25	You:	I am healthy and kicking and you?
	Ind.L: Mungaka	SC:	I'm handling situations the way they present themselves.
	Usage: Never		
	L1: Pidgin English	You:	That's the best thing to do.
	Town: Yaounde		
	Edu: A/L		

Appearing in 11 dialogues, the “How-are-you?” structure is the most recurrent. Cameroonians used it more than Ghanaians, i.e. eight as opposed to three times. From Table 3.2, it is predominantly a male feature since more males (eight tokens) in both Cameroon and Ghana used it than females (three tokens). In Cameroon, only two of the eight were used by females, while in Ghana only one of the three was used by a female.

ii. (Self) introduction and justification

This familiarisation type is realised in the form of a question (SC) followed by a propositional or content answer (JC). The question requires the JC or, in general the offeree, to introduce themselves, e.g. their town or region of origin (17), indigenous language, where they live or any other information relevant for identifying them. The JC might also be asked to justify why they are in the current location, in this case the bar (18). In this familiarisation type, we see the amount of power that the SC wields when s/he poses such potentially face threatening questions. Interestingly, these questions are not interpreted as face threatening by the interlocutors since according to the social structure of the society a superior has the right to know more about the junior. Additionally, the senior must not be challenged, at least not in public. In Examples (17–18), both taken from Ghana, the JC answers these familiarisation questions directly without any hedges or hesitations, possibly because s/he does not want to violate the social norm.

(17)	GaF13	<i>H-greeting + Address + Familiarisation</i>	
	Age: 46+	SC:	Good afternoon brother and how are you?
	Ind.L: Twi	You:	I am fine sir. Thank you.
	Usage: Very often	<i>Familiarisation (Introduction)</i>	
	L1: Twi	SC:	Where do you come from?
	Town: Accra	You:	I am from Atsuobe in the Eastern Region.
	Edu: Diploma		

(18) GaF2	<i>H-greeting</i>
Age: 26–34	SC: Hello
Ind.L: Krobo	You: Hi
Usage: Very often	<i>Familiarisation (Justification)</i>
L1: Krobo	SC: What are you doing here?
Town: Accra	You: I am here to meet a friend.
Edu: A/L	

Interesting to note about (17) is the fact that the SC plays into identity politics by clearly asking the JC's place of origin. This certainly gives both of them the opportunity to adopt identities that fit that context and the asymmetrical relationship between them. In a later turn (i.e. offer insistence supportive act), the SC says "Oh do you think I will poison you?" which further touches on the identity issue, by implying that the two of them do not come from the same region or ethnic group. If they were from the same ethnic group or region, there would be no reason to poison one another since at this level they would treat each other as brother or sister.

Three instances of this simple familiarisation preparatory act were found in the data. Two of them, (17–18) above, are from Ghana and one from Cameroon which also follows the justification format in (18). All three were constructed by female respondents.

iii. *(Physical) rapprochement*

The third simple familiarisation preparatory act is referred to here as (physical) rapprochement. This simply means that one of the interlocutors moves to sit with or meet the other. Rapprochement refers to the desire to get familiar by actually reducing physical distance, e.g. sitting at the same table or next to each other. It opens up physical borders created by social or professional hierarchy. As opposed to the other types, it is highly performative or action-based although it is preceded or accompanied by verbal action as well. In (19), the SC simply points to an empty chair next to the JC when s/he says "Can I?"

(19) CaF43	<i>H-greeting</i>
Age: 17–25	SC: Hello
Ind.L: Ngiemboom	You: Hello, sir.
Usage: Seldom	<i>Familiarisation</i>
L1: Ngiemboom, English, Pidgin	SC: Can I...? (pointing to a chair)
English, French	You: Yes, feel free and sit.
Town: Buea	
Edu: A/L	

By moving over to the JC, it could be said that the SC tries to cast both of them on the same level where interaction could be less asymmetrical. Already in the H-greeting move in (19), the JC resists this social levelling attempt by using the status marker “sir” in his/her turn.

Only two dialogues adopted this structure, one from Ghana (male) and the other from Cameroon (female).

c. *Grounders*

Grounders feature prominently in the literature on politeness and speech acts such as requests, offers, apologies and complaints. Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to grounders as reasons which speakers give to hearers as a means of including them in a given activity or gaining their cooperation in it. As they explain, “giving reasons is a way of implying ‘I can help’ or ‘you can help me’, and assuming cooperation” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 128). For them, grounders are used to achieve positive politeness. In their study of requests, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989c: 287) define grounders as the “reasons, explanations, or justifications [a speaker gives] for his or her request, which may either precede or follow it.” Similarly, Aijmer (1996: 171) considers a grounder as a “pre-request which may be taken as an explanation (reason, justification) for the request.” She adds, in the case of offers, that through grounders “the speaker justifies the imposition” borne in the offer (Aijmer 1996: 191). Barron (2005: 164) finds grounders to be “a popular means of external mitigation” in offers in both Irish and English cultures.

This section follows the perspective on grounders outlined above but adds that grounders could also be hints that facilitate or prepare the ground for the offer sequence. They could serve as logical precursors to the action borne in the offer. For instance, telling the offeree that s/he looks tired could be a logical precursor to offering them a drink to rest and sit out the tiredness. This move is not a reason or justification for the offer as such but simply a means to an end – ‘since you look tired, a drink may do you some good.’

The grounder preparatory act seeks to place the offerer and the offeree on a common ground, i.e. something they both agree on. Such an agreement maximises the acceptance of the offer since the grounder already signals that both interlocutors are getting on well or cooperating. Three types of grounders were used by the respondents: (1) rest grounders – statements that point to the need for the offeree to take a rest since they look tired, (2) reunion grounders – statements that indicate the interlocutors have not met for a while and hence need a reunion drink, and (3) relaxation grounders – statements that signal the need to relax, irrespective of work. I have labelled the grounders here thematically following the illocutionary intent of the offerer.

In the data from Ghana and Cameroon, 14 (7%) respondents out of 200 used a grounder. Of these, eight were by Cameroonians (four females and four males)

and six by Ghanaians (four females and two males). So, no significant tendencies exist in the use of the grounder preparatory act between the countries and the genders. Grounders are generally realised as independent adjacency pairs, i.e. simple preparatory acts externally-modifying the head act (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Distribution of grounder preparatory act (Situation 1)

Grounder prep. act structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 6)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 8)			Grand total
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Rest grounders	2	–	2	3	1	4	6
Reunion grounders	–	2	2	1	1	2	4
Relaxation grounders	2	–	2	–	2	2	4
Total	4	2	6	4	4	8	14

i. *Rest grounders*

In the data, rest grounders are the most recurrent type of grounder preparatory acts in this offer situation. This is probably because going out for a drink is often linked with taking time off work, studies, etc. to rest. The way rest grounders are framed indicates that they justify or pre-empt the action of the head act. Some are framed as logical outcomes of actions on a continuum of activities with one logically opening into the other. As Examples (20–21) show, rest grounders could be offeree-beneficial (20) or offerer-beneficial (21). In the former, it is the offeree who is tired and, therefore, needs rest and in the latter, it is the offerer. Both signal the necessity for a rest over a drink in the company of one another.

- (20) GaF3 *Greeting*
Age: 26–34 SC: Hello Nakua.
Ind.L: Twi You: Hi
Usage: Very often *Grounder (Rest)*
L1: Twi SC: You look really tired.
Town: Accra You: Of course I do.
Edu: Mphil
- (21) GaF17 *Offer & offer refusal*
Age: 17–25 SC: Do you care for a chilled coke?
Ind.L: Ghomala You: Very tempting, but no thanks, am on a diet.
Usage: Seldom *Grounder (Rest)*
L1: Ghomala SC: So how was your day Gideon?
Town: Yaounde You: Very boring and yours sir?
Edu: A/L SC: I am very tired. I had a lot to do today.

Altogether, six instances of rest grounders were found in the data: two by Ghanaians (both females) and four by Cameroonians (three females and one male). With five out of six rest grounders produced by females in both countries, we could say grounding is a common feature of females in this offer situation. Again, this female inclination seems to further support claims in gender literature that women strive for cooperation during interaction and are more affectionate and polite than men.

Rest grounders also rely on the collectivist nature of postcolonial societies in which members care for each other's wellbeing. It is not only the SC who has the social obligation to do so as an older or superior member of the society, but also the JC as in (21).

ii. *Reunion grounders*

Reunion grounders help to sustain the conversation before the head act is made. As a preparatory act, reunion grounders advance the fact that interlocutors have not met in a long time as a logical reason or justification for them to take a drink together. The offerer normally initiates the grounder and in order not to break the cooperation between them, the offeree usually agrees to the proposition in the offerer's grounder.

Four respondents made use of reunion grounders: two each from Ghana and Cameroon. As far as gender is concerned, both Ghanaian respondents are males while the Cameroonians are a male and a female. All four are simple preparatory acts, as illustrated in (22). No complex grounders were found in the data although two grounder preparatory acts were used in the same communicative act, i.e. one after the other as in (24) below with two independent grounder adjacency pairs – a reunion and a relaxation grounder.

In Example (22), the reunion grounder comes immediately after the *Greeting + Familiarisation* preparatory act. Both interlocutors agree on the fact that they have not seen each other for the past day. The JC then goes on to advance a reason for that, "I have been so busy." It, therefore, sounds normal and logical for them to get back together, hence a good opportunity for the SC to make the offer.

(22) CaF16	<i>Name + G-greeting + Familiarisation</i>
Age: 17–25	SC: Dian! Afternoon, how are you?
Ind.L: Ghomala	You: I am fine thank you.
Usage: Seldom	<i>Reunion grounder</i>
L1: Ghomala	SC: I haven't seen you for the past day.
Town: Yaounde	You: Yes, I have been so busy this days.
Edu: A/L	

Reunion grounders touch on the collectivist nature of the society. They are not altogether a ritualised form as in Western contexts where the ritual greeting "Long time no see!" is used. In Ghana and Cameroon, asking about others' wellbeing plays

an important role in social relationships between people since it makes them feel they belong together and, therefore, have to bond with one another.

iii. *Relaxation grounders*

Similar in illocutionary intent and content to rest grounders, relaxation grounders are different in that they do not clearly link the need to have a drink to resting or tiredness. Rather, relaxation is projected as the goal of the offer or the offerer's intention. The choice of verbs as in, e.g. "to empty some bottles" and "to relax" (23–24), confirms the relaxation intention behind this grounder type. The grounder preparatory act is an implied invitation (indirect speech act) to the offeree to join in the relaxation by taking a drink, even though the direct offer is also subsequently verbalised. The invitation embedded in the grounder preparatory act makes the offer that comes after it look like a reoffer or an offer insistence or emphasiser. This upgrades its necessity.

(23) CaM24	<i>Name + G-greeting</i>
Age: 17–25	SC: Bate, good afternoon.
Ind.L: Kenyang	You: Good day Mr. Mike.
L1: Kenyang	<i>Grounder (Relaxation)</i>
Usage: seldom	SC: Massa, I want to empty some bottles before going
Town: Limbe	to the house.
Edu: A/L	You: Ok Mr. Mike. That's nice.

In (23), the offer is not yet verbalised but it is implied in the grounder exchange. Bate can only imply from the SC's intention that he too is invited to join in "emptying some bottles." Also worthy of note in (23) is the SC's use of the camaraderie or friendship address form "massa" on JC. This word which means *mate* or *friend* (mostly male) is borrowed from CPE. Its use by the SC signals the relaxed atmosphere in which the interaction takes place or at least the way the SC wants to portray it as being relaxed. Again, as explained before, Bate is not pulled into this power levelling approach but restores the status quo by consistently referring to the SC as "Mr. Mike."

Grounders, like familiarisation acts, do not have a stable structure at which they are realised. Speakers use their pragmatic innovativeness and multilingual repertoires (cf. *massa* from CPE) to construct grounders that create common ground between them and their interlocutors. So, more than one grounder preparatory act or adjacency pair could be used in the same communicative act. For instance in (24), two grounder preparatory acts are used in two simple preparatory acts, i.e. reunion and relaxation grounders. These grounders not only pre-empt the offer, they also strengthen the relationship between the interlocutors thereby maximising the acceptance chances of the offer.

(24) GaM31	<i>Grounder (Reunion)</i>
Age: 17–25	SC: Hey John, it's been a while.
Ind.L: Dagbanli	You: Yes. I have been around. What's up?
Usage: Often	<i>Grounder (Relaxation)</i>
L1: Dagbanli	SC: Just trying to relax and get over the books.
Town: Tamale	You: O.K. Dat's [sic] necessary.
Edu: BA	

Apart from pre-emptive grounders, grounders could also be any small talk that creates some form of a common ground between the speaker and the addressee. If they agree on whatever issue or topic that is raised in the grounder sequence, then the chances of an offer being made and of it eventually being accepted become higher. Such issues could be less consequential topics like the weather as in: “SC: What a beautiful day; JC: Yes sir, a very beautiful day” (CaM7). Here, the addressee’s cooperation is already secured, opening the way for the offer head act.

Four cases of relaxation grounders were found in the data: two from Cameroon, both males and two from Ghana, both females. By according whole adjacency pairs only to grounders, interlocutors highlight the social importance of offer acceptance to interpersonal and intergroup communication and societal cohesion. Given that it is the SC who initiates these preparatory acts in order to maximise his/her offer chances, one thing seems clear: all members, irrespective of social status and power, consider it a breakdown in the social bonding system if their offers are refused. The amount of effort put in to refuse offers corroborates this.

To conclude this section on preparatory acts, it is important to provide an overview of the overall use of these preparatory acts in Ghana and Cameroon. Figure 3.1 recapitulates the occurrences of these three preparatory acts among the 200 respondents showing where differences occur. For example, Cameroonian respondents used all three preparatory acts more than their Ghanaian counterparts. Except for the familiarisation preparatory act where the difference is 10, in the other two it is less, i.e. six for greeting act and two for grounder act.

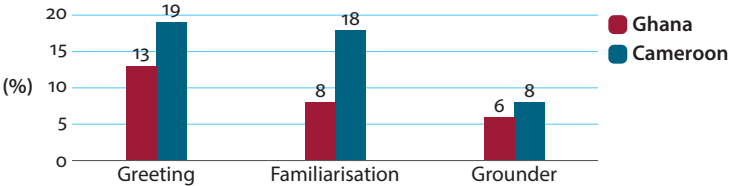


Figure 3.1 Overall use of preparatory acts between Ghana and Cameroon (Situation 1)

3.1.2 Head acts (types) and professional status

All the dialogues constructed by the 200 respondents have offers and offer refusals as their head acts, since the DCT questionnaire was on offers and offer refusals. So, the offer sequence or adjacency pair always constitutes two head acts: an offer head act and an offer refusal head act. The head act is generally preceded by preparatory acts and/or is followed by supportive acts. This section describes the types of head acts produced focusing on their structure and constituent parts, i.e. the horizontal structure, while Sections 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 below describe their realisation strategies and the pragmatic functions of their constituent parts.

Focus in this section is on the internal modification or composition of the head act sequence, classified here into three types: simple head acts, mixed head acts and complex head acts. The simple head act consists of a direct offer and refusal sequence without modification moves like thanks, address, apology, politeness marker, reason, conditional, etc. In the complex head act, both the offer and offer refusal head acts are modified by other speech moves. The mixed head act is at the intersection of the simple and complex types. Here, a mixed head act adjacency pair consists of a simple offer head act followed by a complex offer refusal head act or vice versa.

The notion of internal modification of the head act applied here corresponds to Sifianou's (1999: 182) external modification strategy which refers to "optional clauses which soften or emphasise the force of the whole request [or any other speech act] in some way or other." The complex head act is also similar to Trosborg's (1995: 215) external modification which includes all sequences that make a speech act such as a request and an offer "appear *plausible* and *justifiable* to the person who is to perform it." What Trosborg (1995) and Sifianou (1999) refer to as external modification is, following the definitions provided in Chapter 1, reconceptualised in this study as internal modification, and is not limited to the head act utterance or minimal unit alone but to the whole speaker turn.

The offer and offer refusal sequence is the core part of the communicative act. As the core, the head act carries the main illocution or message of the speech event since it embodies the speaker's illocutionary intent. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 17), the head act "is that part of the sequence which might serve to realise the act independently of other elements." All other speech moves, including preparatory and supportive acts, only mitigate, aggravate or modify the head act sequence by creating a favourable atmosphere within which the optimal success of the head act can be guaranteed, both in ritual and initiative offers.

Within the vertical structure of the offer-refusal communicative act, head acts could occur at the beginning followed by supportive acts or in the middle preceded by one or more preparatory acts and followed by supportive acts. The preparatory

and supportive acts are not obligatory, making it possible for an entire communicative act to consist only of the head act sequence. Table 3.11 below exemplifies some of the vertical structures of entire communicative acts found in the data on Situation 1 along with the pragmatic function of each adjacency pair.

Altogether, 22 realisation structures were used by the 200 respondents to produce offer and offer refusal head act sequences. As Table 3.4 shows, only one of these 22 structures is a simple head act, nine are mixed head acts, and 12 are complex head acts. Some of the mixed and complex structures were used only in Cameroon and not in Ghana, e.g. the head act structures; *Simple offer* = *Apology* + *Thanks* + *Reason* and *Simple offer* = *Apology* /+ *Conditional* + *Reason* occur five and seven times respectively among Cameroonians but not at all among Ghanaians (Table 3.5).

Table 3.4 Overall occurrences of head act types (Situation 1)

Head act type	Occurrences (<i>n</i> = 22)	%
Simple head acts	1	4.5
Mixed head acts	9	41
Complex head acts	12	54.5
Total	22	100

The overall occurrences of head act types in Table 3.4 are detailed in Table 3.5 indicating the number of realisation structures of each type according to gender and nationality of the 200 respondents, their internal modification moves and their occurrences in the data. Amazingly, when taken together there is no major difference between the two countries and genders. Cameroon registers 101 (50.5%) occurrences while Ghana registers 99 (49.5%). Within each country, gender differences exist, for instance, more females (26 tokens) in Cameroon used complex strategies than males (14 tokens), etc. (see Table 3.5).

The major reason for the predominance of complex offer refusal head acts in the mixed and complex strategies is that the offeree tries to make a plausible and convincing refusal, which often involves thanking, apologising, and advancing a strong reason for the refusal. No one wants to be seen as disrespecting the social norm which forbids juniors to oppose seniors, further typified by the asymmetrical power relationship in Situation 1.

Although the overall picture in Table 3.5 and the discussion below show sweeping similarities between Cameroon and Ghana, two major differences can be pointed out. The first has to do with the use of apology as an internal modification of the offer refusal head act. Table 3.5 shows that it is a predominantly Cameroonian feature. In offer refusal head acts that have apology as one of the moves, there are almost always more Cameroonian respondents than Ghanaians.

Table 3.5 Head act types and their realisation structures (Situation 1)

No.	Head act types and realisation structures ($n = 22$)	Ghana ($n = 99$)		Cameroon ($n = 101$)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
	<i>Simple head acts (1)</i>	$n = 1$	$n = 1 (\Sigma 2)$	$n = 3$	$n = 2 (\Sigma 5)$	$n = 7$
1	Simple offer Simple refusal	1	1	3	2	7
	<i>Mixed head acts (9)</i>	$n = 30$	$n = 24 (\Sigma 54)$	$n = 23$	$n = 33 (\Sigma 56)$	$n = 110$
1	Simple offer – Refusal + Thanks / Address – Thanks + Refusal	15	11	4	12	42
2	Simple offer Refusal (/+ Thanks /+ PM /+ Apology) + Reason	5	4	4	3	16
3	Simple offer Thanks / Refusal + Address + Reason	–	1	5	5	11
4	Simple offer Thanks /+ Apology + Reason	3	5	–	2	10
5	Simple offer Conditional + Refusal (+ Thanks) /+ Reason	4	3	2	1	10
6	Simple offer Apology /+ Conditional + Reason	–	–	4	3	7
7	Simple offer – Apology + Refusal /+ Reason – Refusal + Address + Apology	–	–	3	2	5
8	Simple offer Interjection + Address / Apology + Thanks + Reason	3	–	–	2	5
9	Simple offer – Refusal + Reason + Postponement – Thanks /+ Apology + Postponement	–	–	1	3	4

Table 3.5 (continued)

No.	Head act types and realisation structures (<i>n</i> = 22)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 99)		Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 101)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
	<i>Complex head acts</i> (12)	<i>n</i> = 19	<i>n</i> = 24 (Σ 43)	<i>n</i> = 26	<i>n</i> = 14 (Σ 40)	<i>n</i> = 83
1	PM + Offer or Offer + PM – Thanks (+ Address /+ Conditional) + Reason – Refusal + Thanks (+ Reason) – PM / Apology + Refusal /+ Reason	–	7	3	8	18
2	Name / Address + Offer (vice versa) – Interjection / Refusal (+ Address) + Thanks /+ Reason – Refusal + Reason – Interjection + Apology + Conditional + Reason	3	4	5	1	13
3	Third-party imperative offer – Apology / Thanks / Refusal + Reason – Interjection + Address + Thanks + Reason	2	4	1	1	8
4	H-greeting + Offer – Thanks + Refusal /+ Reason – Refusal + Apology + Reason	4	1	1	2	8
5	Grounder + Offer or Offer + Grounder – Reason / Refusal + Thanks – Thanks + Apology + Reason – Apology + Refusal	2	–	5	–	7
6	H-greeting + Address / Name + Offer – Thanks / Apology + Address + Reason – Interjection + Compliment + Apology + Reason	4	1	1	1	7

(continued)

Table 3.5 (continued)

No.	Head act types and realisation structures (<i>n</i> = 22)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 99)		Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 101)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
7	Attention getter + (Name / Address / Familiarisation) + Offer – Apology (+Address) + Refusal (+Reason) – Refusal + Thanks (+ Name) /+ Reason	1		5		6
8	Familiarisation + Offer – Interjection /+ Refusal /+ Thanks + Reason – PM / Thanks + Address + Postponement / Reason	–	4	1	1	6
9	Attention getter + Offer Refusal + Thanks (+ Reason)	2	3	–	–	5
10	PM /+ Offer + Explicator – Interjection + Compliment + Reason – Refusal + Postponement	1	–	1	–	2
11	G-greeting + Offer G-greeting + Conditional + Refusal	–	–	2	–	2
12	Name + Address + Familiarisation + Offer Refusal	–	–	1	–	1

The second difference is the use of H-greeting as an internal modification of the offer head act, which in Table 3.5 occurs 10 times among Ghanaians as opposed to five times among Cameroonians. A similar trend is found in the greeting preparatory act where Ghanaians tend to prefer H-greetings and Cameroonians G-greetings (see 3.1.1).

Apart from these two differences, and also the fact that some head act realisation structures were found in one country but not in the other, the postcolonial setup of these communities seems to make interaction in an indigenised language highly similar. Noteworthy as far as indigenisation is concerned is the ambiguous reply to questions of the structure: “Would/Do you mind a drink?” For some respondents, “yes” (25a) means refusal and for others “no” (25b) means refusal.

- (25a) SC: Would you mind having a drink?
 You: Yes I mind. (CaM27)
- (25b) SC: Would you mind for a bottle of drink?
 You: No. Thank you. (GaM17)

Interestingly, this ambiguity does not seem to create any intelligibility problems, at least not in the data. In all instances of these usages, it was clear that the offer was being refused.

The next sections illustrate the realisation of each of the three head act types with examples from the data. I have selected only the most recurrent for illustration.

a. Simple head acts: Simple offer head act = Simple refusal head act

As already mentioned above, simple offer and simple refusal head acts are rather rare in the data. Only one realisation structure of this purely simple exchange was found.

i. Simple offer head act = Simple refusal head act

Only seven instances of this simple head act structure were found in the data. This paucity indicates the respondents’ desire to cooperate and to maintain social cohesion within their communities. Since refusing an offer is not default behaviour, to do so requires convincing and socially-appropriate strategies, which often involve more than one utterance or speech move, i.e. internal modification. Simple offers or simple refusals usually do not include such modification moves.

Five of the seven occurrences of this structure were from Cameroon and two from Ghana (Table 3.5). No significant gender differences are visible in the use of simple head acts. In Examples (26–28), such simple exchanges involve a direct offer followed by a direct refusal (26) or a slightly mitigated refusal (27) or a refusal that reiterates the choice of words used in the offer utterance (28).

- (26) SC: Will you mind sharing a drink with me?
 You: No. (CaM20)
- (27) SC: Aren't you taking a drink?
 You: Not really. (GaF31)
- (28) SC: Would you mind taking another drink?
 You: Yes, I will mind. (CaF43)

Needless to say, these direct refusals were all followed by supportive acts in which the SC sought to know why the offer was refused, insisted on it being accepted, and/or accepted a postponement of the acceptance. The potential breakdown of the offer-refusal interaction and the subsequent harm to the social norm are redeemed in these supportive acts, since in most of them reconciliation or normality is achieved in the closing supportive act.

b. Mixed head acts: Simple offer head = Complex refusal head and vice versa
 Accounting for 55% (110 respondents) of all offer and offer refusal head act adjacency pairs, mixed head acts are a standard or preferred head act type in Situation 1. Two main reasons can be advanced for this: (1) the offer utterance is direct because, in most cases, the offerer makes use of preparatory acts that mitigate or upgrade the relevance of the offer, and (2) the offeree is under pressure to turn down the offer in the most acceptable manner, hence the reliance on various internal modification moves like address forms, thanking, apology, reason, etc. For both the offerer and offeree, what seems to count – taking from the effort each makes – is the safeguard of the sociocultural norms guiding their society or the specific context of interaction; in this case, the professional power relationship between the senior and the junior colleague.

Of the nine mixed head acts structures listed in Table 3.5, three were realised exclusively by Cameroonian respondents. Of the 110 respondents who used mixed head acts, 56 (51%) were Cameroonians and 54 (49%) Ghanaians. Slightly more males (57 tokens) in both countries used mixed head acts than females (54 tokens). In order to illustrate these mixed head act sequences, I have selected three of the most used ones from Table 3.5.

i. Simple offer head act = Refusal + Thanks/Address or = Thanks + Refusal

With 42 occurrences, this is by far the most common mixed head act adjacency sequence in Situation 1. The refusal head act contains two main parts, the refusal move and the thanking or address move (30); both often realised within the same utterance. In (29), the refusal is realised by “no” followed by thanks, hence making the offer utterance to resemble a ritual offer, but the SC’s insistence and the JC’s reason or excuse for not accepting the offer show that it is indeed an initiative offer.

The closing supportive act suggests that in spite of the refusal, none of the interactants has lost face. Put differently, the social hierarchy between the two remains intact, especially because the SC accepts the reason advanced by the JC, making the JC to also accept the offer postponement, “Well, next time”, proposed by the SC.

(29) CaF37	<i>Offer & Refusal head acts</i>
Age: 17–25	SC: Would you mind having a drink?
Ind.L: Moghamo	You: No. Thanks.
Usage: Seldom	<i>Insistence supportive acts</i>
L1: Moghamo, English	SC: Why, I insist.
Town: Buea	You: I would have loved to but I have to go to school.
Edu: A/L	<i>Offer postponement & Closing</i>
	SC: Well, next time.
	You: Ok, bye.
	SC: Take care.

The potential negative impact of the refusal in (30) on the senior colleague and other onlookers or bystanders is mitigated and softened by the use of “sir” which signals that the respect status quo has not been affected in spite of the refusal.

(30) GaM21	SC: Do you care for a drink?
Age: 26–34	You: No sir.
Ind.L: Gonja	
Usage: Very often	
L1: Gonja, English	
Town: Accra	
Edu: MA	

As Table 3.5 shows, 26 of the 42 occurrences of this mixed head act structure were produced by Ghanaians and 16 by Cameroonians. In Ghana, 15 of the 26 are by male respondents and 11 by females whereas in Cameroon 12 of the 16 are rather by males and only four by females. Gender, therefore, does not seem to be a consistent factor.

ii. *Simple offer head act = Refusal (/+Thanks + PM + Apology) + Reason*

The offer refusal head act in this second head act adjacency sequence includes moves like thanks, a politeness marker (mostly *please*), an apology (e.g. *I am sorry*), and a reason for the refusal. But the basic structure here consists of a refusal and a reason (31). In all, 16 instances were recorded for this structure: nine from Ghana (five females and four males) and seven from Cameroon (four females and three males). From these numbers, no significant trends exist as far as the two countries

and gender are concerned, however, the examples below point to the specific choices made by the respondents, e.g. in the use of an apology (31) and a politeness marker (33).

- (31) SC: Do you mind taking a drink.
 You: Yes, + I want to pick my kid sister from school. (CaM45)
Refusal + Reason
- (32) SC: Here, take this drink.
 You: Thank you + but I'm sorry, + I can't stay any longer. (GaF37)
Thanks + Apology + Reason
- (33) SC: Can I offer you a drink?
 You: No, + please. + Am ok. (GaM33)
Refusal + PM + Reason

The use of an apology (32) and a politeness marker (33) further point to interlocutors' readiness to cooperate and to mitigate the potentially negative impact of offer refusals in the two communities.

iii. Simple offer head act = *Conditional + (Refusal/+Thanks/+) Reason*

In this structure, a new move is added, the conditional: a statement that indicates that the offeree would have accepted the offer if certain conditions were met. Conditionals are introduced mostly by the modal auxiliary *would*, e.g. "I would have loved to...but" (34). Conditionals have a high politeness value since they imply that the offeree is normally cooperative but is unfortunately hindered by factors beyond their control. The basic structure is *Conditional + Reason*, with the possibility of a thanks and/or refusal move being inserted after the conditional (34–35).

- (34) SC: Why don't you sit and have a drink with me?
 You: I would have loved to, + but am late for class. (GaF6)
Conditional + Reason
- (35) SC: Do you care for a chilled coke?
 You: Sounds very tempting, + but no + thanks, + am on a diet. (GaF3)
Conditional + Refusal + Thanks + Reason

Though not very significant, Ghana (7 tokens) registers more occurrences of this realisation structure than Cameroon (3 tokens). There are no significant differences at the level of gender as well.

c. *Complex head acts: Complex offer head act = Complex refusal head act*

The complex head act type is realised using 12 structures and occurs in 83 (41.5%) dialogues: 43 by Ghanaian respondents and 40 by Cameroonian respondents (Table 3.5). The extensive use of modification in this complex type is also a factor of interactants' search for the most appropriate way of maximising the success of the offer (SC) or softening the impact of the refusal (JC) without causing a disruption to social cohesion. To achieve this, the SC uses internal-modification moves like grounders, attention getters, politeness markers, naming or address patterns, familiarisations and greetings to pull the JC closer in order to reduce the social and professional distance and power imbalance between them. The JC rather uses conditionals, address patterns, apologies, reasons and thanks to soften the offer refusal. While these are realised in the same speaker turn, they are further mitigated and aggravated in the supportive acts, in which each interlocutor tries to convince the other to either accept the offer (offerer) or to accept the refusal (offeree).

From Table 3.5, one of the 12 realisation structures of the complex head act type is used exclusively by Ghanaian respondents while two are used exclusively by Cameroonians.

i. *PM + Offer or Offer + PM = Thanks + (Address/+Conditional+) Reason or = PM/Apology/Refusal + Thanks (+Reason)*

In this complex strategy whose basic structure is *PM + Offer = Thanks/PM/Apology/Refusal + Reason/Thanks*, interlocutors employ speech moves that make it easier for them to achieve their communicative aims. The modification moves above help them perform an offer or a refusal in a way that guarantees its optimal success. The use of politeness markers, especially by the SC, is to further soften the imposition of the offer in spite of the power imbalance relationship.

Out of the 18 instances found in the data, seven are from Ghana (all males) and 11 from Cameroon (eight males and three females). The numbers point to a higher occurrence among males – somehow contradicting common claims that women tend to use more polite forms than men.

In (36) by a 35–45 year-old male Ghanaian, the use of the PM “please” in the offer utterance could be explained by the fact that the interaction begins with this head act rather than with a preparatory act as in other examples. The PM, therefore, functions, according to Trosborg (1995) and Sifianou (1999), as an internal modification move which mitigates the potentially imposing effect of the offer.

(36) SC: Please + have a drink

PM + Offer

You: Thank you + sir, + but I'm already leaving.

(GaM5)

Thanks + Address + Reason

- (37) SC: Please + do you mind a drink?
PM + Offer
 You: Sorry + sir + I would have loved to but + I have someone to attend to
 at home. (CaF29)
Apology + Address + Conditional + Reason

Examples (36–37) illustrate the possibility of many modification moves co-occurring in the same speaker turn when social cohesion could be at stake in such asymmetrical interactions. In (37), for instance, the JC uses four moves in the offer refusal utterance: apology, address form, conditional and reason, in order to persuade the SC to let him or her off the offer hook.

- ii. *Name/Address + Offer (vice versa) = Interjection/Refusal (+Address) + Thanks/+Reason* or *= Interjection + Apology + Conditional + Reason*

As illustrated in the preparatory acts above, the SC chooses how to address the JC. However, in this realisation structure, the name or address form chosen by the SC is within the offer head act utterance itself. In some cases, the SC prefers the JC's first name as a power levelling mechanism (38) or an endearment form (39) that seeks to create a friendly relationship between them.

- (38) SC: Peter, + take more drinks.
Address + Offer
 You: Oh + no, + am already running out of time. (CaM16)
Interjection + Refusal + Reason
 (39) SC: Take something to drink + my dear.
Offer + Endearment
 You: Oh + I'm sorry. + I would have loved to but + I'm late for lectures.
Interjection + Apology + Conditional + Reason (CaF26)

There were 13 instances of this realisation structure in the data: seven from Ghana and six from Cameroon (Table 3.5). A new modification move worth describing here is the interjection “Oh” used in (38–39). It could imply three things: (1) regret that the offer cannot be accepted at that time, (2) gratitude that the offer was indeed made, or (3) embarrassment at having to refuse an offer from such a person. Whichever is taken for the examples above, the result is that for the JC, refusing the offer would be against the social norm. Even when “Oh!” stands alone as an answer to the offer, it is still understood as a refusal as in (40) by a 17–25 year-old female Cameroonian respondent:

- (40) SC: Can I offer you a drink?
 You: Oh!
 SC: Don't say no to my offer. It is just a drink.
 You: No! I can't stay any longer. Maybe some other time. (CaF45)

SC unambiguously interprets the JC's "Oh!" as a refusal or as a preparatory move for the refusal.

iii. *Third-party imperative offer = Apology/Thanks/Refusal + Reason or
 = Interjection + Address + Thanks (+Address) + Reason*

In this head act realisation structure, a new offer strategy is introduced: the third-party imperative strategy. Through this strategy, the offerer does not address the offer directly to the offeree but instead asks a third party to perform it. The offeree's approval of the offer performance is not sought for. Third-party imperative offers are usually used by interlocutors who wield more power and can impose on the other interlocutors.

In (41–42) below, the barman is the third party who is supposed to bring a drink to the offeree. In using this offer strategy, Anchimbe (2011a: 425) explains, the offerer assumes acceptance or compliance by the offeree as "default social behaviour." Any refusal, taking from the senior colleague's assumption, could be seen as a potential disruption to the social or professional hierarchy between them. However, such an offer strategy could also be interpreted as the default behaviour in a bar situation: i.e., 'why would someone go into a bar if they do not want to drink?' seems to be the logic.

- (41) SC: Hello Barman. + Kindly give a bottle of soft drink²² to my junior colleague sitting in the corner.
Third-party address + Offer
 You: Oh + Boss! + Thank you + sir! + I've already had enough of it and + I have to rush away. (GaM1)
Interjection + Address + Thanks + Address + Reason + Reason
- (42) SC: Barman, + please + give my friend a drink.
Third-party address + PM + Offer
 You: Thanks, + but sorry. + I am in a haste. (CaM42)
Thanks + Apology + Reason

22. By specifying the type of drink, the senior colleague makes clear the amount of power s/he wields over the junior colleague. Since alcohol is for adults (and especially males) a junior colleague, the senior colleague seems to insinuate, should not drink it, at least not in the presence of seniors.

The JC's offer refusal turns in (41–42) carry various modification moves intended to mitigate the refusal: address forms (boss, sir), thanks, politeness marker and reasons. In (42) the JC advances two reasons to convince to SC to withdraw the offer, the performance of which no longer lies with the SC but rather with the barman.

Six of the eight third-party imperative offers in the data were made by Ghanaian respondents: two females and four males, and two by Cameroonians: one male and one female. With five males out of eight respondents using this strategy in both countries, we could cautiously attribute it to males. It also corroborates extant literature on male speakers' authoritative and imposing behaviour during conversations.

To recap, the three head act types described and exemplified above are used almost equally by Ghanaians and Cameroonians. As Figure 3.2 illustrates, there are only minimal differences in the use of these three head act types across the two postcolonial communities. This further points to the profound underlying similarities in their postcolonial sociohistorical structures and heritage, some of which are explained in Section 2.3 above.

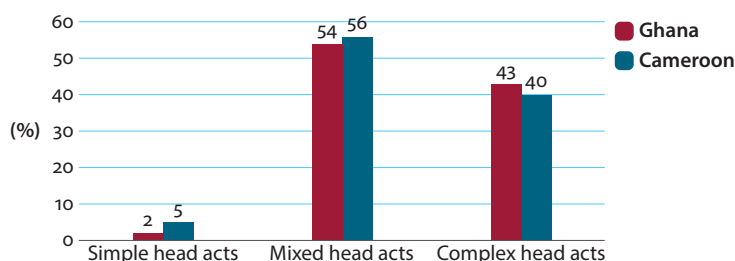


Figure 3.2 Head act realisation structures (Situation 1)

3.1.3 Supportive acts and professional status

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989c: 276), a “supportive move is a unit external to the [head act] which modifies its impact by either aggravating...or mitigating... its force.” For them (cf. also Trosborg 1995, Sifianou 1999), such a move is realised in the same utterance or speaker turn as the head act. But what I consider here as supportive acts (cf. also Anchimbe 2013a) are realised as independent adjacency exchanges after the head act. They are external to it, and function, in the case of offering – to encourage the offeree to accept the offer – on the part of the offerer – or to advance convincing reasons for its refusal – on the part of the offeree. They form part of the extensive vertical structure of the communicative act, and like preparatory acts, they enable interlocutors achieve their illocutionary intents without hurting social norms or misrepresenting speaker statuses and roles in specific contexts of interaction.

As far as Situation 1 is concerned, the SC uses supportive acts to upgrade the offer and maximise its acceptance by the JC, since a refusal could negatively hurt or challenge his/her position as senior. The JC rather employs supportive acts to ensure that the refusal of the SC's offer is not interpreted as arrogance or disobedience on his/her part but as the result of circumstances beyond his/her own control. For the JC, the use of the (refusal) explication (supportive) act founded on a solid reason is a common strategy in the offer refusal supportive acts.

In the 200 dialogues, seven supportive acts were found: insistence, explication, postponement, alternative offer, refusal acceptance, promise and closing. I have named them here thematically following the major illocutionary intent borne in them. For some, the main illocutionary intent is in the offerer's turn and for others it is in the offeree's and still for some it is in both. Many of these supportive acts could be used together in the same dialogue. They are, however, not always obligatory, which is why some dialogues had only an offer and a refusal head act sequence. In most of the dialogues, there is an overwhelming presence of offer insistence and offer refusal insistence and detailed explications of the refusals. These two supportive acts, i.e. insistence and explication, occur in over 75% of the data (Table 3.12). In the next sections, I describe and exemplify the seven supportive acts, providing statistics on their prevalence in the two research locations.

a. *Insistence act: Offer or offer refusal insistence*

Insistence, both by the offerer and the offeree, is a major part of the offer-refusal communicative act investigated here. Each interlocutor seems to have a reason for, and means of, insisting on their offer being accepted (SC) or on their refusal being accepted (JC). Both, however, seem to have the same illocutionary intent, i.e. maintaining social cohesion in the asymmetrical relationship between them as members of the same society or professional group. As illustrated above with the choice of address forms by especially the JC (i.e. *sir*, *boss*), the social norm of superiority remains intact even when the SC tries to override it by suggesting to the JC that s/he could treat him/her (SC) as an equal. In insistence acts, the SC sometimes tries to exert pressure on the JC from the position of superiority or power to accept the offer. The JC, faced with this pressure, resorts to advancing reasons (mostly excuses, conditions beyond his/her control) for refusing the offer. Sometimes insistence moves could cover two or more adjacency sequences until when the SC feels the reason(s) given by the JC is solid enough and then accepts the refusal or postpones the offer.

From Table 3.6, we see that 132 (66%) of the 200 respondents made use of the insistence supportive act. With 71 tokens, Ghanaians made more use of this supportive act than Cameroonians with 61 tokens. But as far as gender is concerned, both countries put together, there is no difference since each gender uses it 66 times. But within each country, a few gender differences exist; the largest being in Cameroon where 33 females as opposed to 28 males use it. These minimal

differences are not significant enough to dislodge the fundamental similarity in these postcolonial communities.

Table 3.6 Use of insistence supportive act (Situation 1)

Insistence act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	33	38	71	33	28	61	132	66%
Not used	17	12	23	17	22	39	68	34%
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

In the 132 dialogues that use insistence, a number of strategies are employed. Needless to say that the JC's insistence is normally mitigated in one way or another, but in a few situations, the SC also mitigates their offer insistence, perhaps, to maximise its chances of being accepted. In (43), the SC mitigates the insistence by making it sound like a simple wish:

- (43) SC: Well I wish you could stay longer.
 You: No. Thanks for all. Probably next time. (CaF41)

The mitigation in (43) is the stark opposite of the insistence in (44) which relies on threats to oblige the JC to accept the offer. The dialogue begins successfully for the SC since the JC reciprocates the use of first name, but in the second insistence move, the SC suddenly uses the face-threatening question "Are you trying to refuse my drink?" to restore the power status quo between them in a bid to pressurise the JC into accepting the offer. The JC feels this pressure but only repeats the initial reason for refusing:

- (44) CaF39 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 17–25 SC: Hey Ben, have another drink on me.
 Ind.L: Nweh You: Thanks Paul but I think I've had enough for today.
 Usage: Seldom *Insistence 1*
 L1: Nweh, English SC: Just one. Am paying.
 Town: Buea You: Sorry but I am saturated.
 Edu: A/L *Insistence 2: Threat*
 SC: Are you trying to refuse my drink?
 You: No, it's just that I've had too many already.
 Refusal acceptance
 SC: Well if you say so. Some other time then.
 You: Sure.
 Closing
 SC: Bye then and take care.

The threat in the second insistence move nullifies the presumed social equality created by the use of first names in the offer and refusal head act sequence. It is, however, also subsequently softened by the SC's acceptance of the refusal in the refusal acceptance act that follows the threat, i.e. "Well if you say so. Some other time then."

Another way of realising offer insistence is to ask the offeree if s/he is sure about their refusal. This direct question gives the offeree the chance to rethink their refusal and to perhaps accept the offer. In (45), the offeree does not advance any reason but simply answers the question:

- (45) SC: Are you sure?
 You: Yes. Thank you so much. (GaF2)

Offer insistence in the data is also marked by the use of the verb "insist" as in (46). The offerer (SC) makes their illocutionary intent clear through the use of this speech act verb. The JC, therefore, has to advance excuses or reasons that are strong enough to counter the insistence. In (46), the reason (i.e. picking up son from school) is convincing enough for the SC who immediately accepts the refusal, and signals his desire to maintain social cohesion by sending regards to the JC's family:

- (46) CaM33 *Greeting*
 Age: 17–25 SC: Good afternoon Mr. Paul
 Ind.L: Mankon You: Good afternoon Sir.
 Usage: Never *Offer & Refusal*
 L1: English, CPE SC: Please join me for a drink.
 Town: Bamenda You: No, thank you Sir.
 Edu: A/L *Insistence*
 SC: I insist.
 You: Thank you Sir but I have to go and pick up my
 son from school.
 Refusal acceptance
 SC: Ok I understand.
 You: Thank you for understanding Sir.
 Closing
 SC: Ok, my regards to your family.

An insistence strategy built on the asymmetrical relationship between the SC and JC is the third-party insistence strategy. In this strategy, in spite of the JC's initial refusal of the offer, the SC still goes on to ask the bar attendant to bring the JC a drink. It is similar to the third-part imperative offer strategy exemplified in Section 3.1.2 (iii) above in that the SC assumes the JC's cooperation by virtue of the power asymmetry between them. In Example (47) by a male Ghanaian respondent (GaM15), even though the JC refuses the offer in the two preceding exchanges, the SC still overrides these refusals by asking the barman to perform the offer.

- (47) GaM15 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 26–34 SC: What will you take?
 Ind.L: Fante You: Nothing.
 Usage: Very often *Refusal explication*
 L1: Fante, English SC: Oh, why?
 Town: Accra You: I am okay.
 Edu: BA *Insistence: Third-party*
 SC: Barman, give a bottle of beer.
 You: Oh no, don't bring it, I don't take alcoholic drinks.
 Alternative offer: Third-party
 SC: Then, a bottle of malt.
 You: No, thank you very much.
 Refusal acceptance
 SC: Okay.

The JC's refusal insistence contains a reason which counters the "beer" offer in the third-party insistence act rather than the initial offer of a drink. Seeing this as some form of cooperation, the SC makes an alternative third-party offer of a non-alcoholic drink, "malt", which the JC still refuses.

b. *Explication act: Refusal questioning and refusal explication*

As opposed to insistence acts which seek to motivate or convince the offeree to accept an offer, explication acts rather question the offeree's decision to refuse an offer. It is generally framed as a direct wh-question for which an explicit answer is expected. So, the explication supportive act consists of two parts: the first is the offerer's turn in which s/he questions why their offer is refused, i.e. demands for an explication, and the second is the offeree's turn in which such an explication is provided. As with insistence acts above, the offeree's explication usually consists of reasons or excuses. Such a question and answer format further accentuates the asymmetrical power relationship between the SC and JC.

Whether mitigated or not, the questioning of the offeree’s decision to refuse the offer challenges his/her individual right to a plan of action; but from the way the offerees answer this explication-demanding question, it is clear that they are simply playing the role that matches their status within that particular context of interaction. In all dialogues where an explication is requested, it is provided without repost or hesitation. Interestingly, the offerees take it as a chance to further mitigate their refusal by piling one excuse or reason on top of the other. This could be accounted for by the collectivist nature of the society wherein social stratification has to be maintained to ensure societal cohesion even when it infringes on individual rights.

Table 3.7 recapitulates the recurrence of the explication supportive act among the 200 respondents. 105 respondents (52.5%) made use of this supportive act, almost equally divided among Ghanaians (52 respondents) and Cameroonians (53 respondents). At the level of gender, the differences are minimal in Cameroon but non-existent in Ghana. These results are consistent with the hypothesis that these two contexts share a similar postcolonial structure.

Table 3.7 Use of explication supportive act (Situation 1)

Explication act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	26	26	52	25	28	53	105	52.5
Not used	24	24	48	25	22	47	95	47.5
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

What the results in Table 3.7 imply is that, while explication is an important speech move in such asymmetrical interactions, the patterns through which it is realised are diverse and not necessarily gender-specific. The most common pattern found in the data involves a direct wh-question, predominantly “Why?” (48) or “Why + presumed reason” (49) – what I refer to here as *why-explanations*. With such direct wh-questions – which in the Brown and Levinson (1987) sense would be hugely face-threatening – the offeree searches for the best suited reasons in order to avoid being pressured into accepting the offer. From the data, reasons based on health (48), religion (49) and family, e.g. picking children from school (50) seem to be quickly accepted by the offerer. In (48), the JC uses health problems to back up the refusal. Although the JC in (48) invokes a health reason, the SC still insists by making an alternative offer which eliminates beer from the list.

- (48) GaF12 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 46+ SC: We have soda, fruit juice and beer, what will you take?
 Ind.L: Ga You: No, thank you.
 Usage: Very often *Refusal explication*
 L1: GA SC: Oh, why?
 Town: Accra You: I am taking medication, please.
 Edu: O/L *Alternative offer*
 SC: You could have some fruit juice or soda.
 You: I'm sorry I have to stay off anything with sugar.
 Refusal acceptance
 SC: That's alright.
 You: Thank you.
 SC: You are welcome.
- (49) SC: Why? Are you not in the mood?
 You: Not that. My religion does not allow/permit that. (CaM5)

Besides direct why-explications as in (48–49) above, respondents also constructed dialogues in which the why-explication is mitigated. Here, “why” is preceded by a politeness marker or a phrase that softens the directness of the why-explication. In Example (50),²³ the SC softens the why-explication by using the pre-modifying phrase “May I know...?”

- (50) CaF43 *H-greeting*
 Age: 17–25 SC: Hello
 Ind.L: Ngiemboom You: Hello, sir.
 Usage: Seldom *Familiarisation*
 L1: Ngiemboom, English, SC: Can I...? (pointing to a chair)
 Pidgin English, French You: Yes, feel free and sit.
 Town: Buea *Offer & Refusal*
 Edu: A/L SC: Will you mind taking another drink?
 You: Yes, I will mind.
 Explication
 SC: May I know why?
 You: Well, I have to pick my kids from school.
 Closing
 SC: Ok. See you then.

23. This example is the continuation of Examples (12) and (19) above.

As a collectivist entity often conceptualised as a family (cf. use of kinship address forms), the use of children as a reason in the explication supportive act in these two communities makes much sense because, as Anchimbe and Janney (2011a) explain, in most postcolonial African cultures, adults play parental roles towards younger people in much the same way as they would towards their own children.

Another strategy used in performing explication is to counter the reason or excuse advanced by the offeree in the refusal insistence act. Sometimes a simple counter reason forces the offeree to either insist on the previous reason or to advance a new one. In (51), the JC does not insist on the previous reason directly, i.e. being late for home, but suggests that he has been in the bar for a long time already. Having also countered the SC's proposition, the JC then goes on to provide a new reason, i.e. his desire to drink only one bottle. By accumulating reasons for the refusal, the JC avoids the negative social impact of offer refusal in such asymmetrical relationships especially in public.

- (51) GaM24 *Third-party imperative offer*
 Age: 35–45 SC: Attendant, bring one more Star beer.
 Ind.L: Waale You: Oh, no, thank you.
 Usage: Often *Insistence*
 L1: Waale SC: Just one more bottle of Star beer.
 Town: Accra You: No, thank you. I feel I am late for home.
 Edu: A/L *Explication*
 SC: The night has just begun and why are you in a hurry?
 You: I have been here for a long time, besides, I just feel
 taking in only one.
 ...

As can be seen in Example (52), the offerer's turn in the explication supportive act could include a supposedly outrageous reason for the refusal. The offeree is then forced to deny the proposed reason and to advance the supposedly correct one or to reemphasise the reason given in the refusal insistence act as in (52).²⁴

- (52) SC: Oh! Do you think I will poison you?
 You: Oh, no, no, no, it's not so. It's only that I am satisfied. (GaF13)

The triple "no" in (52) indicates the emphatic manner in which the JC rejects the reason suggested by the SC. The JC moves on to reemphasise the initial reason. Such explication requests are suggestive of the identity alignments of people in these multiethnic contexts. As said earlier, if interlocutors belong to the same (ethnic,

24. This example is the last move of Example (17) above.

social, etc.) identity entity, suggestions of harm through poisoning, for instance, would not be invoked since the identity bond between them would make them feel like kin.

The number of explications that could occur within a single offer-refusal communicative act is unlimited and often also includes questions that are peripheral to the offer itself. From an offer of a drink, the interaction may end up on the offeree's mother who is sick (if the JC uses this as a refusal reason) and the SC's wishes of a quick recovery for her. This simply reflects the collectivist nature of the society.

c. Refusal acceptance act: Letting the offeree off the hook

The acceptance of the offer refusal by the offerer is a positive sign that the social bond or relationship between them has not been negatively affected by the refusal. Refusal acceptance is easily secured if certain reasons (see Examples (48–49) above) are invoked. These reasons which include the postcolonial pragmatic components, religion, age and family, touch directly on the social network of the society – by respecting this network, members maintain cohesion within their society. Refusal acceptance is generally taken as victory for the offeree who, in this asymmetrical situation, is able to achieve his/her communicative intent of getting off the offer hook without endangering their relationship.

The refusal acceptance supportive act does not really upgrade the offer as such but indicates that the offerer is satisfied with the outcome of the communicative act s/he initiated. It is, therefore, performed mostly by the offerer. In the data, the offeree's response to the refusal acceptance turn is generally thanks (55). In some cases, refusal acceptance is followed by an unbinding, polite promise or postponement, e.g. "Maybe another time then" (53).

Table 3.8 Use of refusal acceptance supportive act (Situation 1)

Refusal acceptance act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	15	15	30	20	21	41	71	35.5%
Not used	35	35	70	30	29	59	129	64.5%
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

From Table 3.8, refusal acceptance is fairly common. It is used by 71 (35.5%) of the 200 respondents: 30 of them in Ghana and 41 in Cameroon. Of the 129 (64.5%) respondents who do not use it, 70 are from Ghana and 59 from Cameroon. More Cameroonians (41 respondents) seem ready to accept a refusal than Ghanaians (30 respondents).

The limited use of this supportive act is perhaps due to the fact that it does not, strictly-speaking, support the head act of offering (except when such a refusal acceptance is realised together with a postponement). It is, however, supportive of the head act of refusal. Since refusal is considered negative, accepting it especially in this asymmetrical interaction could be tantamount to perpetuating a breakdown in the social structure of the society. However, where it is used, it indexes a cooperative end to a communicative act which has the potential of happening again in the future.

The two most prevalent ways in which refusal acceptance is performed is through the use of *Ok* +/- ... and *Thanks* +/-... What follows these two words could either be a ritual farewell form, e.g. *see you* or a propositional statement. In Example (53), what comes after “Ok!” is not binding but certainly a polite ritual postponement, but in (54) “Okey” is followed by a potentially propositional statement which leaves open the possibility of a future offer: “see me anytime.”

- (53) You: I am grateful but I have an appointment.
 SC: Ok! Maybe another time then. (CaF16)
- (54) You: Not so but, because of the work.
 SC: Okey, [sic] then go and continue your work and see me anytime. (GaM20)

Besides these two forms, other expressions that suggest refusal acceptance by the offerer are *I see; I understand; (that's) alright; well, that's fine; well, if you say so* and “if you insist” (55) which could be used independently or together with either a ritual form or a propositional statement.

- (55) SC: Alright, if you insist, you can go.
 You: Thank you, Sir. (CaM14)

In other cases, refusal acceptance is achieved by encouraging the offeree to perform the activity predicated in their refusal insistence or explication supportive act. Here, the offerer finds the reason worthwhile and supports the offeree in that plan of action. The SC tells the JC in (56) to hurry to the library to be in time – in accordance with the offeree’s reason in the refusal explication turn.

- (56) You: Going to pick a book I need for my project before they close the library.
 SC: Then you need to hurry to get it.
 You: Thank you sir for understanding my urgency. (GaF21)

d. *Postponement act: Offer or acceptance postponement*

Where the refusal is not accepted, the offer could be postponed. A postponement could be proposed by either the offerer or the offeree. By postponement here, I am referring to a conscious or initiative postponement where both parties know it is

not simply a politeness or farewell routine but rather a binding or near-binding future plan (57). It may include clear questions as to when or where the offer acceptance would take place. Ritual postponements which may take the form of ritual goodbyes or polite promises have not been included in this section, but are treated under the closing supportive act below. Ritual postponements are used basically for phatic communion.

Postponement, taking into account the numbers in Table 3.9, is relatively significantly used by the respondents. 47 (23.5%) respondents postponed their offers or their acceptance of an offer made to them. Differences at country and gender levels are not very significant. Overall, with 27 tokens in both countries, the females seem to prefer postponement more than the males with 20 occurrences.

Table 3.9 Use of postponement supportive act (Situation 1)

Postponement act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	14	10	24	13	10	23	47	23.5%
Not used	36	40	76	37	40	77	153	76.5%
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

The postponement in (57) is binding because a place and time of meeting is specified and both parties agree to it. Although it seems to be the only way for the offeree to get off the offer hook, it saves their social public face and maintains a smooth relationship between them. Each feels they have performed the social duty expected of them by their collectivist society, i.e. taking care of each other.

- (57) SC: I can't let you go without accepting my offer.
 You: Ok sir, when can I see you again?
 SC: Let's say Saturday 3pm at Mini Kocet bar.
 You: It's okay by me sir. (CaM39)

Prominent in the JC's turns is the consistent use of "sir", perhaps also to upgrade the respect factor embodied in the SC's higher status. The intention here perhaps is to make the SC understand that the refusal is not meant to undermine his higher social status and power.

e. *Promise act: Of acceptance*

Similar to the postponement supportive act but peculiar in terms of its framing is the promise supportive act, which also serves to reschedule the offer or its acceptance to a future date. Like certain postponements which are commissive in nature, promises are explicit commissives that commit the speaker to accepting the offer

in the future. The exchanges identified in the data as promises had a commissive speech act verb in them, especially, *promise*. Whether these promises are sincere or simply what Egner (2006: 462) refers to as “the polite African promise, where sincerity [is] ... irrelevant”, cannot be determined at this level. Even only taken in its politeness value within African societies (see Egner 2006), a promise signals cooperation between interlocutors. The fact that respondents quickly accept these promises – irrespective of their sincerity conditions – further confirms the collectivist nature of these societies and individuals’ readiness to play their roles as competent members of the society.

According to the data, promise supportive acts are not prevalent in this asymmetrical SC-JC offer situation. Out of the 200 respondents, only 12 (6%) used a promise supportive act. Taken together, the two countries show no gender differences, but within each the genders portray different preferences: in Ghana, four males use promises as opposed to just one female whereas in Cameroon it is the opposite, five females use promise acts while only two males do so.

The promise could be made by either the offerer, i.e. requesting the offeree to promise to accept the offer next time (58), or by the offeree, i.e. promising to accept the offer in the future (59). Whichever way the promise comes, the data shows a high readiness by both interlocutors to cooperate towards a future success of the offer. In (58), the SC asks the JC to promise to accept the offer next time, which s/he readily does, while in (59) the JC promises – on his/her own accord – to accept next time.

- (58) SC: Ok, no problem, just promise me you will make it next time.
 You: I promise I will. (CaM31)
- (59) SC: I am not happy.
 You: Promise to make it up to you next time.
 SC: If you say so. (GaF6)

Like postponement, the promise supportive act is used only after insistence and explication acts have failed to get the offeree out of an offer. In (58–59), it is only used when one of these supportive acts or even both have failed.

f. *Alternative offer act: Offering something else*

When the first offer is not accepted or is refused with a plausible reason that cannot be countered (e.g. health, age, religion and family), the offerer often tries to save the offer situation by making an alternative offer. Alternative offers may be linked to the initial offer, e.g. offering fruit juice as an alternative to beer as in (48) above, or may be completely unrelated to it as in (60) below where the alternative offer is to take the offeree to the hospital since s/he uses sickness as the reason for refusing the offer.

The data shows that only 24 (12%) of the 200 respondents employed an alternative offer. There is a significant difference between Ghana and Cameroon. Whereas 17 Ghanaian respondents make alternative offers, only seven Cameroonians do so. We could, therefore, say it is a feature more recurrent among Ghanaians than Cameroonians. At the level of gender, no clear trend is found.

The distance offerers are ready to go to ensure that offerees accept if not the original offer then an alternative offer indicates the high stakes involved in such asymmetrical situations. It could also point to the collectivist nature of the society in which each person tends to watch the other's back. The SC in (60) would not be seen as performing his/her social role as a senior if s/he did not ask about the JC's health and then offer to take him/her to the hospital since the JC has not yet taken any drugs. The SC is, therefore, simply playing the role society expects of him/her as a senior.

- (60) GaM36 *Third-party imperative offer*
 Age: 35–45 SC: Barman, a drink for my friend.
 Ind.L: Waale You: Oh, I won't drink.
 Usage: Often *Explication*
 L1: Waale SC: Why?
 Town: Accra You: Because I'm sick.
 Edu: A/L *Explication*
 SC: What sickness?
 You: Hmm! Some fever.
 SC: Have you taken a drug?
 You: No.
 Alternative offer
 SC: OK! Let me take you to the hospital.

g. Closing act: On a cooperative note

Like the refusal acceptance supportive act which does not directly upgrade the offer, closing supportive acts also simply close the communicative act. They generally signal that the interaction has ended, and in most cases, amicably. Closings generally use farewell and conversation closing formulae and routines, which include: (good) *bye*, *good night*, *thanks*, *see you tomorrow*, *take care*, *next time*, etc. Because of these formulaic routine expressions, the function of closing supportive acts is largely phatic, hence indicating the importance interactants attach to cooperation in such offer situations.

Going by Table 3.10, 86 (43%) of the 200 respondents used a closing supportive act to end the communicative act. 57% did not use an explicit closing act but some

of them used a refusal acceptance act or move that served as a closing move for the insistence or explication acts. At the level of the two societies, Cameroonians (57 times) used closing almost twice as much as Ghanaians (29 times). Closing is, therefore, a peculiar feature among the Cameroonian respondents in this offer situation. Gender registers no consistent trends in both communities.

Table 3.10 Use of closing supportive act (Situation 1)

Closing act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	15	14	29	27	30	57	86	43%
Not used	35	36	71	23	20	43	114	57%
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

Some closings reveal the bonds of relationship within these societies and how members relate to one another. For instance, in (61), the SC in his/her closing move extends greetings to the JC’s family. This is further proof of the collectivist thrust of the society and the roles expected of individuals as members of the group.

- (61)

You:

No, Mr. Mike, I got some work to do and madam must be waiting for me now.
- SC:

Ok, have a nice day then, and extend my greetings to your family.

(CaM24)²⁵

The greetings in (61) are not sent only to “madam” who is mentioned in the JC’s closing initiation utterance but rather to the whole family, which may well extend beyond wife and children to include all other relations living at home with the JC.

The use of the seven supportive acts in Situation 1 is summarised in Figure 3.3 below. The bar chart values correspond to the number of respondents who used each act in the two countries. Of the seven supportive acts, Ghana and Cameroon differ (relatively) significantly in four: insistence, closing, alternative and refusal acceptance acts. Whereas insistence and alternative offer supportive acts are predominantly used by Ghanaian respondents, closing and refusal acceptance supportive acts are more common among Cameroonians. Both sets of respondents use explication and postponement acts more or less equally

25. Continuation of Example (14) and (23) above.

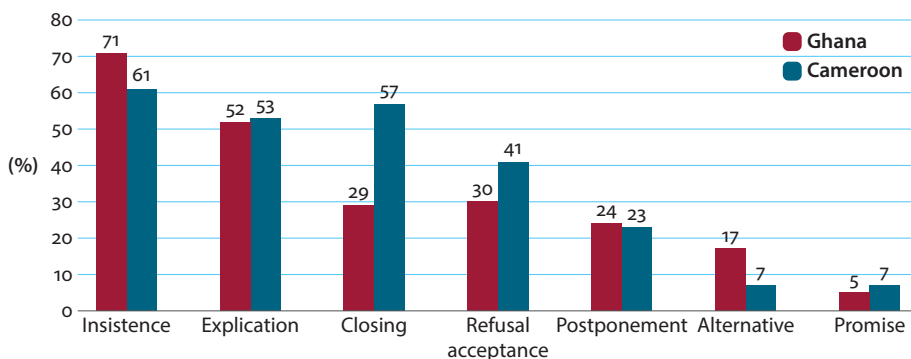


Figure 3.3 Overall occurrences of supportive acts (Situation 1)

This first part of the chapter has outlined the vertical structure of an ideal offer-refusal communicative act, explained the pragmatic function(s) of each of the three acts (preparatory, head and supportive), and provided examples from the data to illustrate them. The elaborate nature of the preparatory acts and the supportive acts indicate, as hinted on above, that the refusal of offers has the potential of straining social relationships between people and hurting social cohesion within the group. This is true of both Ghana and Cameroon, as the examples show.

The dialogues proposed by the 200 respondents can be regrouped into 80 vertical structures (see Appendix 2). For reasons of conciseness and readability, these structures are summarised to 42 structures in Table 3.11, which also identifies the composition of these different vertical structures and provides statistics on their recurrence in the data. The distribution of the structures in Table 3.11 according to country and gender reveals a few trends, but these are not considerably significant. Apart from the fact that some of the structures are realised in one country and not in the other or by one gender but not the other, there are few preferences for one structure in one country or the other, for instance, structures 1 and 2 in Table 3.11 are a bit more common among Ghanaians than Cameroonians. The numerical differences are not really high.

From the vertical structures in Table 3.11, we see that the offer and refusal head act sequence can occur in four positions: (1) at the beginning of the communicative act (48 structures), (2) after a preparatory act (20 structures), (3) after two preparatory acts (10 structures), and (4) after three preparatory acts (2 structures). Altogether, an offer-refusal communicative act could have as many as six sub-acts comprising of five preparatory and supportive acts and the head act (cf. structure 31 in Table 3.11). Even though most of the structures in Table 3.11 occur only once or twice in the data, the diversity in the combination of moves and acts illustrates the pragmatic choices these multilingual and multicultural speakers have at their

Table 3.11 Vertical structures of the offer-refusal communicative act (Situation 1)

No.	Type of offer vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
1	Offer + Insistence + Postponement / Alternative / Explication / Refusal-Acceptance / Closing/ Promise	8	11	19	9	3	12	31	15.5
2	Offer + Explication / Insistence / Alternative / Postponement / Refu-Acc	6	10	16	2	4	6	22	11
3	Offer + Explication + Postponement / Alternative / Closing / Insistence / Promise / Refusal-Acceptance	6	4	10	4	5	9	19	9.5
4	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Alternative / Closing / Refusal-Acceptance / Postponement	2	4	6	5	3	8	14	7
5	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	2	3	5	1	2	3	8	4
6	Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1	1	2	3	3	6	8	4
7	Offer + Explication + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance / Closing	3	2	5	–	2	2	7	3.5
8	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Refusal-Acc / Explication + Closing	2	1	3	2	2	4	7	3.5
9	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refu-Acc / Postponement + Closing	1	2	3	–	4	4	7	3.5
10	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer + Explication / Insistence + Closing / Refusal-Acceptance	3	1	4	2	1	3	7	3.5
11	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1	–	1	4	1	5	6	3
12	Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Closing / Promise	2	1	3	2	–	2	5	2.5
13	Offer + Insistence + Postponement + Closing	–	1	1	2	2	4	5	2.5
14	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Insistence	2	–	2	3	–	3	5	2.5
15	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Promise / Closing	2	–	2	–	2	2	4	2
16	Offer / Refusal	1	1	2	1	1	2	4	2
17	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance / Closing	1	2	3	–	1	1	4	2
18	Offer + Explication + Postponement / Promise / Insistence + Closing	–	–	–	2	2	4	4	2
19	Offer + Grounder / Familiarisation + Closing	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
20	Offer + Insistence + Promise + Refusal-Acceptance / Closing	–	–	–	2	–	2	2	1

(continued)

Table 3.11 (*continued*)

No.	Type of offer vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
21	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Insistence + Refu-Acc / Closing	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
22	Offer + Insistence + Postponement + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1	–	1	–	1	1	2	1
23	Greeting + Offer	–	1	1	1	–	1	2	1
24	Greeting + Offer + Explication / Closing	1	–	1	–	1	1	2	1
25	Greeting + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Postponement / Closing	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
26	Familiarisation + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acc / Closing	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
27	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Insistence / Refusal-Acc + Closing	–	–	–	2	–	2	2	1
28	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
29	Greeting + Grounder + Offer + Insistence	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
30	Offer + Insistence + Promise + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
31	Greeting + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Accept + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
32	Greeting + Grounder + Familiarisation + Offer + Postponement	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
33	Greeting + Familiarisation + Grounder + Offer + Alternative	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
34	Familiarisation + Offer + Explication	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
35	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Promise + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
36	Familiarisation + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
37	Familiarisation + Offer + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
38	Offer + Alternative + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
39	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Explication + Postponement	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
40	Familiarisation + Offer + Postponement + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
41	Grounder + Offer + Postponement	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
42	Grounder + Familiarisation + Offer + Explication + Insistence	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5

disposal. It also indicates that this offer type is not always a routine offer but rather an initiative offer whose success has positive impacts on the social relationships between people and cohesion within the community.

3.2 Offer utterances: Realisation strategies and pragmatic functions

After the description of types of head acts, i.e. simple, mixed and complex head acts, as part of the vertical structure of the offer-refusal communicative act in Section 3.1.2 above, this section focuses closely on offer utterances by describing the strategies used to realise them as well as the pragmatic functions of these strategies. The overall aim is to come up with a further categorisation or taxonomy of the horizontal structure of offer utterances paying attention to the internal modification moves or pragmatic components used. These modification moves include endearment forms, address forms, apology and so forth.

Schneider (2003: 183–185) following Schneider (1980) identifies three strategies through which offers are realised. These are imperative strategies which generally take the form of directive speech acts; preference strategies which are framed as conditional speech acts; and execution strategies which function as commissive speech acts. All of these are found in the data I collected from Ghana and Cameroon. Additionally, the data has declarative strategies which are framed as statements but function as indirect speech acts, e.g. indirect commands. I describe the use of these four strategies below.

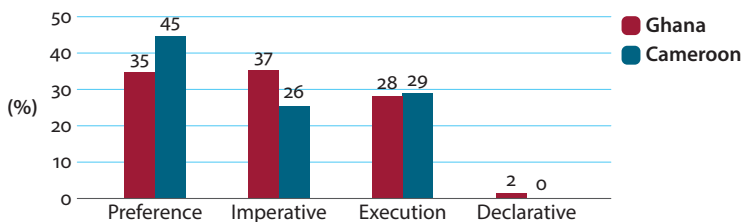
Besides describing the realisation of the head acts through the “isolation of the minimal unit which can realise a speech act” (Barron 2005: 151, Blum-Kulka et al. 1989c: 275), I also consider the pre-offer and post-offer modifying moves in the complete offer turn. Within these moves, clues to the social and pragmatic intents of speakers can be found. All of these four strategies could be preceded and/or followed by pre-offer and/or post offer utterance internal modifications. These modifications are generally phrases or complete sentences or utterances that seek to upgrade the offer or mitigate the possible imposition borne in it.

Table 3.12 reports on the use of the four offer utterance realisation strategies in the data. Preference strategies are the most used (80 times, 40% of 200), followed by imperative (61 times, 30.5%), execution (57 times, 28.5%), and declarative (2 times, 1%) strategies. Some relatively significant peculiarities exist between the two countries, for instance, Ghanaians use more imperatives (35 respondents) than Cameroonians (26 respondents) but fewer preference strategies (35 respondents) than Cameroonians (45 respondents). The declarative strategy is used only by Ghanaians (1%).

Table 3.12 Offer utterance realisation strategies (Situation 1)

Offer utterance strategy	Ghana			Cameroon			Overall total & %
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Preference	22	13	35	22	23	45	80 (40%)
Imperative	16	19	35	12	14	26	61 (30.5%)
Execution	11	17	28	16	13	29	57 (28.5%)
Declarative	1	1	2	0	0	0	2 (1%)
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200 (100%)

According to Table 3.12, more Cameroonian males use preference (23 respondents) than Ghanaian males (13 times). But more Ghanaian males (19 times) use imperatives than Cameroonian males (14 respondents). Imperatives would be considered, especially in Western contexts, as less polite. But given the asymmetrical offer situation studied in this chapter, the SC embodies power which authorises him/her to make imperative offers. Execution strategies are not extensively used perhaps because of their commissive nature. The SC seems to prefer making imperative and preference offers rather than putting himself or herself in the action-position. Again, this suits the cultural context of the offer situation and the social power structure between the interlocutors. The distribution of the four offer strategies among Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents is captured in Figure 3.4. Differences are minimal further illustrating how much these postcolonial contexts share fundamental characteristics.

**Figure 3.4** Distribution of offer utterance realisation strategies (Situation 1)

3.2.1 Preference strategy in offer utterances

The preference strategy, as said above, points to the conditional nature of offers (Barron 2005) and is generally realised through questions. For Schneider (2003: 183), “preference questions serve to establish the addressee’s needs” and hence the offerer’s desire to attend to those needs. The way preference offers are

framed indicates that the offeree is given the chance to make a choice, i.e. to accept or refuse the offer, to state their preference, to indicate a future plan of action or to specify their need. In the data, offer preference strategies are realised using five syntactic constructions yielding five types of preference strategies: (a) question offeree preference, (b) question offeree interest, (c) question offeree (future) action, (d) question offeree choice, and (e) the suggestory formula (cf. Schneider 2003, Barron 2005). I will describe each of them below taking into account the different syntactic formulae through which they are framed and their internal-modifications. It is important to note here that some of these offer head act minimal units are produced both as simple head acts, i.e. without any internal modification and as complex head acts, i.e. with modification moves like greeting, address forms, endearment terms, etc.

a. *Question offeree preference*

This type of preference strategy is by far the most commonly used by both sets of respondents. Here, the offeree is given the chance to indicate a preference, i.e. to say whether or not they would want the offer performed. Preference here is embodied in the offerer's use of (conditional) modals like *would*, *do*, *will* together with verbs like *mind*, *like*, *love* and followed by a VP or an NP or both. It is realised at the following structures:

- *would you like* + VP + NP
- *do you mind/like* + VP (+NP)
- *would you mind/like/love* + VP (+NP)
- *will you mind* + VP (+NP)

In (62), the minimal offer head act unit is modified by the endearment phrase “my dear” which serves to create a personal relationship between the interlocutors. This makes (62) a complex preference offer. The JC is addressed not as a colleague but as a close acquaintance perhaps because, for the SC, the success of the offer determines the extent to which his or her status as the senior is appreciated both by the JC and other bystanders or onlookers.

This preference type is used exceedingly in both societies but with Cameroonians having a slight edge both in this preference type and also in the overall use of the preference strategy (Table 3.12).

- (62) My dear, would you like to share a drink with us? (CaM15)
Endearment + Offer

b. Question offeree interest

In this type of preference strategy, the offerer's question seeks to establish the offeree's interest in the offer. If the offeree indicates interest, then the offer is made. It is realised in the data through the use of the verb *care* as in *care for* (63). Syntactically, two construction formulae are recurrent: *do you care for* + NP and *will you care for* + NP.

The performance of the offer in (63) depends on the offeree's indication of interest, i.e. if s/he cares for a drink. (63) is a simple preference offer in that it is not internally-modified as (62) is through the endearment phrase "my dear." As Table 3.13 illustrates, this type of preference strategy was used by both Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents.

- (63) Do you care for a bottle of drink? (CaF42)
Simple preference offer

c. Question offeree (future) action

The offeree's (immediate future) plan is the target of the preference question in this preference type. The action predicated in the offer is presented as default or normal, i.e. something the offeree ought to do or ought to be doing at the time of the offer. Common syntactic formulae include: *aren't you taking* + NP and *won't you take* + NP.

By presenting the offer as default action, i.e. through the use of the negation forms "aren't" or "won't", the SC in (64) assumes cooperation from the JC. Although it is a simple preference offer, it could also be complex with the use of address forms (personal name, endearment or kinship term, grounder, etc.). All instances of this preference type were produced by Ghanaians (Table 3.13). It could be cautiously treated, based on the data, as a feature of Ghanaian English speakers.

- (64) Aren't you taking any drink? (GaF31)
Simple preference offer

d. Question offeree choice

Here the offeree is given a list of alternatives to choose from. Even where the list is not verbalised, it is implied that the offeree has certain options from which to choose. This type is usually made up of two parts: the first part lists the alternatives or options and the second asks a direct question requesting the offeree to make a choice (65) or vice versa (66). In (66), a third-party address is used, making it possible to have more than two moves in this preference type.

- (65) We have soda, fruit juice and beer. What will you take? (GaF12)
Alternatives + Offer

- (66) Waiter, come over. What will you take? Gin, wine or beer? (GaF20)
- Third-party Address + Offer + Alternatives

By presenting alternatives, the offerer seems to assume that accepting or refusing the offer is no longer problematic. It is a way of subtly obliging the offeree to choose from the options rather to state interest in the offer. Both Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents made use of this offer preference type. However, the third-party imperative strategy, as Table 3.5 above confirms, is more predominant among Ghanaians.

e. *Suggestory formula*

The offer comes through in this preference type as a suggestion for a future plan of action. It suggests that the offerer is equally interested in the action predicated in the offer (Schneider 2003, Barron 2005). So, it is not only about the offeree but also about the offerer – making the offer a common line of action for the two. It is realised using the structure *How about* + NP (+...) as in (67):

- (67) How about a drink after this tedious day? (CaF6)
- Offer + Grounder

Example (67) is a complex preference offer in that the offer head act unit is followed by the grounder “after this tedious day” which upgrades the offer by justifying its necessity. As Table 3.13 indicates, this preference type was used only by Cameroonian respondents.

Table 3.13 Types of preference strategies (Situation 1)

Type of preference strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Question offeree preference	– <i>would you like</i> + VP + NP	+	+
	– <i>do you mind/like</i> + VP (+ NP)		
	– <i>would you mind/like/love</i> + VP (+NP)		
	– <i>will you mind</i> + VP(+NP)		
Question offeree interest	– <i>do you care for</i> + NP	+	+
	– <i>will you care</i> + NP		
Question offeree (future) action	– <i>aren't you taking</i> + NP	+	–
	– <i>won't you take</i> + NP		
Question offeree choice	– <i>alternatives</i> + <i>question</i> (vice versa)	+	+
Suggestory formula	– <i>how about</i> + NP	–	+

As opposed to most Western data (see e.g. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989b, Schneider 2003, Barron 2005) where offer head act modification is realised mostly through politeness-laden grammatical phrases, in the data from Ghana and Cameroon, modification is mostly achieved through elements that strive to achieve closer

interpersonal relationships between interlocutors, for instance, terms of endearment, use of names and address forms.

As far as the use of the preference strategy is concerned, Table 3.12 shows that more Cameroonian respondents (45 times) used this strategy than Ghanaians (35 times). Does it suggest that Cameroonians are more willing to give interlocutors the chance to choose in such asymmetrical interactions than Ghanaians? A direct answer to this is not possible, but what we must take into account is the type of preparatory and supportive moves that accompany the offers. A preference offer may be followed by a string of explication moves which immediately wipe out the potentially unimposing nature of the offer head act.

3.2.2 Imperative strategy in offer utterances

The imperative strategy is realised as a command or an order, i.e. a directive speech act. It tells the interlocutor what to do. As a directive speech act, it is normally expected to be mitigated in order not to be considered too imposing. Imposition is culturally diverse and dependent on interlocutor statuses and context. In the data, given the speaker statuses, the senior colleague only mitigates the offer in order to maximise its acceptance, and not to mitigate the level of imposition. The society's code of social interaction submerges the junior colleague's individual rights into the entire group's social hierarchy system. This explains why many of the imperative offers in this offer situation are realised without modification, e.g. (68) below.

Five types of imperative strategies were found in the data. I have labelled them following both their syntactic structure and their illocutionary intent: (a) offeree imperative or action, (b) third-party imperative or action, (c) state offerer permission, (d) state offeree invitation, and (e) offer deictic.

a. *Offeree imperative or action*

Here, the force of the imperative is directed at the offeree who is asked to do something. The action borne in the offer is expected to be performed by the offeree. Offeree imperatives can be realised both as simple imperative offers (68) and as complex imperative offers (69). The imposition in (68) could be attributed to the offerer's superior status. There is no limit to the number and type of modification moves that can be used in complex offers. For instance, in (69), four modification moves are used: greeting, endearment, politeness maker and grounder. The minimal head act unit in this type of imperative has the structure: *Verb + NP*, to which internal pre- and/or post-modifications can be added.

(68) Take a beer.

(CaM19)

Simple imperative offer

- (69) Hello dear, please take this drink to cool you up. (GaF39)
Greeting + Endearment + PM + Offer + Grounder

This imperative type is the most used among the five types of imperative strategies. It is used just as much by Ghanaian as by Cameroonian respondents (Table 3.14).

b. *Third-party imperative or action*

As said above, the action in the offer utterance in the third-party imperative type is directed at a third-party (e.g. the barman). Even where the third-party is not clearly named, it is evident from the context to whom the command is being addressed. This type is always complex because although the verbalised addressee is the third-party, a verbalised response is usually expected from the offeree. After all, the performance of the offer depends on the offeree's cooperation.

- (70) Barman, please give my friend a drink. (CaM42)
Third-party Address + PM + Offer

Third-party imperatives, as said above, assume offeree cooperation by treating the offer as default. Again, the imbalance in power in speaker statuses in this offer situation makes this imperative type very possible. In all 10 occurrences of this type, eight were by Ghanaian respondents and only two by Cameroonians.

c. *State offerer permission*

In this imperative type, the offerer states their permission for the offeree to perform the offer. The decision to accept the offer is passed on to the offeree. It is realised using syntactic constructions like: *you can have + NP* and *you could take + NP*. Besides the honorific "Mr", the offerer permission in (71) is further mitigated by the phrase "if you want" which somehow gives the freedom of action to the offeree. It reduces or annuls the potential imposition of the offer and the SC's superior status. All occurrences of this imperative type are produced only by Cameroonians (Table 3.14).

- (71) Mr... you could have another drink. (CaM17)
Honorific Address + Offer

d. *Offer deictic*

With offer deictic imperatives, a deictic element is used to point at the object that is being offered. This indexical makes the offer resemble a *fait accompli* since it is concrete and can be seen by the offeree. The offeree's interest or desire is not asked for in advance but s/he is directed to the offer. Acceptance is assumed since the offer is realised here as default behaviour. The syntactic construction used to realise it in the data is *deictic + VP (+NP)*. In (72), the indexical is the proximal place deictic

element “here”, implying that the drink is physically available within reach of the offeree. The use of the distance-closing deictic “here” also serves to reduce the social hierarchical distance between the interlocutors. For the SC, this might be important for the acceptance of the offer.

- (72) Here is a drink for you. (GaF14)
Deictic + Offer

Offer deictic imperatives are used only by Ghanaian respondents. Although (72) is realised as a simple imperative offer, the data also has examples of complex offer deictic imperatives.

e. *State offeree invitation*

In this imperative type, the offerer states that the offeree is invited to join in the action predicated in the offer. The premise here is that the offerer is already performing that action and hence invites the offeree to join in. State offeree invitation imperatives are generally realised as compound sentences. The two main verbs of the compound sentence are either brought together by a verbalised coordinating conjunction, i.e. “and” (73), or the two clauses are realised as two simple sentences (74). This imperative type is made up of two main parts: (1) the invitation part, realised using verbs like *join (me)*, *sit (down)*, *come*, and (2) the offer part, realised using verbs like *have + NP*, *take + NP*, etc. Both parts form a serialised line of action in which the first part leads logically into the second. The syntactic construction found in the data for this type is: *invitation + (conj +) VP (+NP)*, to which modifications can be added.

Examples (73–74) are complex imperatives that use various modification moves. Both are minimally modified using an attention getter, “hey!” but (73) uses three modification moves. As Table 3.14 illustrates, both sets of respondents made use of this imperative type.

- (73) Hey Kwame please come and have a drink with me. (GaF41)
Attention getter + Name + PM + Invitation + Offer
- (74) Hey! Join me. Have a drink. (CaF18)
Attention getter + Invitation + Offer

The modification moves used in this head act strategy to either upgrade the offer or mitigate the level of imposition are reminiscent of the desire to create closer relationships with interlocutors. The attention getter in (73–74), personal name in (73), proximal deixis in (72), endearment and grounder in (69) all point to the desire to achieve some form of closeness to the offeree.

The occurrence of the five types of imperative strategies in the data is reported in Table 3.14. The strategy, state offer permission, occurs only in Cameroon while offer deictic is used only in Ghana. Overall, as illustrated in Table 3.12 above, Ghanaian respondents made slightly more use of the imperative strategy than Cameroonians: 37 times to 26 times.

Table 3.14 Types of imperative strategies (Situation 1)

Type of imperative strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Offeree imperative or action	– <i>verb</i> + <i>NP</i>	+	+
Third-party imperative or action	– (<i>3rd-party</i> +) <i>verb</i> + <i>NP</i>	+	+
State offerer permission	– <i>you can have</i> + <i>NP</i> – <i>you could take</i> + <i>NP</i>	–	+
State offeree invitation	– <i>invitation</i> + (<i>conj</i> +) <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)	+	+
Offer deictic	– <i>deitic</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)	+	–

3.2.3 Execution strategy in offer utterances

According to Schneider (2003: 183) “execution questions stem from the commissive nature of offers. They explicitly mention the speaker as the agent of the predicated action (‘benefactor’), and the hearer as the goal of the action (‘beneficiary’).” As opposed to third-party imperatives where the offeree is not addressed directly, with execution offers, the offeree is addressed directly by name or by the second person pronoun *you* or other address forms. In all the examples below (75–80), the offeree is clearly identified as the beneficiary of the action of offering, and the offerer, represented by the pronouns *I* and *we*, as the benefactor. In the question offeree ability execution type, the speaker does not openly commit to a future action (75), as claimed by Schneider (2003) above. This type is not overtly a speaker commissive as such even though it is clear that the offer is being made by the speaker.

Six types of execution strategies were found in the data: (a) question offeree ability, (b) question offerer ability, (c) state offerer desire, (d) request offeree permission, (e) offerer-offeree (future) action, and (f) offerer accomplished action.

a. Question offeree ability

In this type of execution strategy, the offeree’s ability to perform the offer is targeted in the execution question. The execution of the offer itself lies with the offeree. It is realised using two main syntactic constructions: *can you* + *VP*? (75) and *could you* + *VP*? Respondents from both countries made use of this execution type. Also, simple as well as complex execution offers were used in realising the offer head acts.

- (75) Can you have a drink with me? (CaM14)
Simple executive offer

b. Question offerer ability

Contrary to the execution type above, here the execution of the offer lies with the speaker. So, it is a commissive act to be realised by the offerer if the offeree permits. The execution question of this type has two major syntactic forms: *can I + VP?* (76) and *may I + VP?* along with modification moves. In (76), this type of execution strategy is introduced by an apology “sorry.”

- (76) Sorry but can I offer you a drink? (GaM 42)
Apology + Offer

Used in both Ghana and Cameroon, this type is the most recurrent in the data. It indicates that the SC wants an explicit permission from the JC to make the offer. This is contrary to other types and strategies, e.g. third-party and offer deictic types above, where the offeree’s permission is not asked for and their cooperation is simply assumed.

c. State offerer desire

The offerer states his/her desire, wish or love to make the offer to the offeree. It is not a question but a statement. It commits the speaker to the action predicated in the offer if the offeree accepts it. The use of the verb “wish” (77) and the commonly used mitigator *would like to* further soften the imposition of the offer by leaving the decision to accept with the offeree. The two dominant constructions used for this type in the data are *I wish + VP* (77) and *I would like + VP*.

- (77) I wish to offer you a drink. (CaF15)
Simple executive offer

By mitigating the offer as a wish (77), the SC maximises its acceptance since, according to social norms, the JC is expected to cooperate. This type was used only by Cameroonians (Table 3.15).

d. Request offeree permission

In this execution type, the offeree’s permission for the offer realisation is explicitly sought for. Realised using structures like *allow me + VP (+NP)* (78) and *let me + VP (+NP)*, the performance of the offer is dependent on the offeree’s permission. Although the *let me + VP (+NP)* construction seems already ritualised, it still indicates the distance the SC colleague is ready to go to ensure acceptance of the offer – for the sociocultural reasons explained earlier.

(78) Allow me to buy you a drink.

(GaM49)

Simple execution offer

In the simple execution offer in (78), though the offeree's permission is sought for, it is understood that the offer has already been verbally made and it is its performance that has to be authorised by the offeree. While these constructions may be considered ritual formulations, when placed within the complete offer-refusal exchange, they become substantive offers since they are accompanied by supportive acts like insistence, explication, postponement, etc. This type was used by both Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents (Table 3.15).

e. Offerer-offeree (future) action

The offer in this execution type is presented as a joint future action of both the offerer and the offeree: cf. the use of the inclusive pronouns *us*, *we* in (79). Realised using the construction *let us* + *VP* (+*NP*) (79) and *can we* + *VP*?, it insinuates that the offer is relevant to both of them and should, therefore, be default action. It can be produced both as a statement (79) and as a question, using the *can we* + *VP* construction. As (79) illustrates, such offerer-offeree offers have grounders which create a sense of a joint plan of action for the interlocutors.

(79) Peter dear, since we closed the office early today, let's go for a drink. (CaF23)

Name + Endearment + Grounder + Offer

The grounder in (79) identifies both interlocutors performing a previous action together. This makes the ensuing action embedded in the offer a normal continuation of their activities. The SC gives the JC little chance of refusing the offer of a drink by making it look logical since they closed the office early and so have time for a drink. This type was attested in the data from Ghana as well as Cameroon.

f. Offerer accomplished action

The superior status and power of the SC is visible in this execution type. Here, like with offer deictic imperatives above, the offer is made as an accomplished action. The offeree is simply presented with the offer object which has already been procured without his/her prior permission. The offeree's acceptance or cooperation is assumed in this *fait accompli* execution type which is realised using the format: *I* + *verb* (*Past*) + *NP* as in (80).

(80) Hey, I bought you a drink.

(GaM13)

Attention getter + Offer

In (80), the offerer simply informs the offeree of the offer after it has been bought. The offeree is now faced with an accomplished offer and not a question about their desire or interest in or ability to perform the offer. Like above, the offeree's acceptance is assumed as well. This type was used only by male Ghanaian respondents (Table 3.15).

Table 3.15 Types of execution strategies (Situation 1)

Type of execution strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Question offeree ability	– <i>can you + VP?</i> – <i>could you + VP?</i>	+	+
Question offerer ability	– <i>can I + VP?</i> – <i>may I + VP?</i>	+	+
State offerer desire	– <i>I wish + VP</i> – <i>I would like + VP</i>	–	+
Request offeree permission	– <i>Allow me + VP(+NP)</i> – <i>Let me + VP(+NP)</i>	+	+
Offerer-offeree (future) action	– <i>Let us + VP(+NP)</i> – <i>Can we + VP</i>	+	+
Offerer accomplished action	– <i>I + verb (Past) + NP</i>	+	–

Taking from Table 3.12 above, Cameroonians and Ghanaians made almost equal use of the execution strategy: i.e. 29 and 28 times respectively. Though a few gender trends can be found, these are also not significant.

3.2.4 Declarative strategy in offer utterances

In the declarative strategy, the offerer makes a declarative statement – mostly in the passive voice – that serves as an offer. The decision to react to the offer lies with the offeree. It is realised in all instances in the data as *You are invited (+VP + NP)* either as a simple declarative offer or a complex one together with modification moves. This strategy was found only in the Ghanaian data. As explained in Chapter 5 where its use in offer situation 3 is analysed more extensively, this offer strategy is now a routinised form for making (ritual) offers of food and drinks in Ghana. However, the supportive acts that often follow it tell us it is not always used for ritual offers alone but also for substantive offers (see Chapter 5).

The following section describes the realisation strategies and types of offer refusal head act utterances. How do offerees respond to the strategies described above? Do they simply say 'yes/no' to preference questions, do they perform the action predicated in the imperative offers or grant permission for the realisation of execution offers?

3.3 Offer refusal utterances: Realisation strategies and pragmatic functions

For Schneider (2003: 186), in offers performed in English: “The realisation of an offer response depends on the strategy employed to perform the preceding offer. Since both preference questions and execution questions are *YES/NO* questions, responses answer in the affirmative or in the negative.” While this may be true for some of the respondents of the current study, it is not often the case that a yes-no preference or execution question receives a direct affirmative or negative answer in the form of a ‘no’ or ‘yes’. The examples in Section 3.1.2 above prove this e.g. in Example (37) “Sorry + sir + I would have loved to but + I have someone to attend to at home” (CaF29), instead of a direct ‘no’, four moves are used: an apology, an address form (honorific), a conditional and a reason. So, the syntactic function of the offer utterance does not always, in the Ghanaian and Cameroonian data, determine the type of response. This is because, in an asymmetrical relationship, linguistic choices are made that incorporate speakers’ statuses, sociocultural norms of the society and speakers’ illocutionary intents. These mitigating factors would be lost if a direct ‘yes-no’ answer were given.

Since respondents were explicitly asked to refuse offers, they had their minds set on this. So, even without a clear negative word, the framing and choice of words often suggest refusal. From the 200 offer refusal utterances in the data, five refusal realisation strategies have been identified: direct refusal, impediment, preference, postponement and inability strategies. While direct refusal is realised without any supportive reason, the rest provide a reason for not accepting the offer. A reason could be optional in the postponement strategy but not in the impediment and inability strategies.

Before exemplifying these realisation strategies, it is important to see how they are distributed in the data. Table 3.16 reports on the use of these five strategies by the respondents.

Table 3.16 Offer refusal utterance realisation strategies (Situation 1)

Offer refusal utterance strategy	Ghana			Cameroon			Overall total & %
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Impediment	20	22	42	15	19	34	76 (38%)
Direct refusal	19	19	38	18	19	37	75 (37.5%)
Preference	8	4	12	14	6	20	32 (16%)
Inability	2	4	6	3	3	6	12 (6%)
Postponement	1	1	2	–	3	3	5 (2.5%)
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200 (100%)

From Table 3.16, the impediment (38%) and direct refusal (37.5%) strategies are the most used in realising offer refusal utterances. Postponement records the least occurrence here but is ostensibly present in the complete vertical structure as a supportive act where it is used by 23.5% of the 200 respondents (see Table 3.9).

A few less spectacular variations can be found in the use of the five offer refusal realisation strategies. For instance, the impediment strategy is used by more Ghanaians (42 respondents) than Cameroonians (34 respondents) while the preference strategy is used by 20 Cameroonians as opposed to 12 Ghanaians (Figure 3.5). The major gender difference is within Cameroon in the use of the preference strategy where 14 females as opposed to six males make use of it (Table 3.16). Still on the preference strategy, it is used by 22 females, i.e. eight Ghanaians plus 14 Cameroonians, as opposed to 10 males, i.e. four Ghanaians and six Cameroonians. Cautiously, this gender difference adds to evidence on women's readiness to be polite even when their preferences lie elsewhere. Figure 3.5 captures these timid variations which also support the hypothesis that these postcolonial communities share underlying similarities tied to their sociohistorical heritages.

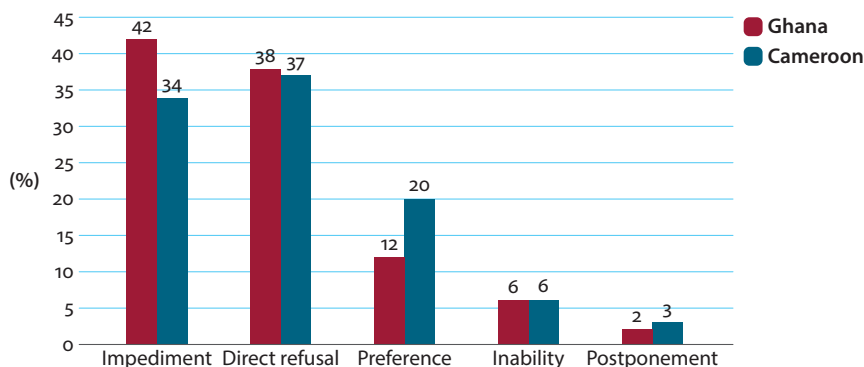


Figure 3.5 Distribution of offer refusal utterance strategies (Situation 1)

3.3.1 Impediment strategy in offer refusal utterances

With the impediment strategy, the offer refusal is predicated on a reason, a future plan of action or a state of affairs which impedes the acceptance of the offer. The reasons often advanced through this strategy are socioculturally important and are presented as being beyond the speaker's control. As said earlier, reasons dealing with health, family, religion and profession are often easily accepted by the offerer.

Impediment refusals are constructed according to the formula: *I can't do X because of Y* or put differently, *Y impedes my realisation of X*. If Y is a solid reason,

then the offerer has no other option but to let the offeree off the hook. All instances of the impediment strategy in the data on Situation 1 were realised as complex offer refusals with all of them having a reason. In Example (81), even though a direct “no” refusal is given in the first part of the offer refusal turn, this is followed by a longer move in which the JC justifies the refusal.

- (81) SC: Would you like another beer?
 You: No sir. My wife is waiting for me. (CaM7)
Refusal + Address + Reason

The reason in (81) is family-related, and so appeals to the society’s social structure. Since the family is at the core of the society, such reasons are easily accepted. The SC’s authority is not hurt because as a senior s/he is also like the head of the family and should, therefore, protect members of the family.

As Table 3.16 shows, more Ghanaians (42 tokens) used the impediment strategy in offer refusal utterances than Cameroonians (34 tokens). This difference of only eight does not project Cameroon and Ghana as being significantly diverse in the use of social interaction patterns.

3.3.2 Direct refusal strategy in offer refusal utterances

As opposed to the impediment strategy, the direct refusal strategy uses a simple refusal utterance to turn down the offer. It is not accompanied by any reason or impediment or explication. In most cases, it is, as Schneider (2003: 186) says, a direct response to the strategy used in the offer utterance. Direct refusals range from a clear ‘no’ as in “SC: Will you mind sharing a drink with me; JC: No” (CaM20), to a ‘no’ mitigated by thanks, an apology, an address form, etc. The syntactic construction often used is *No (+Thanks)*, together with optional internal modification moves as in (82) where the respect address form “madam” mitigates the force of the direct “no” that precedes it.

- (82) SC: Do you care for some drink?
 You: No madam, thanks for the offer. (GaF9)
Refusal + Address + Thanks

From a Western individualistic perspective, a direct refusal would be the most impolite of all these strategies. In the data, while a direct refusal is used, it is often followed by explication and insistence supportive acts in which the offeree explains why s/he refuses the offer and even offers repair in the future through the postponement act. In terms of distribution, Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents used direct refusals almost equally: 38 times and 37 times respectively (Table 3.16).

3.3.3 Preference strategy in offer refusal utterances

The preference strategy in offer refusal utterances insinuates that the offeree would have accepted the offer (if some conditions were met) but would sadly have to prefer another plan of action. From its framing, it is intimated that both the offerer and the offeree have a common interest in performing the action of the offer together. It is realised using the conditional modal phrase *would have* as in the structure *would have + VP + reason* (83). The reason also carries the action that is preferred to the one predicated in the offer. In the data, this strategy is realised using the formula: *I would have done X if I didn't have to do Y*. Preference here is not the offeree's choice but is imposed by conditions of the context, for instance, going for lectures (83) is part of the offeree's job.

- (83) SC: Take something to drink my dear.
 You: Oh I'm sorry. I would have loved to but I am late for lectures. (CaF26)
Interjection + Apology + Conditional + Reason

In (83), an interjection and an apology are used to further soften the negative impact of the decision not to accept the offer in preference for another line of action. Of the 32 occurrences of this offer refusal realisation strategy in the data, 20 were constructed by Cameroonians and 12 by Ghanaians (Table 3.16).

3.3.4 Inability strategy in offer refusal utterances

In the inability strategy, the offeree states his or her inability to perform the action predicated in the offer. The inability is caused by the fact that the offeree had already been performing the action of the offer or a similar action before and can no longer perform it. In the offer of food and drinks, the inability strategy works quite well because the offeree could say s/he has eaten or drunk enough and cannot take any more. The formula generally used to realise it is: *I cannot do X anymore because of X₁*, where X₁ is either the same action as X or a related one; or *I cannot do X anymore because I have done enough of X*. In (84), the offeree is unable to accept the offer of a drink because s/he is already dizzy from drinking.

- (84) SC: Dear, you can have another drink if you want.
 You: Thanks, but I'm already feeling dizzy. (CaF50)
Thanks + (Inability) Reason

This strategy was used by only 12 (6%) of the 200 respondents implying that other strategies, especially impediment, are generally more accepted as offer refusals. Six occurrences each were registered in Ghana and Cameroon, with no remarkable variations between the genders (Table 3.16).

3.3.5 Postponement strategy in offer refusal utterances

Postponement, as explained in Section 3.1.3d, is a supportive act in which respondents postpone either the offer or its acceptance to a future date. In the offer refusal utterance, this strategy is used to postpone the acceptance of the offer to a future time. A reason why the offer cannot be accepted now may or may not be provided. The formula adopted is: *I can do X only in the future* or *I can do X but not now*. A postponement can be formulated as a statement following the two formulae above or as a question requiring the confirmation of the offerer as in *Can we do X in the future?* (85). In (85), the JC proposes the postponement (offeree postponement) but needs the SC's approval since the latter wields more social power and is the offerer. To upgrade this request, the JC uses two respect-laden modification moves, i.e. the politeness marker and an honorific address form.

- (85) SC: Sit and have more.
 You: Please Sir can we make it another time? (GaM20)
PM + Address + Postponement

Postponements were used only five times in the 200 offer refusal utterances: thrice by Cameroonians and twice by Ghanaians (Table 3.16). In one of them, a reason was advanced but in the rest no reason was advanced. While some postponements may simply be ritual postponements, they still help interlocutors signal they belong together or have other opportunities of meeting and sharing in the future. In this way, their social bonds and the society's expectations of them are maintained and safeguarded.

The five offer refusal strategies above further establish the need to safeguard social bonds and hierarchy in these postcolonial contexts. Apart from the direct refusal strategy, the other four seek to achieve this by providing suitable reasons for not accepting offers and spicing these with respect address forms, politeness markers, apologies and thanks. In the next section, I focus closely on these social bonds and the postcolonial pragmatic components employed to sustain them during interaction.

3.4 Professional status in offers and offer refusals: Postcolonial pragmatic components

After the description of microlinguistic elements in the offer-refusal communicative act above, this section looks at macrolinguistic elements, precisely the postcolonial pragmatic components that interlocutors draw on in order to accomplish a given illocutionary intent. These components are used to maximise the acceptance

of offers or of offer refusals. These components, as explained in Chapter 2, bind members of the society to sociocultural norms and expectations of their societies. Respecting them projects members as acceptable or competent members of these collectivist in-groups. But, not performing one's expected role in the collectivist enterprise makes one stand out of the norm and is exposed to onlooker judgements or condemnation, which often are not limited to the individual but are extended to their family, village or ethnic group.

Five major postcolonial pragmatic components are used in this offer situation to either upgrade offers (offerer) or to justify offer refusals (offeree). These are address forms, gender, social status, religion and collectivist cultural expectations. They are dealt with in the following sections.

3.4.1 Address forms

In most cultures, address forms or strategies hold the key to understanding the social structure of society since they give clues to the way people relate to one another, construct or adhere to social hierarchy, want to be appreciated or appreciate others, etc. How people address each other during first time meetings, in formal or informal settings, at work or in the confines of their homes, when angry or excited, when in need, or when in control is motivated by what Brown and Levinson (1987: 2) refer to as the "representational" and "social" functions of language and how these functions correlate with negotiations of power, friendliness, sociocultural norms and social balance between interlocutors (see Anchimbe 2011b).

Since cultures have specific ways of encoding and interpreting address or naming patterns, it is difficult to treat this as universal. However, postcolonial communities exhibit similar specificities in naming which range from totally avoiding people's personal names, i.e. name avoidance or name escapism, to using other forms to address people, e.g. professional titles, kinship terms, duty titles and social titles. Of particular relevance to our analysis here are the pragmatic functions such names or address forms play: e.g. signalling closeness, performing (dis)respect or deference, enhancing social communion, or abiding to sociocultural norms of behaviour, etc.

A number of address strategies were used by the respondents of this study. Some of them index various levels of relationship and power (im)balance between interlocutors while others indicate how close or distant interlocutors try to be during interaction. In all, seven address forms were used in the data. In Table 3.17, apart from "barman", "waiter" and "attendant" used to address barkeepers, the others refer either to the SC or the JC. These address forms play pragmatic roles in the context in which they are used – I try to explain these below.

Table 3.17 Address forms in Situation 1

Address forms (<i>n</i> = 135)		Ghana (<i>n</i> = 62)		Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 73)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
Honorifics (64 tokens)	– Sir	11	9	16	19	55
	– Mr + name	–	–	–	3	3
	– Mrs + name	–	–	2	1	3
	– Miss (+ name)	–	–	1	1	2
	– madam	1	–	–	–	1
<i>Total</i>		12	9 (Σ21)	19	24 (Σ43)	64
Attention getters (24 tokens)	– hey	2	5	2	–	9
	– barman	–	5	1	1	7
	– young lady	2	–	–	–	2
	– gentleman	–	–	1	1	2
	– waiter	2	–	–	–	2
	– attendant	–	1	–	–	1
	– young man	–	–	–	1	1
<i>Total</i>		6	11 (Σ17)	4	3 (Σ7)	24
Name (22 times)	– first name	4	4	7	–	15
	– surname	4	2	–	1	7
	<i>Total</i>	8	6 (Σ14)	7	1 (Σ8)	22
Endearment term (14 tokens)	– dear	4	–	6	4	14
Camaraderie, friendship terms (6 tokens)	– man	–	1	1	1	3
	– massa	–	–	–	2	2
	– my friend	–	–	1	–	1
<i>Total</i>		–	1 (Σ1)	2	3 (Σ5)	6
Professional titles (3 tokens)	– prof	2	–	–	–	2
	– boss	–	1	–	–	1
<i>Total</i>		2	1 (3)	–	– (0)	3
Kinship term (2 tokens)	– brother	1	1	–	–	2
Overall total		33	29	38	35	135
		62 (46%)		73 (54%)		

In the 200 dialogues, 135 tokens of these seven address forms were found. 73 (54%) of them were produced by Cameroonian respondents (38 females and 35 males) and 62 (46%) by Ghanaian respondents (33 females and 29 males). Females used address forms more than males in both countries even though the gender difference is minimal (Table 3.17). Figure 3.6 shows the major differences between Ghana and Cameroon in the use of postcolonial pragmatic components. These

differences demonstrate that, although the fundamental social structure of Ghana and Cameroon may be similar, the particular instantiations of these postcolonial pragmatic components in each of these contexts is peculiar, dictated by various mixes of cultures, languages, ethnicities and the specific trajectories of their evolution in the postcolonial era.

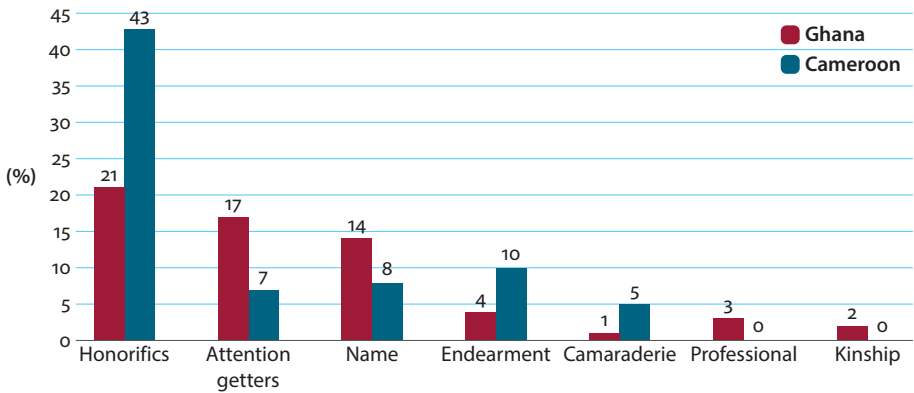


Figure 3.6 Use of kinship terms between Ghana and Cameroon (Situation 1)

a. *Honorifics*

According to Brown (2011: 2), the “use of honorifics is always and undeniably linked to social and cultural factors... With honorifics indexing social roles and relationships, use of honorifics also plays an active role in the process of identity negotiation.” In postcolonial contexts, honorifics additionally mark respect and deference along a continuum of age and social hierarchy. In the data, almost all honorifics were used to address the SC as a sign of respect for his/her higher social, professional status and possibly age.

Five forms of honorifics were identified in the data: *Sir*, *Mr + name*, *Mrs + name*, *Miss (+ name)* and *Madam* (Table 3.17). Put together, they occurred 64 times: 21 of them by Ghanaians (12 females and nine males) and 43 by Cameroonians (19 females and 24 males). Honorifics are, therefore, the most important address form in the SC-JC offer situation because they appropriately represent speaker statuses and the social distance between interlocutors in this asymmetrical power relationship. The predominance of honorifics in both countries highlights the existence of a similar system of address in both postcolonial societies. With 55 occurrences, “sir” is by far the most common honorific used in Situation 1. All instances of “sir” as well as the single occurrence of “madam” were used by the JC to address the SC. In fulfilment of respect expectations, the JC in (86) uses the honorific “sir” in all his/her turns. Also, “Sir” is written with a capital ‘S’.

- (86) CaM18 SC: Would you mind a **bottle of coke**?²⁶
 Age: 17–25 You: Oh! Yes, **Sir**, I've got a lecture to attend soonest.
 Ind.L: Oroko SC: That means we won't share today?
 Usage: Seldom You: Sorry **Sir**, I would have loved to. Just so committed.
 L1: English SC: Well, surely tomorrow has got lots to offer.
 Town: Kumba You: Hopefully **Sir**.
 Edu: A/L SC: Ok. Not to delay you, go for your lecture.
 You: Thank you **Sir**, have a nice day.
 SC: You too, and study hard

Besides showing respect, the persistent use of “sir” by the JC could also be to mitigate the refusal by insinuating that, although the offer is refused, the refusal does not indicate any change in, or violation of, the respect and social hierarchy between them.

b. *Attention getters*

Attention getters attract the hearer's attention to the speaker. They can appear either at the beginning of an interaction or during the interaction at a point when the need arises to make the hearer more involved or when the speaker wants to pass on information of high value. Based on this definition, six examples of attention getters were found in the data: *hey*, *gentleman*, *young man*, *barman*, *waiter* and *attendant*. All of these were used by the SC, again probably because it would be disrespectful for the JC to do so, especially when addressing the SC. As Table 3.17 shows, attention getters occur 24 times in the data, with *hey* appearing nine times. Ghanaian respondents (17 tokens) significantly used more attention getters than Cameroonians (seven tokens). Most of these attention getters are used by males, thereby suggesting that while women prefer names, men tend to prefer attention getters (Table 3.17).

c. *Name: Surname and first name*

The use of surname denotes formality, especially when accompanied by an honorific like *Mr*, *Mrs* or *Miss*. When used without an honorific, it could either index the speaker's higher status vis-a-vis the addressee or suggest an equal social status between the two. In postcolonial contexts, formality and naming often do not go together. Address patterns are not always restricted to specific contexts (e.g. formal vs. informal) but are used across contexts. If a person is a *professor*, s/he is called thus even in contexts that are unrelated to the university or the academia. A boss would be *Mr. Mike* in the office or at work and still be *Mr. Mike* in the bar. In the data, all instances of the use of a surname without an honorific were by the SC

²⁶ As explained below under gender, by choosing *coke*, a non-alcoholic drink, the offerer implies that the offeree is a woman. In these communities, alcohol is normal for men but not for women.

addressing the JC and never vice versa. In Example (23) above, the SC calls the JC by his surname, “Bate”, but the JC does not replicate this but rather adds the honorific “Mr” to the SC’s first name: “SC: Bate, good afternoon; JC: Goodday Mr. Mike.” (CaM24). Even when the SC uses the camaraderie term “massa” later in the exchange, the JC still sticks to “Mr. Mike.”

The use of first name, on its part, signals interlocutor equality and perhaps also reciprocity in terms of respect or politeness. But when a senior calls a junior by first name, it does not immediately authorise the junior to reciprocate. Reciprocating would be considered rude and disrespectful. Given the asymmetrical relationship between the SC and the JC, it is expected that only the SC would use first names. In the data, this happens in all but two instances – both from Cameroon – where the JC also calls the SC by first name: “SC: Good afternoon Charles; JC: Oh! Good afternoon Tom” (CaF36), and “SC: Hey Ben, have another drink on my bill; JC: Thanks Paul, I think I have had enough for today” (CaF39). There is only one possible explanation for this: that the JC may be as old as or even older than the SC and so uses the age component to override the power asymmetry between them.

Surnames and first names were used 22 times in the 200 dialogues. Of these 14 were by Ghanaians (eight females and six males) and eight by Cameroonians (seven females and one male). Overall, more female respondents used names than males.

d. *Endearment terms*

Like kinship terms, endearment terms pull the addressee closer to the speaker, and work to reduce the social distance between them. Endearment offers the offeree less manoeuvre space to refuse an offer, since it makes the offeree think the offerer feels very emotional towards them, e.g. “SC: Hello *my dearest*, how are you doing?” (CaM12). Like most of the other address forms, endearment is mostly used by the SC. Most endearment terms were directed at female offerees. This is perhaps a reflection of the sexist nature of society where women are considered frail and subordinate to men.

In both countries (Table 3.17), the endearment term *dear* was used 14 times: four times by Ghanaians (all females) and 10 times by Cameroonians (six females and four males). That no male respondent in Ghana used an endearment term and that more females (six) than males (four) in Cameroon used them challenges the (male) sexist argument presented above. However, that endearment was used mostly by female respondents is consistent with literature on women’s use of affectionate language during interaction.

e. *Camaraderie or friendship terms*

In the same manner as endearment terms, camaraderie or friendship address forms seek to strike a note of friendship between interlocutors. Three examples were found in the data: *friend* (used only by the SC), *man* (used by both JC and SC) and

massa (used by SC). *Massa* is a CPE derivation of *master* which is now used as a camaraderie form especially among male friends and companions.

Of the six occurrences, only one was by a Ghanaian (male) and the remaining five by Cameroonians: two females and three males. By using the CPE address form, *massa*, speakers borrow from their multilingual repertoire – apparently constrained by the context of the offer situation (work colleagues), since white collar jobs in Cameroon and Ghana have the official language(s) as medium of transaction. Pidgin English, therefore, has no place in this context.

f. *Kinship terms*

According to Anchimbe (2006a), kinship terms move interaction to family space thereby reducing the social distance between interlocutors. In Singapore, as Wong (2006: 453) explains, a kinship term like *aunty* “can be used as an honorific to address or refer to a woman who is perceived to be old enough to be one’s mother.” In African postcolonial contexts, this meaning of *aunty* also exists but is only one among others, e.g. any older female, any female in one’s age range or slightly older, any older female one is meeting for the first time, etc. But in the English context, Schneider (2003: 151) says, kinship terms are “used predominantly by children in addressing adult relatives.”

Interestingly, only one kinship term (i.e. *brother*) was used in two dialogues; both by Ghanaians (one male and one female). The paucity of kinship terms could be explained using the asymmetrical professional relationship between the interlocutors for which a pattern of address already exists, verifiable in the number of occurrences of *sir* (55 times) for the SC and the use of names mostly for the JC (24 times) (cf. Table 3.17). By using the kinship term *brother* to address the JC, the SC moves the relationship between them into family space where the acceptance of an offer benefits from trust and long term kinship acquaintance.

3.4.2 Gender

In the microlinguistic analysis of the offer-refusal sequences above (cf. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3), many gender-specific trends are pointed out. In these postcolonial societies, the hybridism triggered by colonial contact is certainly visible in the patterns of social interaction analysed here. How the genders refer to each other or present themselves in discourse is often a replication of the sociocultural roles society attributes to them.

In her study of gendered discourses in the Cameroonian parliament, Atanga (2010, 2012) illustrates how female parliamentarians consciously adopt roles and produce discourses that project them as the ideal traditional woman, i.e. one who is respectful to her husband, does not oppose the common line of activity dominated by

the men, and takes her marital and motherly roles seriously. In their discourses, both male and female parliamentarians legitimise this “model traditional Cameroonian woman” identity (Atanga 2010: 93). Similarly, Anderson et al. (2011) in a study of media coverage of the election campaign of Africa’s first female president, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia, discover that “the language used by the media to report the activities of female political leaders tends to suggest that they are ‘trespassing’ on the traditionally ‘masculine’ world of politics” (Anderson et al. 2011: 2509).

In the data on Situation 1, gender differences appear at three levels: (1) the way the different genders are addressed, i.e. choice of address forms by the respondents in the dialogues they constructed, (2) the objects (e.g. types of drinks) and activities identified with each of the genders, and (3) the behavioural traits society identifies with the genders. Though bordering on gender stereotypes, these three levels reveal the gendered discourses interlocutors produced. For instance, in offering a drink to an offeree, if the offerer specifies the type of drink, then the gender of the offeree is immediately clear: soft drinks or fruit juices are generally offered to women and beer, wine or whisky to men.

The first level of gender differentiation in the data is in the use of address forms. The respondents showed distinct trends in the way they referred to men and women. As Table 3.18 reveals, in the dialogues, 55 respondents conceived of the senior colleague as a male and hence used the honorific “sir” for him as opposed to only one who considered the SC a female and used the honorific “madam.” Senior colleagues, therefore, seem to be conceived of as males. Apart from the fact that most respondents considered the SC a male, the dominant use of these male address forms also signals the amount of respect shown towards men in these societies. In addition, most of the other address forms are also male-based, e.g. *barman*, *brother*, *massa*, *gentleman*, etc. Table 3.18 illustrates that 72 tokens of address forms were directed at males as opposed to only 5 tokens for females.

Table 3.18 Gender-based address forms in Situation 1 (culled from Table 3.17)

Gendered address forms (<i>n</i> = 77)		Ghana	Cameroon	Total
Male (72 times)	– sir	20	35	55
	– barman	5	2	7
	– man	1	2	3
	– brother	2	–	2
	– massa	–	2	2
	– gentleman	–	2	2
	– young man	–	1	1
Female (5 times)	– young lady	2	–	2
	– Miss (+ name)	–	2	2
	– madam	1	–	1

The second level of gender difference involves the activities and objects indicative of each gender. As mentioned above, alcohol is treated in these postcolonial communities as a privilege of men, and any woman who drinks it becomes an outcast. In the next dialogue (87), by clearly stating the type of drink, “chilled coke”, we understand the addressee is a woman, since as explained earlier, a drink in most bar situations is understood to be alcoholic, especially a beer. And since alcoholic drinks are identified with men, by specifying a non-alcoholic drink in the offer, we are made to understand that the addressee is certainly female. This is confirmed in a later reference to weight: “just checking my weight.” So, gender stereotypes are easily transferred into social interaction in all contexts.

(87) GaF3	SC: Hello Nakua.
Age: 26–34	You: Hi.
Ind.L: Twi	SC: You look really tired.
Usage: Very Often	You: Of course, I do.
L1: Twi	SC: Do you care for a chilled coke ?
Town: Accra	You: Sounds very tempting, no thanks, am on a diet.
Edu: Mphil	SC: Oops!
	You: Yes, just checking my weight . Anyway, thanks, that’s all the same.
	SC: You are welcome.

If the above social norm, i.e. alcohol is not for women, is not respected or is flouted – whether consciously or unconsciously – it could lead to a breakdown in the conversation. In Example (88), the JC, who most certainly is female, abruptly ends the conversation because the offerer ignores this rule by insisting on offering *her* an alcoholic drink: a beer and then wine.

(88) GaF11	SC: Waiter! Bring her a beer .
Age: 46+	You: Sorry but I don’t drink beer.
Ind.L: Twi	SC: Have some wine with me.
Usage: Very Often	You: I will be very happy to take a rain check. I am sorry I have to go now.
L1: Twi	
Town: Accra	
Edu: PhD	

The respondent (offeree) in (88) is a 46+ years old PhD holder. The SC ignores the alcohol social norm in the first offer utterance to which the offeree responds with an apology (sorry) followed by a refusal. In the alternative offer, which normally would have been a non-alcoholic drink, the SC still offers wine. This leads to the JC’s decision to leave immediately: “to take a rain check.” Social cohesion is hurt in this exchange because the JC does not respond to the alternative offer verbally but

performs her refusal by announcing her departure and then leaving. The exchange does not end normally.

The third level of gender differentiation concerns the social behavioural traits that distinguish men from women in the society. For instance, women are thought of as being shy (89) while men are expected to be tough and resistant, and any man who is not is mocked at as being a woman (90).

- (89) SC: Will you like an extra **bottle of coke**?
 You: No, thank you, Prof.
 SC: Go ahead, why are you **shy**?
 You: Oh no. ... (GaF10)
- (90) SC: Hei man, let's have another round.
 You: No man I will pass.
 SC: Come on, **stop being a girl**.
 You: What! No, I'm just at my point of being tipsy...
 SC: You see guys like you make **our gender** soft and soft is what you are. (GaM43)

In (89), the choice of a drink, “coke” and the use of the word “shy” quickly indicate that the addressee or offeree is a woman. The exchange between the two men in (90) revolves around the ability to drink heavily which in this community is considered a facet of the men. Since the JC is unable to fulfil this social expectation, he is described as a “girl.” Such gender discourses are well entrenched into the society, for instance, the dialogue in (90) is constructed by a 17–25 year-old male Ghanaian respondent (GaM43).

3.4.3 Social status and level of imposition

In most postcolonial societies, the indigenous cultural system of respect has been transferred into and is realised in indigenised varieties of ex-colonial languages. According to these systems, age and social status grant people higher social statuses and more power. Such people command respect from other members of the society both in verbal and non-verbal behaviour. In verbal communication, they are addressed with respect terms as illustrated in the use of address forms for the SC. Since older people are considered superior and play parent-like social roles towards younger ones, their actions or speech is often treated as addressee beneficial even when – from a Western perspective – such actions interfere with the private space or future plan of action of the other.

The SC in most of the dialogues in this offer situation uses face threatening acts in a bid to oblige the JC to accept the offer. However, these are not interpreted thus

by the JC who always responds normally and respectfully, except when certain post-colonial pragmatic components (e.g. religion) or social norms (e.g. women do not drink alcohol) are violated or attacked by the SC as in Examples (3), (11), (88) above and (92) below. In Example (11), the SC's question "Are you refusing my drink?" is a direct face threat. Even when the JC respectfully answers "not exactly sir", this is followed by an equally threatening question. These threats only stop when the JC reveals he is a Muslim – i.e. when he invokes the postcolonial component of religion which is a revered issue in postcolonial contexts (see 3.4.4).

3.4.4 Religion

Religion is perhaps one of the most sensitive postcolonial pragmatic components that moderates both verbal and non-verbal behaviour in postcolonial communities. Religion could serve as a uniting force or as a platform for battle and conflict. Both Ghana and Cameroon have substantial members of the two major religions invoked in the data: Christians and Muslims.

As illustrated in Chapter 2 and in Example (11), using religion as the reason for refusing an offer of a drink is immediately accepted. But at the same time, invoking religion as a point of mockery or challenge to one's interlocutor could lead to a breakdown in the interaction, as in (92) below. In (11), Islam is used as the excuse for not accepting the offer while in (91), Christianity is used.

- (91) SC: The Lord will understand you...
 You: I know it is from your heart but God first and I will have the drink after prayers. (GaF19)
- (92) CaM6 SC: Will you mind a beer?
 Age: 17–25 You: Thank you! But do not bother.
 Ind.L: Yebekolo SC: But why?
 Usage: Very Often You: I have been forbidden by the doctor.
 L1: Yebekolo, English SC: Would you mind a sweet drink?
 Town: Yaounde You: Oh no, I will take a glass of water.
 Edu: A/L SC: **Does your religion prohibit alcohol?**
 You: **No! Excuse me, am in a haste.**
 SC: See you then.

Challenging religious beliefs leads to communicative breakdowns as in (92) where the SC consciously sarcastically accuses the JC's religion for forbidding alcohol. The JC backs out of the interaction in protest to this proposition, especially also because s/he had already given a plausible reason for not drinking: "I have been forbidden by the doctor"; and as a sign of respect for the SC had settled for a glass of water.

Constructed by a 17–25 year-old Cameroonian, the dialogue in (92) proves how deeply-entrenched religion is in these communities and how potentially sensitive it could be when not handled cautiously.

3.4.5 Collectivist cultures and in-group norms

The Eastern pragmatics enterprise has elaborately explained how cultures described as collectivist in nature function. Most African cultures seem to behave in similar ways. For instance, the African notions of *ubuntu* and *hlonipha* (cf. Kadz 1994, 1998,) *ukuhlonipha* (Ntsimane 2007) and *ezigbo omume* (Nwoye 1992) discussed earlier in Chapter 2 are indicators of a collective belonging of members to society. Within such societies, it is the overall face or cohesion of the group that matters, often taking priority over individual face needs. Several indices of this collectivist togetherness were found in the data at various levels: ethnic group level (93), religious level (11, 93), etc. In Example (60) above, the SC, after hearing the JC is not well and has not taken any medicines, offers to take him/her to the hospital. As a senior, s/he feels obliged by the social norms of their collectivist entity to take responsibility over the junior.

Similarly, in the closing act of Example (46), the SC sends greetings to the JC's family thereby indicating that they belong together, even after the JC turns down the offer of a drink. Reference to the family in this case signals the centrality of family kinship in social networks in these postcolonial contexts. Example (93) goes farther than the interpersonal and family level to include the ethnic group. The JC refuses the drink because s/he has to attend their ethnic group's traditional gathering.²⁷

- (93) SC: Where are you going anyway?
 You: You know today is Sunday and I have to go to our traditional gathering.
 SC: Oh, I see. (CaM9)

When the traditional gathering is mentioned, the SC immediately accepts the refusal, since s/he too certainly belongs to a similar traditional gathering which also meets regularly. The respondent who constructed this dialogue lives in Yaounde (Cameroon), an urban centre more than 600km away from his native Kedjom-Keku

27. This respondent lives in Yaounde, the capital city of Cameroon but is from an ethnic group in the North West Region. Like members of most other ethnic groups living in urban centres, he belongs to the association of members of his ethnic group in Yaounde. Such associations meet regularly to discuss matters relating to their ethnic groups, their villages, etc., to conduct micro-financial transactions, e.g. loans, at low or no interest rates for members and above all to practice their traditions and cultures.

in the North West Region, and is 17–25 years old. Being able to continue meeting as an ethnic traditional entity in an urban multilingual and multiethnic city like Yaounde reveals the importance of belonging to a social and ethnic collectivist group in these postcolonial societies.

The discussion of the five postcolonial pragmatic components above has hopefully further substantiated, using extra-linguistic factors, the strategies used and choices made by speakers in the realisation of offers and offer refusal utterances. That these choices are not exclusively limited to one country or to one gender or age group is proof of their extensive usage and spread not only within each of these postcolonial societies but also across them. It is only by describing these components together, as proposed in the postcolonial pragmatics framework, that a comprehensive understanding of communicative acts and their linguistic instantiations can be achieved.

3.5 Summary: Professional status between Ghana and Cameroon

This chapter focused on three things: discerning the vertical structure of offer-refusal sequences, identifying the strategies used in realising offer utterances and offer refusal utterances, and describing the postcolonial pragmatic components that speakers invoke to support their illocutionary intents both in offering and in refusing offers. These three aims have been approached with the help of illustrative examples and empirical statistical evidence from the 200 dialogues.

On the whole, mostly similarities have been found between Ghanaians and Cameroonians in their production of the offer-refusal communicative act and in the appropriation of postcolonial pragmatic components. That some differences exist between Ghana and Cameroon and between the genders is unquestionable, but their statistical significance from the DCT questionnaire is not always huge. Where these differences were significant, I indicated them and advanced possible explanations. However, fundamentally-speaking mostly similarities were found between Ghana and Cameroon. Their postcolonial heritage seems to have produced similar interactional and communicative systems.

The next chapter follows the same design used here to investigate the impact of age in the realisation of offers and offer refusals in a church setting. Age is all-pervasive in social interaction in postcolonial interactions since it is exploited to create hierarchies and social strata in the society.

Offers, refusals and age

While Chapter 3 describes offers and offer refusals in an asymmetrical professional relationship (i.e. senior-junior colleague) in a bar, this chapter, using a similar procedure, investigates the realisation of offers and offer refusals in an age-based asymmetrical relationship involving an old man and a younger person in a (semi-)formal context, i.e. a church. Here, age is the major postcolonial pragmatic component that potentially drives linguistic and behavioural choices in this offer situation. As opposed to Chapter 3 where the offerer is a senior colleague, wielding more power than the offeree, in this chapter, the offerer is a younger person, who wields less power, offering their seat in church to an old man. The relationship is also asymmetrical but based on age – a component that is indispensable in social interaction in postcolonial societies. So, the working questions here are: Does offering *from below* yield the same strategies and choices as offering *from above* seen in Chapter 3? Are the same preparatory or supportive acts employed in this situation as in the previous or are there other external modification acts that suit only this offer situation? How strong are social norms in this offer context and speaker constellation?

Like in Chapter 3, this chapter has three main objectives: (1) to establish the flow of the offer-refusal communicative act, i.e. the vertical structure including its preparatory, head and supportive acts, (2) to identify the realisation strategies used in framing offer head act utterances and offer refusal head act utterances. Additionally, the pragmatic function of the constituent moves in these head act utterances or turns are analysed, and (3) to describe the postcolonial pragmatic components invoked by speakers to either maximise the offer's acceptance or mitigate or substantiate the refusal thereof. In order to understand how interaction works within this specific speaker constellation involving age, in the religious location (church) and in two indigenised varieties of English, attention is also paid to choices in address forms, respect or deference strategies and level of imposition. For a clear understanding of this age-based asymmetrical relationship, comparisons are also made to Situations 1 and 3, analysed in the previous and following chapters respectively. The data used in this chapter are from offer situation 2 of the DCT questionnaire. The situation was described in the questionnaire thus:

- Situation 2. Offering a seat. An old man enters the church and you decide to offer him your seat but he prefers to stand.

Like in the previous chapter, the speaker or interlocutor roles in this context are clearly defined: an old man vs. you, a younger person. So, the respondent took the role of the younger person. This age-based asymmetrical relationship exerts pressure on the younger person to fulfil social expectations about addressing or behaving (both verbally and non-verbally) in the presence of older members of the society. This social pressure is visible in the younger interlocutors' justification supportive acts in which they explain why they make the offer and why it is crucial for the old man to accept it: e.g. "I will not feel better to see you stand whiles I sit" (GaF6). Here, the respondent GaF6 justifies her decision to offer her seat to the old man. She will not "feel better" not because of the old man's refusal but rather because the old man will be standing. Her move, therefore, is intended to be offeree-beneficial. However, respondent CaM9 rather predicates his justification on the judgement of other members of the society: "But what will other people think of me leaving an old man standing?" (CaM9). In this offerer-beneficial move, the offerer CaM9 is worried that other people will think he has not fulfilled the society's expectation of him towards the old man. I refer to this as the "third-party effect" or the "onlooker response" (Anchimbe 2011a), which as explained earlier, functions as the society's eyes on social behaviour; making members aware that they are being observed by others and so have to abide by social norms if they want to be accepted within the group.

4.1 Communicative act structure: Preparatory, head and supportive acts

From the data, the interaction involving an old man and a younger person in a church contains some of the external modification (i.e. preparatory and supportive) acts found in Situation 1 (i.e. senior-junior colleague situation) analysed in Chapter 3. However, five new ones also emerge which capture the (anticipated) social and linguistic behaviour linked to the offeree's age and the religious context in which the interaction takes place. The new external modification acts are all supportive acts whose pragmatic role is to upgrade the illocutionary intent of the (offer or offer refusal) head act. These are: (1) justification: the offerer justifies the relevance or *raison d'être* of the offer while the offeree also justifies (mostly by countering the offerer's justification) their refusal of the offer, (2) solidarity: the offerer decides to join the offeree in standing rather than sit while s/he stands, (3) deferral: the offerer or offeree defers the offer to a future time suitable to the offeree, (4) compliment: the offeree makes a compliment praising the offerer's 'good behaviour' as a member of the group in a bid to soften the refusal, and (5) offer acceptance: the offeree in fact accepts the offer – not a typical supportive act. This last move is not ultimately a supportive act *per se* but rather the outcome of the offerer's

supportive acts, e.g. insistence, explication, etc. The fact that the younger person successfully pushes or persuades the old man to accept the offer, even though the prescribed behaviour in the DCT questionnaire was refusal, strongly indicates how social norms about age-based social cohesion within these collectivist cultures are difficult to break.

Supportive acts like postponement and promise used in Situation 1 are absent in Situation 2. This is certainly because since there is no absolute guarantee that the interlocutors will meet again in the future, postponing the offer or its acceptance to a future time or making a promise would be overtly infelicitous. Moreover, the context is a church, and getting a seat is a matter of coming early – so conditions of re-offering in the future are not altogether met. Closings are rare, occurring only three times, perhaps because the church service has not yet ended and there is the possibility that the interlocutors may still meet in the course of the day.

Also, the preparatory act of familiarisation is completely absent in this offer situation, probably because of interlocutor status. It would be rude for the younger person to start a familiarisation turn, e.g. asking the old man's name. Moreover, the context does not accord interlocutors that much time to realise familiarisation. From the dialogues, it is understood that the old man enters the church when service had already started; so it would be distracting to engage in a long exchange. Though most of the exchanges are relatively long, the greater part of the exchange is on supportive acts, especially insistence and justification.

4.1.1 Preparatory acts and age

Although preparatory acts positively set the pace for the head act, they are not always indispensable. Speaker statuses, the (im)balance of power between speakers, societal norms of interaction and the physical context also determine, to various degrees, the types of preparatory acts that can be used. For instance, it would be rude and overzealous for a young person to initiate a familiarisation act with an older person, since societal norms in most postcolonial societies rather accord such a task to the older or superior interlocutor. Here, speaker status and social norms inhibit the initiation of certain preparatory acts by the younger interlocutor.

In Situation 2 analysed in this chapter, only one type of preparatory act was used by the respondents in both countries: the greeting preparatory act. The other ones used in Situations 1 and 3, i.e. familiarisation, introduction and grounders, are not used at all. The structures through which greeting is realised are discussed below and then summarised into Table 4.1 along with frequencies of their usage by Ghanaians and Cameroonians.

a. *Greetings*

In interactions involving young and old people in most postcolonial contexts, greetings form part of the elaborate system of deference and respect. In indigenous Ghanaian and Cameroonian cultures, younger interactants are expected to greet older ones first, i.e. to move towards them to initiate a greeting exchange. However, their part in the greeting ritual is predominantly verbal (but could be accompanied by respect-laden gestures like bowing, prostrating, etc.) since culturally the decision to shake hands or to accompany the verbalised greeting with a physical gesture (e.g. an embrace, a tap on the shoulder or back, etc.) is the prerogative of the older interlocutor. In some of these cultures, eye contact to the older person is considered rude and is hence prohibited. In others, younger interlocutors are required to adopt certain bodily postures when greeting the old, e.g. kneeling, stooping or prostrating (e.g. among the Yoruba in Nigeria).

Three structures were used to realise the greeting preparatory act in the data on Situation 2 (Table 4.1). In comparison to Situation 1, a number of differences or specificities can be pointed out. Firstly, there is no typical H-greeting or G-greeting sequence or adjacency pair. All greeting moves are accompanied by either an address form or the politeness marker *please* in both the offerer's and the offeree's turns. Secondly, in none of the 200 dialogues did the younger person greet the older interlocutor without using an address form, mostly *sir*, *papa*, *pa*, *father* or *daddy*. Thirdly, as far as H-greetings are concerned, only the word *hello* is used. Whereas *hi* is common in the junior-senior colleague situation, it is completely absent in this situation. Here, it is a matter of respect since *hi* is generally used by youths and peers. Since the interaction is initiated by the younger person, such peer usages could be outright disrespectful. In Chapter 3, the senior colleague uses *hi* perhaps to create a peer-like relationship to the junior colleague in order to maximise the offer acceptance.

Fourthly, a new type of greeting is introduced, what I refer to here as the *W-greeting* since it is centred on the word *welcome*, e.g. "You: Please, you are welcome" (GaM25). The *W-greeting* type is conditioned by the context of the situation: the old man comes into the church when the younger person is already there. The *W-greeting*, therefore, serves both as a greeting and as a welcome – but more as the former than the latter because the younger person is not obliged to welcome the old man. Lastly, as opposed to Situation 1 where personal names are used in many greeting sequences, a personal name is used only once in Situation 2; and it is preceded by the honorific *Mr*. The reason for this is simple; the interlocutors do not possibly know each other since they are meeting in church, perhaps for the first time.

The three greeting structures summarised in Table 4.1 were used in 34 dialogues, 24 of them by Cameroonian respondents and 10 by Ghanaians. So, Cameroonians

used the greeting preparatory act twice more than Ghanaians. This significant difference is consistent with Situation 1 (Chapter 3) in which 19 Cameroonians use greetings as opposed to 13 Ghanaians. Moreover, as in Chapter 3, the G-greetings continue to be more prevalent among Cameroonians. At the level of gender, the differences are negligible both within each country and across both countries, suggesting that issues of respect for older people cut across gender. When age is involved, gender ceases to be a major determiner, but when professional power is involved, as illustrated in Chapter 3, gender becomes an important factor that is often observed in interaction. For instance, in Situation 1, female respondents tended to use greetings more than males. Since greeting is the only preparatory act in Situation 2, all greeting structures in Table 4.1 are simple preparatory acts.

Table 4.1 Distribution of greeting preparatory act (Situation 2)

Type	Greeting preparatory act structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 10)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 24)			Grand total
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Simple prep. act	G-greeting + Address	3	2	5	11	9	20	25
	H-greeting + Address	1	–	1	2	2	4	5
	Address/PM + W-greeting	2	2	4	–	–	–	4
Total		6	4	10	13	11	24	34

I will now briefly describe two greeting structures focusing on their frequency in the data and the pragmatic functions they play in the interaction.

i. G-greeting + Address structure

Occurring 25 times in the 34 dialogues, this greeting structure is clearly very common, but mostly among Cameroonians. Of the 25 tokens, 20 are produced by Cameroonians: 11 females and nine males, and only five by Ghanaians: three females and two males. The choice of G-greetings in Situation 2 by Cameroonian respondents is consistent with Situation 1 studied in Chapter 3. From this evidence, the use of G-greetings could, therefore, be said to be a common feature of Cameroon English.

The choice of words and address forms in this greeting structure illustrates the roles and behavioural postures adopted by the interlocutors. An asymmetrical relationship is created in which each of them adopts the societal roles expected of them, for instance, if the younger person refers to the old man as *pa* or *papa* (father), the old man immediately adopts this father role and calls the younger person *my*

child or *my son* or *my daughter* (94). Defining these roles at the beginning of the interaction helps interlocutors select the identity, address forms, social behavioural patterns, etc. that go with such contextual roles in order to perform them properly.

- (94) You: Good morning Papa.
 Old Man: Good morning my son. (CaM33)

In Example (94), both interlocutors use (asymmetrical) kinship terms to address each other, hence further accentuating the centrality of family-like relationships in the negotiation of social roles and behaviour in postcolonial societies. Another common address form used by the younger interlocutor is the honorific *sir*. The old man also uses non-kinship terms like endearment terms (*my dear*, *dear son*). By choosing these terms, the old man sends a positive message of cooperation to the younger person. Similarly, by addressing the old man using a kinship term or respect honorific form weakens the old man's disposition to refuse the offer – a possible reason why as many as 39 (19.5%) offers of seats were accepted in Situation 2 by the old man even though the DCT instructions required the contrary.

ii. *Address/PM + W-greeting structure*

As stated above, W-greetings are used for the first time in Situation 2. All four occurrences of this greeting structure are by Ghanaian respondents: two males and two females. W-greetings are, however, not exclusive to Ghanaians since some Cameroonians use them as well in complex offer head acts. In (95), the W-greeting move is accompanied by a kinship respect address form “Grandpa.”

- (95) You: Grandpa, you are welcome.
 Old Man: Thank you. (GaF47)

While (95) could also function as a welcoming move, the old man's response is minimal, i.e. “thank you”, almost reducing the sequence to ritual behaviour. However, from the intensity of the supportive acts that follow, it is understandable that it is not ritual behaviour since it effectively prepares the ground for the offer itself.

The use of greeting as a preparatory act reiterates its pragmatic importance in social interaction. Greetings smoothen interaction by pre-empting speakers' illocutionary intents and indexing respect, speaker statuses and roles, for instance, younger interlocutors are expected to greet first. They contextually define speaker power constellations by attributing the performance of certain physical bodily gestures, e.g. handshakes, hugs, etc. to older or more socially powerful interlocutors, while at the same time forbidding other gestures for younger and less powerful interlocutors, e.g. eye contact, handshake, etc. Interlocutors could also use greetings to adopt contextual social roles, e.g. through the choice of address forms, and then go on to play them in the ensuing conversation.

4.1.2 Head acts (types) and age

One major peculiarity of this offer situation is that offers are realised predominantly as imperatives rather than as questions as in Situation 1. A verbalised response permitting the performance of the offer is not sought for here. Rather offerees are directly asked to perform the offer through the use of verbs like *have*, *sit* and *take* plus NP, e.g. *Take my seat*. Some offerers (i.e. younger interlocutors) even mention the physical behaviour or action they perform together with the verbalised offer, e.g. *getting up from my chair, standing up*, etc. Here, the societal norm of respect for old people applies, and could be used to explain the physical behaviour of the younger interlocutors as well as their use of imperative offers. They do not ask for the offeree's permission because it is default social behaviour for younger people to cede their seats to old ones. To these societal norms, we could add the code of conduct imposed on interlocutors by the physical location, i.e. the church, where certain Biblical canons are expected to be respected, e.g. respect for parents – interpreted in the cultural sense as anyone old enough to be one's parent – and attending to other church members' needs. As shown below, some respondents quote verses from the Bible to justify their offer. A postcolonial pragmatics analytical perspective that incorporates colonial heritages like religion is indispensable in explaining speakers' choices in both verbal and non-verbal behaviour within this church context.

Like in the previous chapter, this section describes the horizontal structure of the three offer and offer refusal head act types: simple, mixed and complex head acts, together with their internal modification moves. The pragmatic importance of these moves is explained from the background of the religious context and the age factor.

Table 4.2 reveals the occurrence of the three head act types in Situation 2 while the different realisation structures and frequencies of these head acts by the 200 respondents are listed in Table 4.3. Table 4.2 catalogues a total of 20 structures that were used to realise the three head acts types: 5% of them are simple head acts, 35% mixed and 60% complex head acts.

Table 4.2 Overall occurrences of head act types (Situation 2)

Head act type	Occurrences (<i>n</i> = 20)	%
Simple head acts	1	5%
Mixed head acts	7	35%
Complex head acts	12	60%
Total	20	100%

From Table 4.3, Ghanaian (99 times) and Cameroonian (101 times) respondents use head acts almost equally, just like in Situation 1 (cf. Table 3.5). The major

differences appear at the level of gender within the two countries especially in the use of complex head acts, slightly dominated by male respondents: 48 males to 44 females in Ghana and 49 males to 41 females in Cameroon.

Possible reasons for the prominence of complex head acts in Situation 2 are speaker (age) statuses, the cultural and religious norms involved and the physical context (church) where religious norms of respect also apply. The younger person, therefore, employs the most religiously and culturally acceptable verbal means to make their offer in a way befitting the context and the addressee. On his part, the old man chooses verbal strategies that help him maintain his position as 'father' both towards the offerer and the rest of the community present in church. This is certainly why in some of the dialogues, the old man effectively accepts the offer – not accepting it would make the younger person look rude, i.e. since others would think s/he did not offer the seat to the old man; the onlooker effect referred to above.

As opposed to the senior-junior colleague situation, in this situation, the apology modification move is not used in the offer refusal utterance. In none of the 200 dialogues does the old man's turn include an apology. Again, cultural norms often do not allow an older person, who wields power by virtue of their age, to stoop low to apologise to a younger person, even when they are wrong. The old man sees no need to apologise to the younger person for refusing their offer. He instead uses distance-closing kinship and endearment address forms to mitigate his refusal.

In Table 4.3, the three head act types and their realisation structures are displayed alongside their frequency in the data and their internal modification moves. The simple head act type is realised at only one structure and by only two respondents: one female Ghanaian and one male Cameroonian. The mixed head act type is realised at seven adjacency structures and by a total of 16 respondents: six Ghanaians and 10 Cameroonians. The complex head act type is realised at 12 adjacency structures by 182 respondents: 92 Ghanaians and 90 Cameroonians. The complex type, like in Situation 1 (Chapter 3), is still the most preferred head act type in these two postcolonial communities (cf. Table 4.3).

After laying out the 20 structures used to realise the three head act types, I will now proceed to describe some of the most frequently used structures with suitable examples from the data. I also identify the moves therein and, where possible, provide their pragmatic importance for the speaker's illocutionary intent.

a. Simple head acts: Simple offer head act = Simple refusal head act

Only one structure was used to realise simple head acts, i.e. a simple offer head act followed by a simple offer refusal head act (Table 4.3). In this structure, there are no modification moves. Only two respondents constructed dialogues with simple head acts, thereby further indicating that interlocutors needed more elaborate strategies that reduce harm to their social group, the societal norms they abide by

Table 4.3 Head act types and their realisation structures (Situation 2)

No.	Type of head act and realisation structures ($n = 200$)	Ghana ($n = 99$)		Cameroon ($n = 101$)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
	<i>Simple head acts</i>	$n = 1$	$n = 0 (\Sigma 1)$	$n = 0$	$n = 1 (\Sigma 1)$	$n = 2$
1	Simple offer Simple refusal	1	–	–	1	2
	<i>Mixed head acts</i>	$n = 3$	$n = 3 (\Sigma 6)$	$n = 7$	$n = 3 (\Sigma 10)$	$n = 16$
1	Simple offer Refusal + Thanks (+ Reason / Preference)	2	–	1	2	5
2	Simple offer (Refusal /+ Interjection) + Thanks + Preference	–	1	2	–	3
3	Simple offer Assurance + Reason	–	–	2	–	2
4	PM + Offer Simple refusal	–	2	–	–	2
5	Address / G-greeting + PM + Offer Simple refusal	1	–	1	–	2
6	Simple offer Compliment + Preference	–	–	1	–	1
7	Simple offer Thanks + Address + Refusal	–	–	–	1	1
	<i>Complex head acts</i>	$n = 44$	$n = 48 (\Sigma 92)$	$n = 41$	$n = 49 (\Sigma 90)$	$n = 182$
1	Address + Offer or Offer + Address – Refusal + Address /+ Thanks + Preference / Reason – Thanks + Address /+ Reason / Refusal	5	9	13	12	39
2	Address + PM + Offer – Refusal / Thanks + Address (+ Compliment + Preference / Assurance) – Thanks (+Interjection) + Address + Preference	11	12	2	10	35

(continued)

Table 4.3 (continued)

No.	Type of head act and realisation structures (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 99)		Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 101)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
3	PM + Offer or Offer + PM – Refusal /+ Thanks + Address /+ Reason /+ Preference – Interjection + Assurance	10	11	4	4	29
4	PM + Address + Offer – Refusal + Address (+ Compliment) + Reason – (Refusal / Interjection+) Thanks + Address/+Preference / Assurance	2	6	6	6	20
5	H-greeting + Address (+W-greeting) + Offer (+PM) – Thanks / Refusal / Interjection + Address + Assurance / Reason – Refusal + Thanks	5	5	3	1	14
6	G-greeting + Address (+PM) + Offer – Thanks / Refusal / Assurance + Address + Reason / Preference	3	–	4	6	13
7	Attention getter + Address + Offer – Thanks / Interjection (+Address) + Refusal + Preference / Reason – Refusal + Thanks	4	1	1	4	10
8	Interjection + Address (+ PM) + Offer – Refusal + Thanks (+ Assurance) – Interjection + Address + Assurance + Preference	2	2	2	1	7
9	W-greeting + Address + Offer Refusal + Thanks + Address (+ Preference / Reason)	–	–	2	4	6
10	Address + Grounder + Offer – Refusal / Interjection + Thanks (+ Compliment) + Preference	–	1	2	–	3
11	Grounder (/+ Address /+ PM) + Offer – Refusal / Thanks + Address + Preference	1	–	1	1	3
12	Address /+ G-greeting + W-greeting + Offer – Refusal /+ Thanks (+ Address + Reason)	1	1	1	–	3

and speaker statuses. In the simple head act in (96), the refusal of the imperative offer does not contain a negative word. It is realised as a positive statement which indirectly functions as a refusal. The aim is to soften the refusal since it assures the offerer that even without the seat, the offeree is fine.

- (96) You: You can have my seat.
 Old Man: I'm okay. (GaF2)

b. *Mixed head acts: Simple offer head act = Complex refusal head act and vice versa*

Accounting for 35% of the 20 head act structures (Table 4.2), mixed head acts are the second most preferred head act type among the respondents. However, they occur in only 16 dialogues in Situation 2 (Table 4.3) as compared to 110 dialogues in Situation 1 (Table 3.5). In this age-based situation, respondents rather preferred complex head acts for reasons already explained. Mixed head acts can be realised in two ways: a simple offer utterance and a complex offer refusal utterance (97) or a complex offer utterance and a simple offer refusal utterance (98).

Six of the 16 exchanges were constructed by Ghanaian respondents: three females and three males. In the 10 realised by Cameroonians, seven were by males and three by females. For reasons of illustration, three of the seven structures in Table 4.3 are selected here.

i. *Simple offer head act = Refusal + Thanks (+Reason/Preference)*

This mixed head act structure occurs five times in the 200 dialogues. In it, a simple offer is refused using a complex head type. The complex refusal utterance in (97) contains three moves: refusal, thanks and preference. The preference move carries the offeree's stated alternative action to that predicated in the offer utterance.

- (97) You: You may take my seat
 Old man: No + thank you, + I prefer to stand (GaF35)
 Refusal + Thanks + Preference

Besides thanks and preference, complex refusal head acts also take modification moves like reason, address form, politeness marker and compliments. As far as respondent gender and origins are concerned, no significant trends were found in the data.

ii. *Address/G-greeting + PM + Offer = Simple refusal*

In this mixed head act structure, the offer head act is realised as a complex offer while the refusal is a simple utterance. Modification moves in the offer head act include address forms, greeting and politeness marker. All of these moves are attested

in (98) below, where rather than a kinship term, the offerer uses the honorific “sir” which creates a formal relationship to the old man. The old man’s refusal does not contain a direct negative refusal, but is rather a reason. The old man does not use an address form, indicating that the use of “sir” probably created a distance between them.

- (98) You: Please + Sir, + you may have my seat.
 PM + Address + Offer
 Old Man: Am ok standing. (GaF36)

This mixed head act structure occurred only twice in Situation 2: one each from both countries and genders (Table 4.3).

iii. *Simple offer head act = Compliment + Preference*

In this structure, a new move is introduced in the offer refusal head act, i.e. compliment, in which the offeree praises or compliments the offerer for giving up their seat. It is used only by the old man and has the pragmatic function of softening the effect of the refusal. Only one respondent used it in a mixed head act sequence even though it occurs relatively often in complex head acts and sometimes independently as a compliment supportive act. In (99), the old man’s turn begins with a compliment before moving on to the preference move which carries the refusal.

- (99) You: Here is a seat for you.
 Old Man: It is kind of you + but I will rather keep standing. (CaF8)
 Compliment + Preference

c. *Complex head acts: Complex offer head act = Complex refusal head act*

Interlocutors, due certainly to age difference and the societal norms that go with it, found complex head acts the most appropriate strategy for realising head acts. 182 (91%) of the 200 respondents made use of complex head acts (Table 4.3). Using various modification moves in complex head acts, interlocutors were able to safeguard the public face of their social and/or ethnic group, their society and their church. Proof of this can be found in the bystander response which appeals to the social or communal conscience and serves as a judge of social conduct as in: “But what will other people think of me leaving an old man standing?” (CaM9).

In this offer situation, complex head acts are the most used in both countries. They occur in 182 dialogues (91%) realised at 12 structures (Tables 4.2, 4.3). As far as the two societies are concerned, no considerable differences exist given that complex head acts were used by 92 Ghanaian and 90 Cameroonian respondents. At the level of gender, more males in both countries used complex head acts than

females: i.e. 97 males versus 85 females (Table 4.3). In Ghana, slightly more males (48 times) than females (44 times) used them just like in Cameroon where more males (49 times) used them than females (41 times). If complex head acts are indeed a means of achieving social closeness, respect and politeness as suggested in Chapter 3, then it would have been expected that more females would use them – if we follow the literature on politeness and gender. But as said earlier, age seems to override other factors including gender – since both old men and old women command considerable respect independent of their gender.

- i. *Address + Offer or Offer + Address = Refusal + Address/+Thanks + Preference/Reason or Thanks + Address/+Reason/Preference*

In this head act structure, the offer utterance is made up of two moves, an address form (e.g. sir, daddy, grand pa, etc.) and the offer move, while the refusal utterance could be made up of two or more moves including refusal, address form, thanks, interjection, reason and preference. There is no limit to the number and type of potential moves used in the refusal utterance. In the following examples, different address patterns are used in both the offer utterance and the refusal utterance, e.g. kinship terms: “daddy”, “son” and “grandson” (100–101) and the honorific “sir” (101).

- (100) You: Daddy + sit here (getting up).
 Address + Offer
- Old Man: Oh! + My son, + thank you so much. + I can stand. (CaM14)
 Interjection + Address + Thanks + Preference
- (101) You: My seat, for you + sir.
 Offer + Address
- Old Man: Thanks + my grandson. I am okay standing. (GaM50)
 Thanks + Address + Reason

Besides address forms, the old man’s refusal turn is made up of a reason (101), a preference (100), an interjection (100) and thanks (100–101). The thanks and kinship address forms certainly serve to soften the refusal. With these, the old man intimates that though he does not accept the seat, he still loves and appreciates the offerer as a son or grandson rather than simply as any other church member. Through this, the bonds of the society are refurbished and, although the default behaviour of offering the seat does not succeed entirely, both parties know they have fulfilled the roles expected of them by society. With 39 occurrences, this head act structure is the most used in the data on Situation 2. According to Table 4.3, it is preferred by Cameroonians who used it 25 (64%) out of the 39 times as opposed to Ghanaians who used it 14 (36%) times.

- ii. *PM + Offer or Offer + PM = Refusal/+Thanks + Address/+Reason/+Preference or Interjection + Assurance*

The offer utterance in this structure consists of two moves: the offer and the politeness marker, *please*. Several modification moves were used in the refusal act in Situation 2: refusal, thanks, address form, preference, interjection, reason and assurance. Assurance is used for the first time in Situation 2. In an assurance move, the speaker assures the addressee that s/he will be fine without the offer and that the offerer should not bother. In (102), the old man tells the offerer “Don’t bother”, assuring them that he will be fine. Assurance is important in this speaker constellation because, as will be seen in the justification supportive act below, the offerers assume that the old man is too weak or too old to stand for long. An assurance move annuls the offeree-beneficial status of the offer since the offeree assures the offerer that s/he will be fine even without the offer. This is mitigated in (102) by the interjection.

- (102) You: Please + take my seat.
PM + Offer
- Old Man: Oh! + Don’t bother. (GaF32)
Interjection + Assurance
- (103) You: You could + please + make yourself comfortable.
Offer + PM+ Offer
- Old Man: No. + Thank you very much. + I’m ok. (CaM34)
Refusal + Thanks + Reason

The offer in (103) is split by the politeness marker “please.” The direct refusal “no” is followed by thanks and a reason, which mitigate and justify the refusal. So, in spite of his age-based power, the old man still mitigates his refusal because acceptance is the culturally-accepted default behaviour in this context.

In all, 29 respondents from both countries used this structure. Like above, more Ghanaians used it than Cameroonians. Of the 29 occurrences, 21 (72%) are by Ghanaians and eight (28%) by Cameroonians.

As an intermediate conclusion, it can be gleaned from the two complex head act structures above that Cameroonians prefer the *Address + Offer* structure while Ghanaians rather prefer the *PM + Offer* structure. This is simply an intermediary conclusion because in the next structure, more Ghanaians (23 respondents) use the *Address + PM + Offer* structure than Cameroonians (12 respondents).

- iii. *Address + PM + Offer = Refusal/Thanks + Address (+Compliment + Preference/Assurance) or Thanks (+Interjection) + Address + Preference*

In this complex head act structure, more modification moves are possible both in the offer utterance as well as in the offer refusal utterance. With more moves,

speakers create various identity relationships to each other and also make use of the multilingual resources available in their multilingual repertoire and community. One of these resources is the indigenous linguistic background from which speakers often borrow. In (104), the 46+ year-old female Ghanaian respondent (GaF11) borrows the word “Nana” which means *elderly person* (especially male) or grandfather from Twi, her mother tongue which she, as she indicates, uses very often. Given that Twi is gradually becoming widely used as a lingua franca in Accra, it is also normal to use such address forms on strangers even when one is not absolutely sure they too speak Twi.

- (104) You: Nana, + please + have a seat.
 Address + PM + Offer
 Old Man: Oh + my lady, + I have been sitting all day. + Thank you. + I would
 like to stretch my weak legs a bit. (GaF11)
 Interjection + Address + Reason + Thanks + Preference
- (105) You: Please + master + there is a seat for you.
 PM + Address + Offer
 Old Man: Thank you + boy, + I prefer to stand. (GaM30)
 Thanks + Address + Preference

Whereas in (104) a socio-ethnic identity is constructed through the use of “Nana”, in (105) it is rather a formal *master-boy* relationship. The master-boy relationship comes through as more formal than the informal, socio-ethnic and family-level relationships in other examples above. For instance, no possessive marker is used on “(my) boy” in (105) hence indicating social distance. So, the choice of address forms either casts interlocutors closer or farther apart. The socio-ethnic term in (104) triggers a more loving and frank response from the old man spread out over five moves: interjection, address form, reason, thanks and preference. The formal address term in (105) triggers a less intimate response. Adegbija (1989b: 169) attributes the use of terms like *master*, *sir* etc. in Nigeria to colonialism – a postcolonial pragmatic premise – thus:

The demands of respect for elders in discourse are probably partially responsible for the excessive use of ‘*sir*’ for males and ‘*ma*’ for females in greetings specifically and also in general interactions among Nigerian speakers of English. Admittedly, this servile use of these terms in Nigerian English is also attributable to the master/servant relationships which were predominant among British masters and their Nigerian servants during the colonial period.

Since Ghana and Cameroon were also colonised by the British, it is imaginable that they too inherited the servile use of these formal address terms. Interestingly, in (104–105), the old man still does not use an apology move which happens to be

a common feature of refusal softening in Situation 1. As explained earlier, his age advantage does not allow him to do this.

Following the statistics in Table 4.3, Ghanaians make use of this structure almost two times more than Cameroonians. Of the 35 tokens, 23 (66%) are by Ghanaians and 12 (34%) by Cameroonians. While there is no gender difference among Ghanaians, Cameroonian males use it 10 times as opposed to only two times by Cameroonian females.

Whereas the examples above use pretty direct offer head act strategies, there are also some complex offer head act structures in the data that comprise three and even more moves. In (106), the offer turn includes a grounder which justifies the offerer's decision to make the offer. The grounder is based on social norms of the society which oblige younger people to cede their seats to old people.

- (106) You: Father, + I don't see it normal for you to be standing. + Would you mind having my seat?
Address + Grounder + Offer
- Old Man: Oh + son! + Thanks a lot. + It is very rare to find such persons like you + but I prefer standing. (CaF24)
Interjection + Address + Thanks + Compliment + Preference

The offer refusal in (106) contains moves like compliment, address form, thanks and preference. These moves help the old man to discursively pull the offerer closer to him before refusing the offer.

4.1.3 Supportive acts and age

Supportive acts, as said in Chapter 3, are external modifications realised as independent adjacency pairs whose function is to upgrade or mitigate the illocutionary force and thereby condition the perlocutionary reception of the head acts. The major issue in this section is how interlocutors use supportive acts in relation to the age disparity between them and the societal norms that guide interactions with older members of the society. Focus is also on the linguistic strategies used in constructing these supportive acts, the pragmatic roles they play and their distribution among the two sets of respondents, i.e. Ghanaians and Cameroonians.

Eight supportive acts were found in the 200 dialogues in Situation 2. Some of them were also used in Situation 1 while a few new ones were introduced only in this situation. I have also named them here thematically following the (pragmatic) role they play in the dialogue: insistence, justification, explication, deferral, solidarity, refusal acceptance, offer acceptance, compliment and closing. Three supportive acts used extensively in Situation 1, i.e. postponement, alternative offer

and promise, are completely absent in this offer situation while the supportive act of closing²⁸ is only used minimally – three times. The new supportive acts, i.e. justification, deferral, solidarity, offer acceptance and compliment, open up a different perspective that is based on age-related expectations for social and linguistic behaviour in postcolonial societies. The two most frequently used supportive acts in this situation are insistence and justification acts.

a. Insistence act: Offer and offer refusal insistence

Insistence is important in this situation because being in church, interlocutors are bound by two social norms: the religious, since they belong to the same church, and the societal (e.g. cultural, traditional, etc.), since they probably belong to the same society, ethnicity, etc. Respect for the old is a fundamental norm and expectation in both the church and the society. While the younger person is expected to offer assistance to the old, the old is also expected to cooperate in the process so that everyone – including uninvolved third-party onlookers – is satisfied. For this apparently default behaviour to be altered, reasons must be advanced. Insistence, therefore, becomes salient here not only for the offerer but also for the offeree.

Used by 61.5% (123 respondents) of the 200 respondents (Table 4.4), this supportive act is just as important in achieving illocutionary intents in this offer situation as in Situation 1. No considerable difference can be found in the use of this supportive act between Ghanaians (61 times) and Cameroonians (62 times). A slight difference exists between the genders in both countries where the females use it a little more than the males: 32 to 29 times in Ghana and 33 to 29 times in Cameroon. Taking both countries together, females (65 times) use insistence acts more than males (58 times). Though not that significant, this could still be interpreted as a sign of female respondents' desire to achieve cooperation in communication.

Table 4.4 Use of insistence supportive act (Situation 2)

Insistence act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	32	29	61	33	29	62	123	61.5
Not used	18	21	39	17	21	38	77	38.5
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

28. Since only three instances of the closing supportive act occur in the data, I won't analyse it in any further detail below. Two of the three occurrences were from Cameroon and one from Ghana.

The insistence supportive act is realised in various ways ranging from simple utterances centred on the word *insist* to more complex utterances comprising reasons for offer insistence and refusal insistence.

More than one adjacency exchange could be used to realise an insistence act. Where each interlocutor insists on their position, the insistence act could cover more than one adjacency exchange. In (107), the second offer insistence turn “Really?” re-echoes the initial insistence and also interrogates the negative response it received. The offerer’s first insistence turn indicates that the offer is not offerer-detrimental but is offeree-beneficial. The offeree counters this with a religious reason that suits the context of the interaction. For him, it is more honouring to God if one stands in church. This reason factors religion into the interaction, and since religion is normally an untouchable topic, it is expected that the refusal would be accepted. Although the younger interlocutor makes a second insistence move, it is already understandable that the refusal would be accepted. The old man simply insists on the religious reason and through it easily gets off the offer hook.

- (107) CaF22 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 17–25 You: You have a sit sir.
 Ind.L: Kenyang Old man: No thanks child.
 Usage: Never *Insistence 1*
 L1: Kenyang You: It’s okay sir, I’ll stand. The seat is yours.
 Town: Yaounde Old man: Thanks child. I prefer standing in God’s presence.
 Edu: A/L
 Insistence 2
 You: Really?
 Old man: Yes child. I believe it is much more honouring this way.
 Refusal Acceptance
 You: Ok sir.
 Old man: It’s ok child. Thank you. God bless you.
 You: Thank you sir.

From a postcolonial pragmatics perspective, religion not only models physical social conduct but also linguistic behaviour. Besides religion, a number of address terms are used in this dialogue. Whereas the younger person insists on using the formal honorific “sir” in all her turns, the old man rather uses the kinship term “child”, moving the conversation from the formal domain represented by “sir” into family kinship space.

Insistence is also often realised through re-offers, i.e. remaking the offer but with additional moves. Respondent GaF2’s insistence turn in (108) contains a re-offer followed by the assurance that she can find another seat. This assurance

suggests that the offer has caused her no harm and so the offeree should not feel indebted to her. In other words, though the offer is offeree-beneficial it is not at all offerer-detrimental. Seeing that the insistence seems to be working (108), the offerer follows it up with a justification which builds on what is right for her to do – hence relying on the common social norm they both abide by.

- (108) GaF2 *W-Greeting*
 Age: 26–34 You: Sir, you are welcome.
 Ind.L: Krobo Old man: Thank you.
 Usage: Very often *Offer & Refusal*
 L1: Krobo You: You can have my seat.
 Town: Accra Old man: I'm okay.
 Edu: A/L
 Insistence
 You: Please Sir, have my seat, I can find another seat.
 Old man: Thank you for your kindness.
 Justification
 You: It is not right for me seeing you standing while
 I sit.
 (Offer) Acceptance
 Old man: Thank you.
 You: You are welcome.

In order to further emphasise the necessity of the offer, insistence could be followed by a justification within the same turn. The justification is a reason or an explanation for why the offer is being made. In (109), the offerer advances two justifications which are both offeree-beneficial: “it’s not good for you” certainly because of his age and “service won’t end right away”, because of the offeree’s inability to support standing for a long time. Besides being offeree-beneficial, the justification is presented as a social obligation the offerer has to fulfil. Social norms are, therefore, at work here again as above.

- (109) You: But I insist sir, it’s not good for you besides the service won’t end
 right away.
 Old Man: I appreciate your concern but I still prefer to stand. (GaM19)

Here again, age, through the respect obligations attached to it in these societies, moderates both verbal and non-verbal conduct. The offerer’s insistence is in accordance with the respect expectations towards old members of the society.

b. *Justification act: Justifying offers and offer refusals*

Also highly recurrent in the data is the justification supportive act, which offers justifications for the offer or for its refusal. It is one of the new supportive acts introduced in Situation 2. Justification entails giving a reason that supports the necessity of the offer or the offer refusal. As opposed to the explication act in which the offerer asks the offeree to explain why s/he refuses the offer, with justification acts, the offerer decides, often after an initial refusal, to justify the offer. S/he gives reasons why the offer is necessary or even indispensable at that particular moment. Conversely, the offeree also gives reasons that support or ground their refusal. Given that the age difference accords the old man more power, we find more sophisticated justifications in the turns of the younger interlocutor on whom more pressure rests since s/he has to prove to the old man and onlookers that s/he is a competent, respectful member of the community. Not that the old man does not use convincing justifications, but rather that his justifications are not necessarily expected to be solid or grounded since he wields more social power.

Occurring 123 times (61.5%) in the data (Table 4.5), the justification act is used as much as the insistence act. Like with insistence, there is no absolute trend both at the level of country and gender. The only noteworthy difference is that Cameroonians (67 respondents) used more justification acts than Ghanaians (56 respondents) – 11 respondents more. But given that in both countries more than 55% of the respondents chose justification as a supportive act shows that it is a common feature of interaction in both postcolonial societies. As can be seen in Table 4.5, the gender difference both within and across both countries is negligible. Both countries put together, males and females use justification acts almost equally: females 62 times and males 61 times.

Table 4.5 Use of justification supportive act (Situation 2)

Justification act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	29	27	56	33	34	67	123	61.5
Not used	21	23	44	17	16	33	77	38.5
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

Justification acts could either be offerer-beneficial or offeree-beneficial. If the offer-refusal communicative act ends amicably, then we could talk of benefit to both offerer and offeree because the social esteem of their group or community would not have been hurt.

In offeree-beneficial justification acts, the offerer justifies why the offer is necessary for the offeree. Most offeree-beneficial justifications in Situation 2 dwell on

the offeree's age by suggesting that since he is old he may not be healthy or strong enough to stand for long. Accepting the seat is, therefore, absolutely necessary. In (110), the offer is of benefit to the offeree because of his health and age.

- (110) You: You don't look healthy enough to be able to stand all this long.
 Old Man: Don't worry I am all right, nothing is wrong with me. (GaM7)

In justifying his refusal, the old man assures the interlocutor that he is fine and healthy enough to stand. The old man's assurance move counters the age supposition in the offerer's turn, insisting that "nothing is wrong with me."

In offerer-beneficial justification acts, the offerer justifies himself or herself by exonerating themselves from any possible social fall outs or onlooker response if the offeree does not accept the offer. S/he is not to blame if the social norm is not respected because s/he already did what society expects. Two reasons are used in offerer-beneficial justification acts: those that appeal to the social norm guiding interaction between the young and old and those based on the bystander effect or onlooker response. Since the interaction takes place in church, both norms are submerged into religious doctrine and are now re-interpreted as God's expectations or commandments (111).

- (111) You: Sir, please, if someone comes in and sees me sitting and you standing, the person will say I don't respect.
 Old Man: It's okay, I just want to exercise my body.
 You: I have done what is Godly. (GaF41)

The onus of the offer justification in (111) is onlooker response. Unable to achieve her illocutionary intent, the respondent has to deal with the onlooker response which she does by turning to religion: "I have done what is Godly." The church community present and God are projected as judges of social conduct in that context. Religion is central in understanding the linguistic choices the offerer makes in (111). This example also demonstrates how collective these postcolonial societies are; one person's fault is interpreted as a stain on the entire group. People, therefore, have to behave in ways that make them ideal members rather than as stains on the society's clean linen.

c. *Explication act: Refusal questioning and refusal explication*

In the explication act, as explained in Chapter 3, the offeree is asked a direct question requesting an explication for the refusal. This question-answer format has repercussions for interlocutor statuses. In Situation 2 involving two interlocutors separated by age, there is an insurmountable power imbalance in favour of the old man. It is insurmountable because this constellation will never change; it is non-negotiable

since age is natural. Age-based social norms are also non-negotiable. According to these norms, the younger person (offerer) does not have the power to ask for an explanation from the old man (offeree). This would be fundamentally disrespectful. This perhaps explains why only 35 respondents (17.5%) used this supportive act. Those who used it only did so after first of all using another supportive act, especially insistence or justification. But in Situation 1 where the SC has more power, s/he uses it to force the JC to give an explanation of their refusal. There, i.e. Situation 1, explication is used by 52.5% (105 respondents) of the 200 respondents.

Table 4.6 shows the use of explication in Situation 2. Cameroonians (25 times) used it twice more than Ghanaians (10 times). It could, therefore, be said that more Cameroonians took the bold step to ask the old man “why” than Ghanaians. As far as gender is concerned, the data has no particular trends.

Table 4.6 Use of explication supportive act (Situation 2)

Explication act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	5	5	10	12	13	25	35	17.5
Not used	45	45	90	38	37	75	165	82.5
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

Besides the realisation of explication through the use of a direct “why-question”, I will illustrate other respect-laded ways in which it is used in this age-asymmetrical offer situation. The explication in (112) is realised indirectly. The offerer’s question is not about why the offeree refused the offer but rather about the offeree’s preferred action, i.e. standing. Through this, the offerer is able to ask the why-question that completes the explication act sequence. This indirect strategy helps the younger person avoid the potential disrespect that goes with direct explications in age-asymmetrical contexts.

- (112)
- You:

Do you enjoy standing Sir?
- Old Man:

Yes, my daughter.
- You:

Why?
- Old Man:

Because I was advised by the doctor to do so since my feet are not stable.
- (CaF28)

The doctor’s advice is an unchallengeable reason since it belongs to the health factor. It gives the old man an easy way off the offer hook.

d. *Deferral act: Offer remains open*

Also a new supportive act, the deferral act is mostly used when other acts have failed to convince the offeree to accept the offer. Deferral simply means that the offer is deferred to some unspecified time in the future. A typical deferral supportive act is framed as a conditional, i.e. the offer remains open if something else happens that necessitates its performance. For instance, the premise behind a deferral in Situation 2 is that, if you change your mind or if you get tired of standing, you could always come back for the seat. Deferrals are similar to postponements, but different in that they lack felicity, i.e. it is not obvious that the deferred action will ever take place. They, however, play a similar pragmatic role as postponements, i.e. signalling to the interlocutor that the refusal has not caused any harm to the relationship between them. In Situation 2, deferrals, if performed by the younger person, underscore the limitless amount of respect s/he owes the older person since the offer of the seat remains open continually. When to accept now depends on the old man. If performed by the old man, it portrays the need to maintain social cohesion by not completely refusing the offer.

Deferrals were used only 20 times (10%) in the data. Both sets of respondents used it equally: 10 Ghanaians (four females and six males) and 10 Cameroonians (six females and four males). These 20 occurrences are also shared equally between the genders in both countries. With only 10% occurrence, deferrals do not belong to the most recurrent supportive acts, but still the pragmatic function behind their use is significant especially within the postcolonial pragmatics framework.

Deferrals are generally performed in two ways: by the offerer (offerer deferral) or by the offeree (offeree deferral). In offerer deferrals, the offerer tells the offeree that the offer is valid for the future and could be accepted at a time that is convenient to the offeree (113). In offeree deferrals, the offeree tells the offerer s/he would accept the offer at some point in the future if the conditions for it are met (114).

- (113) You: Ok Pa but feel free to tell me when you feel like sitting.
 Old Man: Ok my child. Thank you. (CaF39)
- (114) Old Man: You sit, I will ask for it when tired.
 You: At your service. (GaM35)

In both examples above, the deferral is accepted immediately. Both interlocutors, therefore, find deferral a suitable way of getting out of the default expectation in this situation. Though the old man has not accepted the offer, he has also not rejected it completely either. For both, the door is still open – even if this might simply be infelicitous, serving for purposes of politeness or social cohesion.

e. *Solidarity act: If you don't, then I won't too*

The solidarity act is the outcome of the onlooker response or third-party effect and a succinct proof of the collectivist nature of these communities. By solidarity, I mean that a speaker joins an addressee in performing an action as a sign of solidarity. In this offer situation, the solidarity act means that the offerer, after unsuccessfully offering their seat to the offeree, decides to join the offeree in standing to show solidarity with them and also to avoid the onlooker response. The thinking behind it is: 'if you cannot accept to sit, I will also not sit because it would be disrespectful for me to sit while you stand. Moreover, if someone else sees me sitting while you are standing, I will be considered rude and disrespectful' (see Example (111) above). The double bound in which the offerer is, i.e. respect for the old man and the onlooker response, makes solidarity a suitable way of dealing with the refusal. If the seat is empty, the old man could eventually sit on it (deferral) or at some point use the power he wields to ask the younger interlocutor to sit.

Interestingly, this supportive act was found only among Ghanaian respondents. Five of the seven occurrences were by males and two by females. That it does not occur at all in Cameroon is significant because this behavioural pattern fits well with the fundamental structure of respect portrayed in the dialogues. A possible reason for this could be ethnicity. Of the seven respondents who used the solidarity act, six are speakers of Twi and one of Ewe. The Ewe speaker lives in Kumasi, the heart of the Twi-speaking area. It is, therefore, imaginable that s/he also speaks Twi as a second language. Without suggesting categorically that it is a substrate element from Twi, we can claim here that the ethnic background of the speakers plays a part in the choice of this supportive act. The hybridism triggered by colonial contact makes this absolutely possible.

Solidarity could also be interpreted as a form of pressure the offeree exerts on the offerer in a bid to get them to accept the offer. In (115), the solidarity act yields positive results because the old man immediately accepts the offer. The old man accepts in order not to give the impression that he flouted the default behaviour. The respondent violates the instructions of the DCT questionnaire in order to avoid making the old man guilty of breaking social norms. The acceptance is equally important for the offerer because it proves to onlookers s/he is respectful, as can be gleaned from the last offerer turn: "Thank you very much" (115).

- (115) You: If you don't sit, I don't sit.
 Old Man: If you insist, then I will.
 You: Thank you very much.
 Old Man: Thank you for your seat. (GaF19)
- (116) You: Then I will also prefer to stand with you.
 Old Man: No, you should sit down because I have asked you to.
 You: It will not be right on my part to sit while you stand. (GaM47)

The onlooker response is so strong that the offerer in (116) disobeys the old man when he asks him to sit. The old man employs his social power to try to stop the younger person from standing with him, i.e. from performing the solidarity act, but this is unsuccessful because the younger person believes it is not right. Thanking the old man – as the offerer in (115) does – signals that being a responsible or respectful member of the society is co-constructed and co-realised and a function of group rules and expectations. By respecting these rules, each person finds their place in the complex web of the collectivity. What onlookers say and think of you contribute to your status as a respectful member of the group – an indicator of group face.

f. Refusal acceptance act: Letting offeree off the hook

As said earlier, when the offerer accepts the offeree's refusal, it means that the refusal has not negatively affected their relationship or their social system. However, refusal acceptance is also influenced by speaker statuses and the amount of power each wields. In Situation 2, the old man wields more power due to his age. The younger person has no other options when supportive acts like insistence, explication and justification fail but to accept the refusal. Accepting the refusal could be done directly, e.g. by saying, *Ok, I understand* or indirectly through other supportive acts like deferral and solidarity in which, as illustrated above, the offerer proposes other ways out of the offer. Although powerless in obliging the old man to accept the offer, the younger interlocutor is given excuses, justifications and even compliments which, coming from an old man, are mitigating enough to merit a refusal acceptance.

There are 82 (41%) instances of refusal acceptance acts in the data (Table 4.7). Compared to Situation 1 where 35.5% of the respondents used it, this is a significant increase. The increase could be explained using the imbalance in power between the interlocutors in comparison to the junior-senior colleague relationship in Situation 1. There, the senior colleague wields more power and so does not easily accept refusals except when they are anchored in solid reasons like health, family and religion. In Situation 2, the younger person does not have such powers and so simply has to accept the old man's refusal.

Table 4.7 Use of refusal acceptance supportive act (Situation 2)

Refusal acceptance act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	16	12	28	27	27	54	82	41
Not used	34	38	72	23	23	46	118	59
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

With 54 of the 82 occurrences of refusal acceptance coming from Cameroonians, it is a common feature of this society. Ghanaian respondents seem to prefer the solidarity act as a way out of the offer. No remarkable differences exist at the level of gender, especially in Cameroon where both males and females use refusal acceptance equally (Table 4.7).

Refusal acceptance is performed in various ways that show the offerer's reaction to the refusal. Though the offerer harbours feelings of disappointment, these are often suppressed but can still be deciphered from the framing of the refusal acceptance. The old man's turn in the refusal acceptance act sequence is usually thanks, a compliment or a prayer (wish), e.g. *God bless you*.

In Example (117), the strong refusal "No, thanks" by the old man repulses the younger person who confesses in brackets that she feels embarrassed, most probably because the offer of a seat to an old man in church is default behaviour. The refusal acceptance "Oh ok" comes rather quickly because of the old man's apparently uncompromising response; otherwise it would have been followed by insistence or justification supportive acts. Similarly, in (118), the offerer shows embarrassment at the refusal: "I intended to be of help", after declaring "my conscience is clear." By implication, he means he has fulfilled the society's expectation of him in this context.

- (117) You: Sir, please you can sit.
 Old Man: No, thanks.
 You: Oh ok (although I feel embarrassed) (GaF50)
- (118) Old man: Never mind, I have no inconvenience doing so.
 You: OK! At least my conscience is clear. I intended to be of help.
 Old man: Yes, I really appreciate that character in you. (CaM3)

In (118), the old man uses a compliment to soften the impact of the refusal. Since the refusal has been accepted, to reassure the offerer that s/he is still a respectful and acceptable member of the group, the old man uses compliments and praises to further mitigate the refusal and to also encourage the younger interlocutor to continue offering in the future. These praises also help the offerer deal with the onlooker response which could be negative.

g. Offer acceptance act: I accept it, thanks

Although the instructions of the DCT questionnaire were clear about not accepting offers, some of the respondents found it difficult constructing dialogues in which the old man indeed refused the offer of a seat by a younger person in church. The series of insistence, justification, solidarity and explication acts in these dialogues end up convincing the old man to accept the offer. One could say that the old man does this in order not to send the wrong message or to set a precedence for future situations where younger people may not find the need to offer their seats to old people. Again, acceptance proves that cultural and social norms within these collectivist

societies are not easily broken. It is imaginable that the respondents, having grown up with these norms, found no other alternative way of dealing with this situation in their dialogues since age, above all else, deserves respect and honour.

In the offer acceptance act, the offeree accepts the offer, but only after a number of supportive acts. In some offer acceptance acts, the old man *blames* the acceptance on the offerer's persistence or insistence (119). In others, the acceptance is simply to please the offerer. The old man's acceptance in (119) is accompanied by a (religious) wish "God bless you", placing religion once more at the centre of interaction.

- (119) GaM19 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 17–25 You: Sir Please take my seat while I stand.
 Ind.L: Ga Old Man: Don't worry son I prefer to stand.
 Usage: Very Often *Insistence*
 L1: Ga, English You: But I insist sir, it's not good for you besides the
 Town: Accra service won't end right away.
 Edu: A/L Old Man: I appreciate your concern but I still prefer to
 stand.
 Justification
 You: I don't think I will be ok while you stand.
 Old Man: Alright son, if you insist.
 (Offer) Acceptance
 You: Yes I insist, I'll feel at ease knowing you are
 sitting.
 Old Man: Thanks son, God bless you.
 You: It's my pleasure sir.

Used 39 times (19.5%) in both Ghana and Cameroon, offer acceptance is unquestionably the expected or default behaviour in this situation. The fact that respondents overrode the instructions of the questionnaire and accepted offers indicates that age plays a huge role in communication in these collectivist societies. Both genders in each country made almost equal use of offer acceptance. With 24 occurrences, offer acceptance is more predominant in Ghana than in Cameroon where it is used 15 times (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Use of offer acceptance supportive act (Situation 2)

Offer acceptance act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	12	12	24	7	8	15	39	19.5
Not used	38	38	76	33	32	85	161	80.5
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

h. *Compliment act: You are so respectful*

The compliment supportive act is usually realised by the offeree. In it, the offeree compliments the offerer for making the offer. It entails praising the offerer and projecting him or her as an ideal member of the society who fulfils the society's expectations. In Situation 2, only the old man gives compliments. He sees the younger person's good behaviour as a continuity of the traditional and cultural system of respect and deference. What we gather from this is that hybridism is ongoing (120–121) and the system of respect known to the old seems to be gradually fusing with the new. Any young person who adheres to either the old or the hybridised system receives praise and compliments from the old. Postcolonial pragmatics works from such hybridic premises to explore and understand social interaction in postcolonial contexts.

Examples (120–121) give hints of changes in social behaviour especially among youths. Two groups are identified in these examples: old people who still stick to the system of respect or who still *have manners* (121), and youths who “have no manners” (121). The old man in (120) makes two compliments that underscore the importance of the behaviour exhibited by the “lovely young lady” (the offerer). Similarly, in (121), the old man is even surprised by the offer, since apparently “the youth of today” no longer respect this social norm.

(120) You: Oh Sir, please do sit, I would not really like to sit whereas you stand.

Old Man: Such a lovely young lady. I'm really glad there are people like you nowadays. (GaF15)

(121) GaF4 You: Nana (old man) Please take my seat.

Age: 26–34 Old man: Are you sure you want to do this?

Ind.L: Krobo You: Yes, why not?

Usage: Very often Old man: Well, the youth of today have no manners.

L1: Krobo You: There are always exceptions.

Town: Yaounde Old man: I am impressed, but I prefer to stand.

Edu: BA

Being in the postcolonial period which is marked by various discourses about individualism and personal achievement, the compliments used here mark what these societies consider correct social behaviour. By praising those who exhibit this behaviour the old man is indeed promoting these norms. Hybridism, as said, is ongoing, moving from a system known to the old to a new one, being – though not clearly visible in these examples – a mix of the old and the emergent one.

Even though the compliment act offers glimpses into the hybridising nature of postcolonial communities, it is not extensively used in the data. It occurred only

18 (9%) times: 12 by Cameroonians and six by Ghanaians. It could, therefore, be attributed to the Cameroonian context. Overall, females (10 respondents) from both countries used it more than males (six respondents).

Examples (120–121) are constructed by respondents in the age group 17–34 years. This implies that the illocutionary intents for using compliments and the pragmatic functions they play are known to all members of the society irrespective of age. Compliments, therefore, are not an isolated feature of a given age group or gender. Hybridism in the society is also not abstract, but is felt or experienced and talked about by members of the society as they search for norms in these coalescing patterns.

To summarise, Figure 4.1 maps out the frequency of the eight supportive acts analysed above. As the data values in the bar chart reveal, the highest discrepancy between Ghana and Cameroon is in the use of refusal acceptance act. The rest of the supportive acts are used predominantly similarly in both communities.

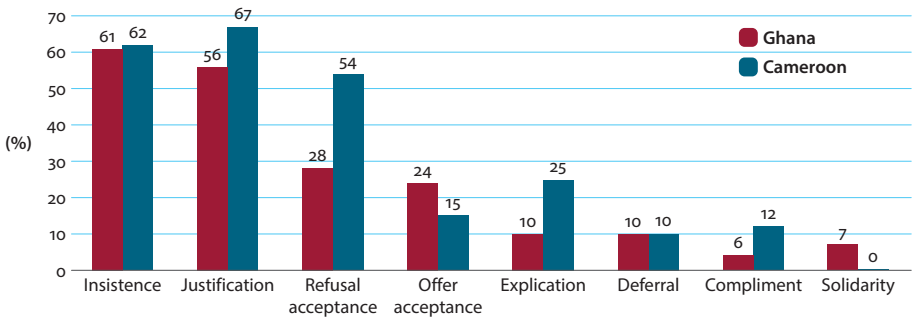


Figure 4.1 Overall occurrences of supportive acts (Situation 2)

What Section 4.1 of this chapter has done is to come up with a vertical structure of the offer-refusal communicative act involving an old man and a younger person in a church context. The constituent parts of this structure have been discussed and exemplified, i.e. the preparatory act of greeting, the head acts and the supportive acts. How these constituent parts come together in a typical offer-refusal act is what Table 4.9 tries to capture. It identifies the different vertical structures and their prevalence in the two locations. The 25 structures presented in Table 4.9 are a summary of a total of 61 structures (see Appendix 3) constructed by the 200 respondents.

The two most recurrent vertical structures, Table 4.9 shows, are made up of three acts, including a justification, a refusal acceptance and an insistence supportive act while the third most recurrent is made up of two acts, i.e. the head act and a supportive act. The three most used structures are:

1. Offer + Justification + Refusal Acceptance or Acceptance or Deferral or Closing or Insistence or Solidarity or Explication or Compliment: 31 occurrences (15.5%)
2. Offer + Insistence + Justification or Deferral or Acceptance or Refusal Acceptance or Explication: 28 occurrences (14%)
3. Offer + Deferral or Refusal Acceptance or Insistence or Justification or Explication: 26 occurrences (13%)

A few structures appear only in one country. There is a slight preference among Ghanaians for the three structures above. Cameroonians on their part rather prefer structures 4, 5 and 6 below (cf. Table 4.9), which consist of at least four acts.

4. Offer + Insistence + Justification + Solidarity or Refusal Acceptance or Acceptance or Deferral: 23 occurrences (11.5%)
5. Offer + Justification + Insistence + Refusal Acceptance or Acceptance or Solidarity: 16 occurrences (8%)
6. Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Deferral or Acceptance or Refusal Acceptance or Justification: 12 occurrences (6%)

From the detailed listing of the communicative act structures in Table 4.9 and especially in Appendix 3, offer head acts can occur in only two possible positions: at the beginning of the exchange (46 times (75.5%)) and after the preparatory act (15 times (24.5%)). Since only one preparatory act is used in Situation 1, the possibility of two preparatory acts occurring together as in Situation 1 was null (see Appendix 5b).

4.2 Offer utterances: Realisation strategies and pragmatic functions

As in the previous chapter, this section comes up with a taxonomy of the horizontal structure of offer utterances in Situation 2. It identifies the strategies used in realising offers of a seat and the pragmatic functions of the internal modification moves in the offerer's entire turn. It is to be seen if the same strategies in Situation 1 are also used here, and if not, to identify the new strategies adopted here. Again, while only the minimal unit realising the illocutionary intent of the head act is taken into account for the realisation strategies, the entire utterance turn including its modification moves is investigated for the pragmatic functions of these moves. These moves create both a cotext and a context that are crucial to the interpretation of speakers' intents in the head act utterances.

Three of the four offer realisation strategies studied in Chapter 3 were used in Situation 2. These are imperative, preference and execution strategies. The declarative was not used at all. As opposed to Situation 1 where the preference strategy is the most recurrent, in Situation 2 analysed here, the imperative strategy is

Table 4.9 Vertical structures of the offer-refusal communicative act (Situation 2)

No.	Type of vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
1	Offer + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance / Acceptance / Deferral / Closing / Insistence / Solidarity / Explication / Compliment	7	10	17	6	8	14	31	15.5
2	Offer + Insistence + Justification/ Deferral / Acceptance / Refusal-Acceptance / Explication	11	10	21	4	3	7	28	14
3	Offer + Deferral / Refusal-Accept / Insistence / Justification / Explication	9	10	19	2	5	7	26	13
4	Offer + Insistence + Justification + Solidarity / Refusal-Acceptance / Acceptance / Deferral	7	7	14	5	4	9	23	11.5
5	Offer + Justification + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance / Acceptance / Solidarity	2	3	5	6	5	11	16	8
6	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Deferral / Acceptance / Refusal-Acceptance / Justification	1	1	2	6	4	10	12	6
7	Offer + Explication + Acceptance / Refusal-Acceptance / Compliment	1	2	3	2	5	7	10	5
8	Offer / Refusal	2	2	4	1	1	2	6	3
9	Greeting + Offer + Acceptance/ Insistence / Explication / Refusal-Accept	3	1	4	1	1	2	6	3
10	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Justification + Closing / Refusal-Accept	–	–	–	2	4	6	6	3
11	Offer + Justification + Refusal-Accept + Closing / Deferral / Compliment	–	–	–	2	3	5	5	2.5
12	Offer + Explication + Justification + Insistence/ Acceptance	1	–	1	2	1	3	4	2
13	Greeting + Offer + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance	1	1	2	1	1	2	4	2

(continued)

Table 4.9 (continued)

No.	Type of vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
14	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Compliment	1	1	2	1	–	1	3	1.5
15	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Acceptance / Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	2	1	3	3	1.5
16	Offer + Justification + Explication + Deferral / Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	2	–	2	3	1.5
17	Offer + Insistence + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance + Deferral	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
18	Offer + Insistence + Solidarity + Acceptance / Deferral	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
19	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
20	Offer + Explication + Justification + Insistence + Deferral	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
21	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Justification + Acceptance	1	–	1	1	–	1	2	1
22	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
23	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
24	Offer + Justification + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
25	Offer + Justification + Solidarity + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5

overwhelmingly used, i.e. by 84% of the 200 respondents (Table 4.10). The other two strategies, preference and execution strategies, follow with significantly low percentages, i.e. 9.5% and 6.5% respectively. That the imperative strategy is the most used is interesting in as much as issues of politeness and respect are concerned. This is because in this situation, the offerer is the younger person and using imperatives or commands on an old man is normally considered disrespectful. However, as it will be shown below, this respect norm is taken care of by the choice and repeated use of respect address and kinship terms in the offer utterance. Over 97% of the offers were realised with deferential markers, e.g. the politeness marker *please*, kinship terms *father*, *papa*, *pa*, *daddy*, *grand pa* and *Nana* (old man, grandfather), *Agya* (parent in Twi) or the honorific *sir*. These certainly soften the potential imposing impact of the directive speech act (imperative) used to realise the offer. Again, ceding one's seat to an old person, as said earlier, is default behaviour which remains unhurt even by the use of imperatives.

Table 4.10 recapitulates tendencies in the use of these three offer realisation strategies among the respondents. Without doubt, the imperative strategy is the most used in both countries and by both genders. This is perhaps because of the norms guiding social behaviour with an old man. It is natural, also in non-postcolonial communities, for old people to be protected, offered help and seats since they are considered fragile. In the case of Ghana and Cameroon described here, it is not only because of the fragility of old people but also fundamentally because of respect for them and the desire to obey social norms and to fulfil societal expectations.

Table 4.10 Offer utterance realisation strategies (Situation 2)

Offer utterance strategy	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total & %
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Imperative	46	46	92	40	36	76	168 (84%)
Preference	1	2	3	8	8	16	19 (9.5%)
Execution	3	2	5	2	6	8	13 (6.5%)
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200 (100%)

As far as the two countries are concerned, Ghanaians (92 occurrences) used imperatives more than Cameroonians (76 occurrences) while more Cameroonians used preferences (16 occurrences) and execution offers (8 occurrences) than Ghanaians (3 and 5 occurrences respectively). At the level of gender, a slight difference can be found in Cameroon in the use of imperative and execution strategies. I will now focus on how these strategies are used in the dialogues, identifying the different types and the syntactic constructions used to realise them. The summary of the occurrence of the three offer utterance strategies in Figure 4.2 reveals relatively significant differences between Ghana and Cameroon.

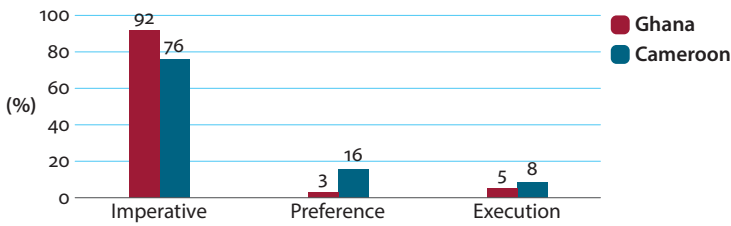


Figure 4.2 Distribution of offer utterance realisation strategies (Situation 2)

4.2.1 Imperative strategy in offer utterances

Taking the form of a command or directive speech act, the offer utterances realised using an imperative strategy tell the offeree, the old man, what to do. In the Western context, it would be considered imposing and impolite, but in these postcolonial contexts, since offering is the default behaviour for the younger interlocutor in this situation, it is not interpreted as thus by the old man. Moreover, the younger interlocutor uses respect-laden address forms within the same utterance as the offer thereby mitigating the force of the directive speech act. This explains why, as stated above, over 97% of all offer utterances comprised a kinship term, honorific form or *please* or a combination of two of these.

Three types of imperative strategies were found in the data in both countries. All three were also used in Situation 1: (a) offeree imperative or action, (b) state offerer permission, and (c) offer deictic (Table 4.11). Offeree imperatives were the most common followed by state offerer permission and lastly offer deictic imperatives which occurred only 11 times in Situation 2. They were realised both as simple and as complex head acts. The third-party imperative and the state offeree invitation types used in Situation 1 were not used here.

a. *Offeree imperative or action*

The offeree imperative in this offer situation is addressed to the old man directly. It is introduced by verbs like *take*, *have* followed by an NP. It could also consist of the verb followed by an adverbial (122), which deictically points to the chair being offered. The syntactic constructions that realise this imperative type in the data are: *verb + NP* and *verb + Adverbial Phrase (AvP)*.

- (122) Daddy sit here (getting up).
Address + Offer
- (CaM14)

The verbalised offer in (122) is accompanied by physical action “getting up” which further proves that the offerer does not expect a refusal, since offering in

this context is considered default according to social norms of the society and the church. The address form “daddy” creates a father-child relationship between them. Both Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents made use of this imperative type (Table 4.11).

b. *State offerer permission*

Referred to by Barron (2005: 153) simply as “state permission”, this imperative type grants the offeree permission to perform the offer. The permission implies that the offer is not offerer-detrimental but is instead offeree-beneficial. Two constructions are used to realise it: *you can* + VP (+NP) and *you may* + VP (+NP) almost always accompanied by modifications like greeting, address forms (123), grounder (124), attention getter, honorific and/or politeness markers (124). The modals *can* and *may* seem to mitigate the directive imposition of the utterance.

(123) Agya, you may have my seat. (GaF8)
Address + Offer

(124) Daddy, please you can sit on my chair, it's really a long queue. (GaF21)
Address + PM + Offer + Grounder

The use of many modification moves is to soften the imposition of the imperative in this age-asymmetrical situation. “Agya” (parent) and “daddy” in (123–124) also create a family relationship which moves the interlocutors closer on a kinship basis. This imperative type was also used by both Ghanaians and Cameroonians (Table 4.11) as opposed to Situation 1 where it was used by Cameroonians only.

c. *Offer deictic*

Used only 11 times in the 200 dialogues, offer deictic imperatives are not preferred in this situation. The offer is presented as a *fait accompli* through the use of place deictic elements. The offeree's interest in the offer is not sought for prior to the offer. In this offer situation, three deictic elements are used in the 11 occurrences: the proximal place deixis *here* (six times), the distal place deixis *there* (three times) and the proximal demonstrative deixis *this* (2 times). That eight of the 11 deictic elements used are proximal indicates the closeness interlocutors try to achieve in their choice of linguistic strategies and words. In (125), the proximal place deixis “here” is used to offer the seat to the old man. It is preceded by the politeness marker “please.”

(125) Please, here is a seat. (GaF7)
PM + Offer

Both Ghanaians and Cameroonians make use of offer deictic imperatives. Four of the 11 occurrences of this imperative type were simple offers while the rest were accompanied by various modification moves including the politeness marker “please” (125), address forms, greetings, etc.

The three imperative strategy types exemplified above are summarised in Table 4.11 according to respondent country. As opposed to Situations 1 and 3, all were used by both sets of respondents.

Table 4.11 Types of imperative strategies (Situation 2)

Type of imperative strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Offeree imperative or action	– <i>verb</i> + <i>NP</i>	+	+
	– <i>verb</i> + <i>AvP</i>		
State offerer permission	– <i>you may</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)	+	+
	– <i>you can</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)		
Offer deictic	– <i>deitic</i> + <i>V</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)	+	+

According to Table 4.10, the imperative strategy was preferred by Ghanaians who used it 92 times as opposed to Cameroonians who used it 76 times. As opposed to Situation 1 where endearment terms and familiarisation moves serve to upgrade the offer head act, these are not used in Situation 2 at all, probably because of the less powerful interlocutor status of the offerer. These moves are rather found in the old man’s offer refusal head act utterances (Section 4.3).

4.2.2 Preference strategy in offer utterances

All preference offer utterances in this offer situation are questions. As in Situation 1, various pre-offer and post-offer minimal unit internal modification moves are used to mitigate the preference question e.g. interjections, address forms (126–127), justifications, attention getters (126), greeting and grounders (127). These moves play various pragmatic roles in interaction, among them, optimising the acceptance of the offer, showing respect towards the old man, justifying the offer to make it more natural, and creating a closer social relationship to the old man. Preference offer utterances could also be realised without modification, i.e. as simple preference offers.

Two types of preference strategies, also found in Situations 1 and 3, were identified in Situation 2: (a) question offeree preference and (b) question offeree (future) action. The other three used in Situation 1, i.e. question offeree interest, question offeree choice and the suggestory formula, were not used in this situation. From the data on Situation 2, question offeree preference type was used in 16 of the 19 offer head acts realised through the preference strategy.

a. Question offeree preference

In this preference type, the offerer gives the offeree the chance to make their preference. However, given the default conditions under which Situation 2 operates, it is imaginable that the use of this preference type is simply ritualised, i.e. the offerer is not indeed asking the old man to indicate his preference; s/he is actually making the offer, but using a formulaic construction. Proof is that only 16 (8%) respondents used this preference type (Table 4.10) in both countries. Three syntactic constructions realise it: *do you mind* + VP (+ NP), *would/will you mind* + VP (+ NP) and *will/would you* + VP (+ NP). They all have an optional NP (Table 4.12).

- (126) Excuse me sir, do you mind having my seat? (CaM8)
Attention getter + *Address* + *Offer*

As (126) shows, various modifications could be added to the offer minimal unit, e.g. attention getters and honorific address forms (126). This type was used by both sets of respondents.

b. Question offeree (future) action

The question in this preference type focuses on the action predicated in the offer. As in (127), the question insinuates that the offeree is entitled to the offer object and should take it. Example (127) upgrades this offeree entitlement by using a grounder “I am young and energetic”, which assures the offeree that the offer is not offerer-detrimental at all. The construction used to frame it is: *why don't you* + VP (+ NP).

- (127) Sir, I am young and energetic, why don't you take my seat. (GaM13)
Address + *Grounder* + *Offer*

The lone occurrence of this preference type was by a male Ghanaian respondent (GaM13). In Situation 1, all occurrences of this preference type were also by Ghanaians, making it, without doubt, a peculiar feature of Ghanaian English.

Table 4.12 Types of preference strategies (Situation 2)

Type of preference strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Question offeree preference	– <i>do you mind</i> + VP (+ NP)	+	+
	– <i>would/will you mind</i> + VP (+NP)		
	– <i>will/would you</i> + VP (+NP)		
Question offeree (future) action	– <i>why don't you</i> + VP (+ NP)	+	–

The preference strategy, Table 4.10 illustrates, was used by only 19 (9.5%) of the 200 respondents with only three of them being from Ghana and 16 from Cameroon.

Since young people are expected by societal norms to cede their seats to old ones, asking the old man's preference in this situation could be considered superfluous and could be interpreted as disrespectful. To avoid this, most of the respondents preferred the imperative strategy which helps them realise their intent while at the same time maintaining their good name as respectful members of the society.

4.2.3 Execution strategy in offer utterances

With only 13 (6.5%) of the 200 respondents using execution strategies, it is clear they are not suitable for this offer situation. Due perhaps to their commissive nature, i.e. committing to a future action, the offerers found them less respectful since, in this offer situation, offering the old man a seat is an immediate action which, according to social norms, must not be dependent on the old man's verbalised desire to have it. It would be disrespectful to ask the old man if he wants the seat and then wait for his answer before actually ceding it to him. So, most of the respondents chose the imperative strategy since it gives them the possibility to offer the seat immediately. Contrary to Schneider (2003), execution strategies are not always realised as direct yes-no questions.

Three types of execution strategies were used in the data on Situation 2. Two of them: question offeree ability and question offerer ability, were also found in Situations 1 and 3, while one: state offerer tolerance, is used here for the first time.

a. Question offeree ability

The performance of the offer depends on the offeree's ability and readiness. This type was most prominent among the 13 respondents who chose the execution strategy. The two syntactic constructions at which it is realised are: *can you + VP?* and *could you + VP?* To these can be added various modification moves. For instance, in (128), three moves are used: the formal honorific "sir", the politeness marker "please" and a reason.

- (128) Sir please, can you sit on my seat for me? I would like to stand for a while.
Address + PM + Offer + Reason (GaM38)

From Table 4.13 below, both Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents adopted this execution type in their offer utterances.

b. Question offerer ability

Here, the ability to perform the offer lies with the offerer but requires the confirmation of the offeree. Again, like with question offeree preference above, it is a substantive offer framed as a ritual offer. It is, nevertheless, understood as a substantive. Only one syntactic construction was found for it in the data: *can I + VP?* (129).

- (129) Grandpa, excuse me but can I offer you my seat? (CaF5)
 Address + *Attention getter* + *Offer*

Two modification moves are employed in (129), the kinship address form “Grandpa” and the attention getter “excuse me.” This type is used only in Cameroon, even though in Situations 1 and 3, it is also used in Ghana.

c. *State offerer tolerance*

Used exclusively in Situation 2, this execution type signals that the offerer has nothing against the offeree performing the offer. If performing the offer depended only on the offerer then s/he would not mind having the offeree perform it. The offer is not detrimental to the offerer’s future plan of action. Tolerance is embodied in the negation constructions used to realise this execution type: *I wouldn’t mind* + VP + NP (130) and *I don’t mind* + VP + NP.

- (130) Grand pa, I wouldn’t mind offering you my seat. (CaM32)
 Address + *Offer*

Like above, a kinship term is used to reduce the distance between the interlocutors in (130). This execution type, Table 4.13 indicates, was used only by Cameroonians – consistent with the fact that overall, more Cameroonians used the execution strategy than Ghanaians.

Table 4.13 Types of execution strategies (Situation 2)

Type of execution strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Question offeree ability	– <i>can you</i> + VP?	+	+
	– <i>could you</i> + VP?		
Question offerer ability	– <i>can I</i> + VP?	–	+
State offerer tolerance	– <i>I don’t mind</i> + VP + NP	–	+
	– <i>I wouldn’t mind</i> + VP + NP		

Of the 13 occurrences of the execution strategy in Situation 2, only one was realised as a simple offer, i.e. without any modification. Relying on complex strategies to make offers in this age-asymmetrical situation further emphasises the need to show respect towards the old man in these collectivist group cultures.

4.3 Offer refusal utterances: Realisation strategies and pragmatic functions

The question this section seeks to answer is: what strategies does the old man use in turning down the offer of a seat made to him by a younger person in church? Attention is on the strategies and modification moves used in the offer refusal head act. As already explained in Chapter 3, although preference and execution strategies take the structure of yes-no questions, the responses to them in the data are hardly ever yes or no. Several other moves are used to perform the refusal, which soften its potential negative effect. These include relocating interaction to familial space through the use of kinship address terms, making compliments to the offerer, returning the offer to the offerer, and giving a reason that impedes the acceptance of the offer. From Table 4.14, tendencies in Ghana and Cameroon are very similar due, as already mentioned above, most probably to the postcolonial heritage they both share.

In Situation 2, six realisation strategies were used in the offer refusal utterance. These are preference, direct refusal, impediment, assurance, return offer and offer acceptance strategies. Of these, direct refusal and impediment are also used in Situations 1 and 3, while assurance is used here and in Situation 3 but not in Situation 1.

Interestingly, although the expectation was for respondents to refuse the offer, some actually accepted it, more so in the head act sequence. So, five of these strategies were used to perform offer refusal while one was used to perform offer acceptance. Table 4.14 summarises the occurrences of these six offer refusal strategies along gender and country lines.

Table 4.14 Offer refusal utterance realisation strategies (Situation 2)

Offer refusal strategy	Ghana			Cameroon			Overall total & %
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Preference	20	23	43	20	24	44	87 (43.5%)
Assurance	16	11	27	20	11	31	58 (29%)
Direct refusal	8	8	16	7	11	18	34 (17%)
Return offer	–	4	4	3	3	6	10 (5%)
Impediment	2	3	5	–	1	1	6 (3%)
Acceptance	4	1	5	–	–	–	5 (2.5%)
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200 (100%)

From Table 4.14 and Figure 4.3, only a few minimal differences can be spotted in the use of these six offer refusal strategies between Ghana and Cameroon. In the use of the assurance strategy, slightly more Cameroonians (31 respondents) made

use of it than Ghanaians (27 respondents). In the impediment strategy, it is rather Ghanaians (5 occurrences) who use it more than Cameroonians (1 occurrence). Worthy of note here is that offer acceptance in the offer refusal head act is realised only by Ghanaians. Cameroonians who accepted offers did so later in the conversation, mostly after supportive acts, especially insistence and justification acts. While these slight differences may exist, there is consistency in the choice of the major offer refusal strategies in the two countries, i.e. preference (43.5%), assurance (29%) and direct refusal (17%) are realised to significant levels (Figure 4.3).

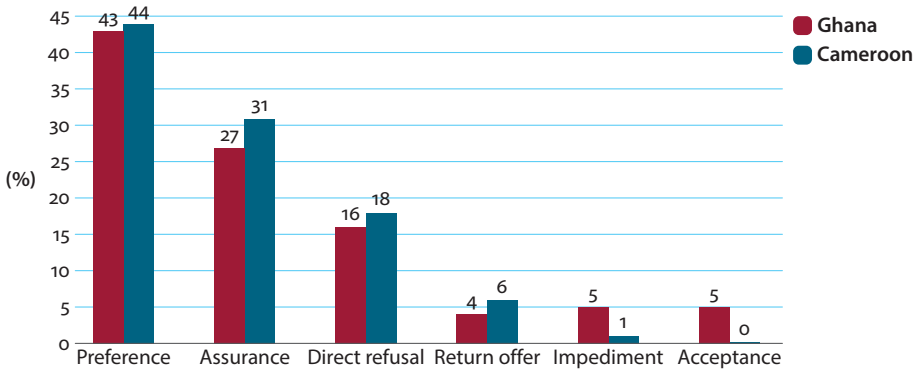


Figure 4.3 Distribution of offer refusal realisation strategies (Situation 2)

As far as gender is concerned, some tendencies can be pointed out. Preference strategies are slightly more common among male respondents in both countries: Ghana 23 males as opposed to 20 females and Cameroon 24 males compared to 20 females. The assurance strategy is rather predominant among females in both countries. In Ghana 16 females used it as opposed to 11 males, while in Cameroon 20 females used it compared to 11 males (Table 4.14). With five tokens, the acceptance strategy is used exclusively in Ghana.

To return briefly to potential differences between males and females in relation to respect and politeness, slightly more males (19 respondents) than females (15 respondents) in both countries use the direct refusal strategy. Though the differences are negligible, this could cautiously point to the direct nature of men's speech and the more collaborative nature of women's speech.

4.3.1 Preference strategy in offer refusal utterances

In the preference strategy, the offeree shows interest in the offer or appreciates the offerer's kindness but prefers another line of action which is always stated. In Situation 2, the preference strategy is marked by the use of the verb *prefer*, perhaps

because it was mentioned in the description of the offer situation in the DCT questionnaire. However, there are other formulations that do not use *prefer*. The formula used in the preference strategy in Situation 2 is: *I won't do X because I prefer to do Y*. Common syntactic constructions include: *I prefer + VP* and *I (will/would) rather + VP*. These are usually accompanied by various modifications, e.g. address forms, interjections, thanks and compliments (132). The words *prefer* and *rather* clearly indicate preference. Offer refusals realised through the preference strategy can be simple utterances (131) or complex utterances (132).

- (131) You: Please have my seat.
 Old man: I prefer to stand. (GaM45)
Simple preference strategy
- (132) You: Father, I don't see it normal for you to be standing. Would you mind having my seat?
 Old man: Oh son! Thanks a lot. It is very rare to find such persons like you but I prefer standing. (CaF24)
Interjection + Address + Thanks + Compliment + Preference

Modification moves are also used by the old man who, in this age-asymmetrical situation, wields more power. By using familial address forms and compliments, for instance, the old man creates a personal kinship relationship to the offerer thereby projecting the refusal as an in-house, family triviality. The compliment restores the offerer's esteem as a responsible and respectful member of the group.

Interlocutor status is significant in the choice of preference strategy used. In Situation 1, where the offeree wields less power, preference is realised using the modal conditional phrase *would have + VP* (83) but here preference is realised directly *I prefer + VP* (131–132) by the old man who wields more power. In Situation 3, the preference strategy is not used at all by the peer interlocutors (Chapter 5).

Of relevance from a postcolonial pragmatic perspective in this offer situation is the paucity of explication moves in the offer refusal utterance. The old man does not back his refusal with any reasons or explications. As in the examples above, he simply states he prefers to stand and accompanies this with compliments. Only rarely does the old man give a reason for the refusal. The explanation for this is the society's age-based role expectations in which young people owe old ones more respect. The old man is not expected to defend or explain his decision to refuse the offer to the younger person. But in the junior-senior colleague situation, the junior colleague uses various excuses and reasons to defend his or her refusal

4.3.2 Assurance strategy in offer refusal utterances

In the assurance strategy, the offeree assures the offerer that s/he is still fine even without the offer. The offeree cancels the supposed benefit of the offer to himself or herself. Typical of this offer situation, the offeree, the old man, does not back this up with any reason, as explained earlier. Assurance has two main parts: the first assurance move is realised through phrases like *don't worry*, *don't bother*, *don't mind*, and the second assurance move is realised as *I am fine*, *I am ok*, *I will be fine*, etc. Though not all assurance refusals have the above parts, the formula adopted in all of them is that *Don't bother to offer me X because I am fine even without X*. In (133–134), thanks, address forms and an implicit return offer (134) are added to the assurance moves.

- (133) You: Hello Dad, you're welcome. Have a seat please.
 Old man: Thank you very much my son/daughter. Don't mind, I'll be okay.
Thanks + Address + Assurance (CaF7)
- (134) You: Please Grand pa, just sit here right.
 Old man: No my little boy. I feel so good like this. Besides where will you sit then?
Refusal + Address + Assurance + Return offer (CaM12)

In (134), the old man supports the assurance move with an implicit return offer which insinuates that he has sympathy for the younger person. By asking “where will you sit then?” the old man transforms the offer from an offeree-beneficial offer into one that is beneficial to both of them. The offer, if accepted, would be offerer-detrimental. So, for the old man, whoever sits would cause some deprivation to the other. The potential negative effect of the refusal is reduced or removed completely since both offerer and offeree would then be in the same situation if the offer is accepted.

Table 4.14 shows only a minimal difference in the use of the assurance strategy between Ghanaians (31 tokens) and Cameroonians (27 tokens) – a further proof of the underlying similarity in their social interactional structures and norms.

4.3.3 Direct refusal strategy in offer refusal utterances

Direct refusals do not advance an explication, justification or impediment for the offer refusal. In Situation 2, like in Situations 1 and 3, certain moves, for instance, address forms, wish (prayer) and thanks, are often used along with it to mitigate its impact on the interlocutor. In (135–136), the direct refusals all carry a negative word which leaves no doubt that the offeree does not accept the offer. These negative

words range from an unmitigated blank “no” in (135) to a mitigated “I won’t” in (136). The direct unmitigated “no” response in (135) to a mitigated offer utterance signals the amount of power the old man commands.

- (135) You: Good morning Papa. Come and sit here please.
 Old man: No. (CaF47)
Refusal
- (136) You: Please, sit down, Grandfather.
 Old man: Oh! My son God bless you but I won’t. (GaM36)
Interjection + Address + Wish + Refusal

The direct negative refusal in (136) is toned down by the kinship term “my son” and the wish (prayer) “God bless you” which both precede it. Religion is invoked to appease the offerer and also to somehow reward him or her – with God’s blessings. This religious factor is very salient in these postcolonial societies because people turn to religion for solutions to various problems. Again, since the interaction takes place in church, asking God to bless someone might also be commonplace practice.

Though minimal, Table 4.14 reveals that more males (19 respondents) used the direct refusal strategy in both countries than females (15 respondents). The difference at country level is rather negligible.

4.3.4 Return offer strategy in offer refusal utterances

In this offer refusal strategy, the offeree returns or offers the offer back to the offerer. The offeree converts an offeree-beneficial offer into an offerer-beneficial offer or one that is beneficial to both offerer and offeree. In Situation 2, the old man tells the younger person to rather sit on the seat because he is fine without it (137–138). Here again, as in the assurance strategy above, the old man is able to return the offer, using a directive speech act, sometimes without any mitigation, because of the social power he has over the younger person. In some examples, the old man gives reasons or explications for his refusal (138) while in others he does not, e.g. in (137) where neither the direct refusal “no” nor the directive return offer speech act “sit down” is mitigated in anyway.

- (137) You: Please Sir have my seat.
 Old man: No sit down. (GaM34)
Refusal + Return offer
- (138) You: You can have my seat sir. I’ll stand.
 Old man: No my dear, sit my legs are still very strong. (CaF14)
Refusal + Address + Return offer + Explication

Return offer realisation strategies are not common in the data. They occur only 10 times: four by (male) Ghanaians and six by Cameroonians (three males and three females).

4.3.5 Impediment strategy in offer refusal utterances

In Situation 1, the impediment strategy is the most recurrent (38%). In Situation 3, it is the second most used (27%). But here, it is used by only 6 (3%) of the 200 respondents: five Ghanaians and one Cameroonian. Again, as said above, the old man, by virtue of the power invested on him by his age, does not, according to social norms, owe the younger person a reason for not accepting the offer. However, among the reasons advanced as impediments, five have to do with the old man's desire to stretch his legs since he had been sitting for long. Here, the old man accepts that the offer is beneficial to him but signals that another plan of action is also, and even more, beneficial at that particular moment than the offer (139).

- (139) You: Nana, please have a seat.
 Old man: Oh my lady, I have been sitting all day. Thank you. I would like to stretch my weak legs a bit. (GaF11)
Interjection + Address + Explication + Thanks + Preference

Through the explication in (139), the old man adds further backing to the refusal making it easily acceptable. But because the default behaviour is for him to accept, these offer refusal utterances are almost always followed by supportive acts, especially insistence and justification.

4.3.6 Acceptance strategy in offer refusal utterances

This strategy is not actually an offer refusal strategy as such but rather an acceptance of the offer by the offeree. Realised in the head act exchange only in Ghana, the five respondents (Table 4.14) violated the instructions of the questionnaire by actually accepting the offer. As explained earlier on, the inability to refuse such an offer in such a context shows how strong the social norms of the society are. For them, the offer is default behaviour which must not be flouted for fear of creating precedents especially in a fast changing society where younger people no longer abide to norms in the traditional system.

Acceptance was realised using thanks and upgrading this with interjections and/or address terms (140).

- (140) Oh my daughter, thanks a lot. (GaF8)
Interjection + Address + Thanks

By accepting the offer, the offeree maintains social cohesion, fulfils societal expectations, plays societal roles and respects social norms thereby taking up their rightful place in the social strata of the society especially along the lines of age. Certain postcolonial pragmatic components, among them religion, age, collectivist cultures and multilingual resources facilitate the achievement of these illocutionary intents. In the next section, I address the salience of these components in an offer situation where age is a decisive factor.

4.4 Age in offers and offer refusals: Postcolonial pragmatic components

Like in Situations 1 and 3 analysed in Chapters 3 and 5 respectively, a number of postcolonial pragmatic components were also invoked in Situation 2 by both interlocutors. These components build on members' desire to respect and abide by social norms as a means of sustaining societal cohesion. In line with the discussion of these components in Chapter 2, focus in this section will be on the following components: address forms, religion, collectivist culture and social norms, gender and code-switching. Besides social cohesion, the use of these components follows social roles adopted according to speaker statuses in specific contexts of interaction.

4.4.1 Address forms

In postcolonial communities, the use of address forms reflects or replicates the relationship between interlocutors. Factors like age, social status, profession and gender as well as respect, closeness, distance and politeness are often also factored into and/or transmitted through the choice of address forms. As opposed to Situations 1 and 3 where seven and six address strategies respectively are used, in this situation, only four are used. The most frequently used are kinship terms with 189 tokens, followed by honorifics with 112 tokens, endearment terms with 22 tokens and attention getters with 18 tokens (Table 4.15).

In all, 341 tokens of address forms were identified in the 200 dialogues. Of these, 192 (56.4%) were used by Cameroonians (104 by females and 88 by males) and 149 (43.6%) by Ghanaians (81 tokens by females and 68 by males). From Table 4.15, we see a clear preference of address forms among female respondents in both countries (185 tokens) as opposed to their male counterparts (156 tokens) – just as in the previous chapter.

Evidently, age-deferential and status-deferential address forms are preferred in interactions involving older interlocutors as the statistics in Table 4.15 illustrate. This

Table 4.15 Address forms in Situation 2

Address forms (<i>n</i> = 341)		Ghana (<i>n</i> = 149)		Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 192)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
Kinship terms (189 tokens)	– son, my son	4	16	13	21	54
	– daddy, dad	14	5	5	4	28
	– Pa, Papa	–	1	14	13	28
	– daughter, my daughter	10	–	15	2	27
	– child, my child	2	3	12	5	22
	– grand Pa, grand father	3	6	2	4	15
	– father, my father	2	–	4	2	8
	– Nana, Agya	3	–	–	–	3
	– ma pikin	–	–	–	2	2
	– grand child	1	–	–	–	1
	– grand son	–	1	–	–	1
<i>Total</i>		39	32 ($\Sigma 71$)	65	53 ($\Sigma 118$)	189
Honorifics (112 tokens)	– sir	26	24	34	24	108
	– Mr + name	1	–	–	1	2
	– madam	–	1	–	–	1
	– master	–	1	–	–	1
<i>Total</i>		27	26 ($\Sigma 53$)	34	25 ($\Sigma 59$)	112
Endearment terms (22 tokens)	– dear, my dear	12	–	4	2	18
	– my boy, my little boy	–	2	–	1	3
	– my lady	1	–	–	–	1
<i>Total</i>		13	2 ($\Sigma 15$)	4	3 ($\Sigma 7$)	22
Attention getters (18 tokens)	– young man	–	5	–	5	10
	– boy	–	2	–	1	3
	– young lady	2	–	1	–	3
	– young boy	–	–	–	1	1
	– gentleman	–	1	–	–	1
<i>Total</i>		2	8 ($\Sigma 10$)	1	7 ($\Sigma 8$)	18
Overall total		81	68	104	88	341
		149 (43.6%)		192 (56.4%)		

goes with the construction of an asymmetrical relationship involving a parent and a child in the case of kinship terms, and a master, boss or senior and a subordinator or junior in the case of honorifics. Personal names were not used in Situation 2, except once where a personal name was used with the honorific *Mr.* Two possible reasons could account for this: respondents might have thought that the interlocutors do not know each other personally since the interaction takes place in church, a public location, or the principle of name-escapism or name-avoidance (Anchimbe 2006a; 2011b) when dealing with older interlocutors might be responsible for the younger person's decision to start the dialogue with a kinship or honorific address form rather than with a personal name.

a. *Kinship terms*

As opposed to Situation 1 where only one kinship term, *brother* is used, and Situation 3 where only two *brother* and *sister* are used, in Situation 2, 15 kinship terms are used up to 189 times to address both the younger person and the old man. This high frequency confirms the importance of address forms or strategies in social interactions in these two postcolonial societies. Not using the appropriate address form could immediately lead to breakdown in communication or a negative impression about especially the younger person.

The kinship terms in Table 4.15 appear in pairs indexing various types of asymmetrical relationships, some of them mapped out in Figure 4.4: parent (daddy, dad, Pa, Papa, father, Nana, Agya) vs. child (child, son, daughter, pikin) and grandparent (grand Pa, grandfather) vs. grandchild (grandchild, grandson). The Twi native language words for parent, *Nana* and *Agya*, have no direct asymmetrical native language words in the data to complete the relationship. Pragmatically, interlocutors relocate interaction to the familial domain through these kinship terms in order to apply those norms of interaction that guide communication and behaviour in the home. Additionally, it reflects the metaphor of the church as a family, and also, the society as a family. The mapping in Figure 4.4 captures this pairing of kinship terms in age-based asymmetrical relationships which are then transferred to interaction in various contexts.

Most of the kinship terms in Table 4.15 are used by the younger person to address the old man than the other way around. This is because the young owe the old respect. This respect is, therefore, embedded in, and transmitted through, respect-laden address forms. Out of the 15 address forms shown in Table 4.15, nine are used to address the old man and six to address the younger person. But interestingly, the highest occurrence of a single address form is rather by the old man, i.e. *son* and *my son* which occur 54 times (Table 4.15). The second highest are *daddy* and *dad* and *Pa* and *Papa* (each 28 times) used to address the old man.

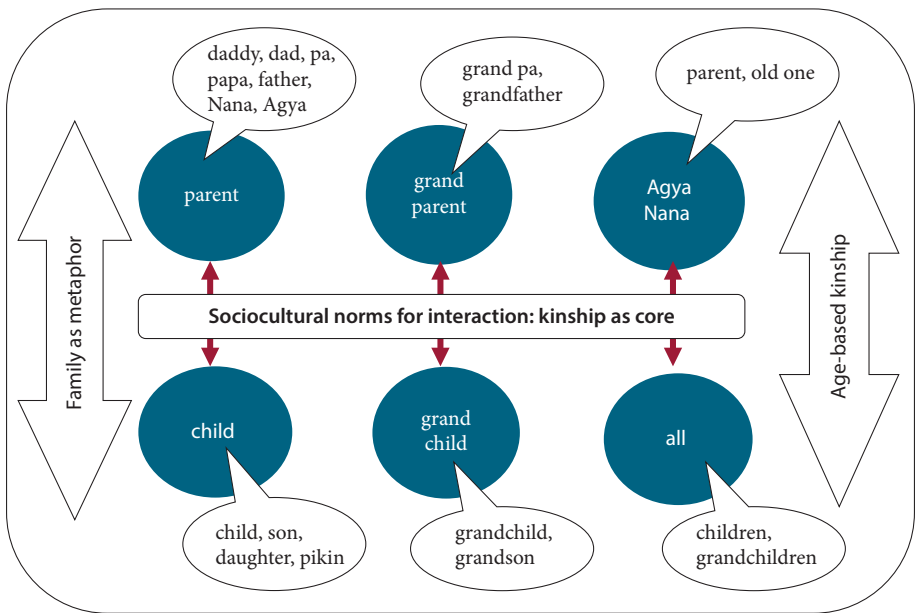


Figure 4.4 Pairs of kinship asymmetrical relationships

A few tendencies are also visible as far as the two postcolonial societies are concerned. Ghanaian respondents borrow and use native language words for the old man, i.e. *Nana*²⁹ and *Agya* from the Twi language. Cameroonians rather borrow the Pidgin English word *pikin* (child) which is used twice in the data. Except for *dad*, *daddy* where more Ghanaians (19 tokens) use it than Cameroonians (9 tokens), Cameroonians use all the other kinship terms more than Ghanaians. For instance, 34 Cameroonians use *son* or *my son* as opposed to 20 Ghanaians; 27 Cameroonians use *Pa* or *Papa* as against only 1 Ghanaian; 17 Cameroonians make use of *daughter* or *my daughter* compared to 10 Ghanaians; and lastly, 17 Cameroonians use *child* or *my child* as opposed to only 5 Ghanaians (Table 4.15). So, kinship terms are clearly more commonly used among Cameroonians than Ghanaians.

At the level of gender, in both countries more women than men use kinship terms: 39 females to 32 males in Ghana and 65 females to 53 males in Cameroon (Table 4.15).

²⁹. This term is also used by a respondent who has the Krobo language as mother tongue and first language, which she uses very often. The respondent lives in Accra. There is the possibility that Twi could be her second language.

In order to create a deferential relationship to the old man and to adhere to norms of respect, sometimes more than one address term is used for the same person in the same communicative act. These could index the search for the most suitable relationship. In (141) constructed by a 17–25 year-old female Cameroonian respondent, the younger person initially addresses the old man as “sir” but later switches to “father” in her second insistence act.

- (141) CaF26 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 17–25 You: **Sir**, have my seat.
 Ind.L: Mokpwe Old man: No. I’m fine. Sit **my daughter**.
 Usage: Seldom *Insistence*
 L1: English, Pidgin You: No **Sir**, I insist you sit down instead.
 Town: Buea Old man: I’m fine, don’t bother, I’m still strong.
 Edu: A/L *Justification*
 You: I’m more stronger and younger than you, so
 please sit.
 Old man: My doctor advices that I stand.
 Insistence
 You: Are you sure **father**? Or you don’t want to sit?
 Old man: I’m sure **my child**, thank you.
 Deferral
 You: It’s ok but just let me know if you are tired of
 standing.

This could either be a reaction to the kinship address forms the old man uses to address her or her own decision to accept to move the interaction from the formal domain marked by “sir” to the kinship domain suggested by the old man. In his first turn, the old man uses the kinship term “my daughter” and later, “my child”, thereby keeping interaction in the kinship domain.

In switching from the formal honorific “sir” to the kinship term “father”, the offerer strives for a closer family-like relationship to the old man in order to maximise the acceptance of the offer. Although the old man initiates this switch in the head act sequence by addressing her “my daughter”, she only accepts it in the second insistence act. Now that interaction is moved to the family, she has no choice but to play the role of a child and accept the old man’s refusal. The family metaphor is, therefore, central to how people negotiate contact, behaviour, politeness, respect, naming and social norms during conversation. That these negotiations take place in a transplanted postcolonial language like English is proof of the hybrid nature of interactional systems in most postcolonial societies.

b. *Honorifics*

From the four honorific forms listed in Table 4.15, *sir* alone is used 108 times and the rest (i.e. Mr + name, madam and master) only four times. As a formal deferential marker, *sir* is certainly chosen by the younger person to show respect to the old man in this (semi-) formal context, the church. The old man, in response, uses a range of address forms, kinship terms (141), endearment terms, attention getters or nothing at all. Like the senior colleague in Situation 1, the old man wields more power here and can choose how to address the other without endangering social cohesion in the community.

Cameroonians (59 tokens) use slightly more honorifics than Ghanaians (53 tokens). More female Cameroonians use them than their male counterparts: 34 to 25 tokens respectively. Just as with kinship terms, more females (61 tokens) in both countries use honorifics than males (51 tokens). This numerical advantage further indicates that women tend to be more ready to use polite and respect strategies in interactions than men.

c. *Endearment terms*

Although endearment terms aid to bring interlocutors together, they are generally used by the more powerful interlocutor. In Situation 2, all endearment terms are used by the old man. The intention is to bring the younger person close enough so that the impact of the refusal is mitigated by this closeness. Of the 22 occurrences in the data, 18 are of the *dear* or *my dear* type and the remaining four involve the distance-closing possessive pronoun *my* as in *my boy* or *my lady* (Table 4.15).

With 15 tokens, Ghanaian respondents made significantly more use of endearment terms than Cameroonians (7 tokens). As far as gender is concerned, 17 of the 22 tokens came from female respondents, 12 of them in Ghana and four in Cameroon. Again, like above, women portray themselves here to be more accommodating and rapprochement-friendly than men.

d. *Attention getters*

The attention getters in Situation 2 do not really only attract the addressee's attention but also serve to name the addressee in a way that creates a relationship between them and the speaker. For instance, *young man*, *young boy* and *young lady* match asymmetrically with *old man* or *sir*. They are more neutral and less personalised than kinship and endearment terms discussed above. Like in the gender tendencies above, more males than females used this strategy. 15 of the 18 tokens are used by male respondents and only three by females in both countries (Table 4.15). This male preference for attention getters further supports the literature on gender and language use that men are less personal in interactions than women.

4.4.2 Religion

From a postcolonial pragmatics perspective, the church as the physical context in which the interaction takes place is important because it embodies one of the most enduring heritages of colonial contact. Today, the church has codes of conduct which, though based in religious doctrines, tend – by design or coincidence – to amplify or promote certain aspects of traditional indigenous codes of conduct and respect. For instance, some respondents used passages from the Bible in which children are called upon to respect their parents to justify their offer of a seat to the old man, construed of here as a parent. We see this in (142) where the offerer uses the Bible to justify his offer.

- (142) Daddy, the Bible says honour your mother and father that your days may be long on earth. (GaM8)

Incidentally, what the Bible recommends is similar to the indigenous social norm of the society which expects younger people to show absolute respect for old ones. We see a form of hybridism here in which each system (religious and indigenous) supports the other or in which similar role expectations in both merge. Today, a social norm like this is often reinterpreted within specific (religious) contexts as a command from God. Religion is, therefore, becoming or has become part of the social etiquette of the society. It is the measuring rod for respect and other behaviour deemed correct in the society. In Example (143), the offer made by the younger person, though not accepted, is binding because God has seen the offerer's heart. Whatever onlookers think no longer matters, we are made to believe, because God has seen that the offerer obeyed the commandment. Here, we see that social conduct is sanctioned by religious beliefs which are becoming stronger in the society. In (143), the old man's turn suggests that pleasing God is more important than pleasing onlookers or other members of the society (cf. Example 111 above).

- (143) You: I understand, but what impression should onlookers have of me.
Old man: Never mind. God has seen your heart. (CaM17)
- (144) Old man: It is the pains at the waist that matters.
You: Focus on Jesus and you'll be surprised this pain disappears before the end of the church service. (GaM3)

Religion is so entrenched in these postcolonial societies that it is also relied on for healing. In (144), the old man is asked to focus on Jesus in order to get healed of his waist pain. The dominance of religion in the examples above explains how widespread it is and how crucial it is to any analysis of social interaction in postcolonial societies and postcolonial discourses. By invoking religion as the interlocutors do,

they cancel any negative interpretations the offer refusal could have engendered, at least in the church context. As illustrated in Chapter 3, religion is a delicate issue and is hence quickly accepted as a reason or excuse for offer refusals.

4.4.3 Collectivist cultures and social norms

In some of the dialogues constructed by the 200 respondents, we find traces of collectivist cultural norms, i.e. the desire to sustain the values of a group and to adhere to its norms of social conduct. Additionally, we see how the good behaviour of an individual is only appreciated in terms of their belonging to a particular social or ethnic group. I will illustrate these collectivist or group cultural tendencies at three levels: social roles within the society, the impact of the third-party effect or onlooker response and ethnic belonging. These factors clarify the understanding of old age in these postcolonial societies, and how it is a group's collective responsibility to cater to the needs of the old.

In these two postcolonial communities, social roles are distributed according to age, gender, social status, etc. In this regard, as illustrated by Anchimbe (2011b) and Anchimbe and Janney (2011a), older people play the social roles of mothers and fathers towards younger ones, advising or providing for them. As illustrated above with address forms, such roles are visible in the way people name others and how they adopt and play the roles indexed in those names, e.g. daddy-son, grandfather-granddaughter. In Example (145), the offerer applies this social role norm directly without mitigating it when she tells the old man "you are my father."

- (145) You: Please Sir, I'm offering this because you are my father. (CaF28)
- (146) You: No please. I should be standing while you seat.
- Old man: Why?
- You: Sir, because you are of old age whiles I am young. And that is what society teaches. (GaM39)

By attributing the status and role of father to the old man, the offerer also adopts the status of a child, along with the social roles and expectations attached to being a child. These expectations, Example (146) shows, are learned from the collectivist society from childhood.

The consciousness to respect these rules and fulfil societal expectations is sustained in the third-party effect or the onlooker response. As already illustrated members of the group feel observed by other members and in order not to be branded as rude or bad, they always strive to abide by the rules of the group. In (147), the old man accepts to sit for just a while in order to free the offerer of the onlooker response. This indicates that as members of the same collectivist entity,

4.4.4 Gender

Because the description of Situation 2 clearly stated the old person is a man, respondents' free choice of how to react to the older interlocutor was curtailed. However, their behaviour towards a male rather than a female older interlocutor under such circumstances also reveals interesting patterns. As already pointed out above in relation especially to address forms, female respondents chose distance-closing and less confrontational address forms (kinship, endearment and honorific terms) while the males, besides also using some of these forms, made extensive use of formal and neutral address forms (attention getters). Apart from these, no other glaring gender specificities were found in the data on this offer situation.

4.4.5 Code-switching

Code-switching in postcolonial societies has complex pragmatic functions which include indexing social relationships, accommodating speaker competences, closing group boundaries, indicating closeness or distance and adapting to contextual requirements. A few instances of code-switching were found in the data on Situation 2. Nominal switches involving names or address terms from the indigenous languages were found mostly in Ghana (see 4.4.1 above) while more extensive intra-sentential and inter-sentential switches were found in Cameroon involving English and CPE. In Examples (149–150), speakers use their multilingual repertoires in code-switching for three reasons. Firstly, switching indexes the social relationship that exists or that the speaker wishes to create with the addressee. The choice of CPE in (149), for instance, signals the desire to create a closer relationship with the old man. However, this closeness is not reciprocated by the old man who rather prefers the formal, official English language. The offerer, being the younger and less powerful interlocutor, accepts this renegotiation of the relationship and also switches to English. She also selects a formal address form “sir” befitting the new formal relationship. The interaction continues in English.

(149) CaF9 Age: 17–25 Ind.L: Mundani Usage: Seldom L1: English, Mundani Town: Yaounde Edu: A/L	You: Papa, abeg shiddon. [<i>Papa, I beg sit down</i>] Old man: No thanks my daughter, I prefer to stand. You: Sir, you can't stay up while I sit. I'll rather prefer to stand for you. Old man: My daughter, don't bother yourself. I'm strong. You: Oh! No sir, you look weak and moreover you are old. Old man: Ok. Then that's nice of you and it's rare to see...

Secondly, switching to CPE could be to accommodate to speaker statuses, for instance, non-literates, who would not be comfortable in English or interlocutors who do not understand the speaker's native language. In (149), the switch seems to be motivated by the former reason. But because the old man can speak English, the switch is abandoned immediately after the first turn. However, speaker competence is evident in (150) where the old man sticks to CPE throughout the conversation and the younger person only minimally switches to CPE in his last turn "shidon" (sit down).

Thirdly, the context of the church where the use of CPE in Cameroon has been extensively recorded could explain the switch. Many churches in Cameroon, especially the Catholic Church, make extensive use of CPE in their services. Catholic liturgies and the New Testament, *Gud Nyus fo Ol Pipol* (2000), have now been translated into CPE (see Mühleisen and Anchimbe 2013). The old man's consistent use of CPE in (150) could also be explained using this contextual argument.

(150) CaM39 Age: 17–25 Ind.L: Nweh Usage: Often L1: English, Nweh Town: Buea Edu: A/L	You: Papa, please have a seat. Old man: No.. ma pikin I like for stand. [<i>No, my child I like to stand</i>] You: When I see you standing, I am not happy. Old man: Ma pikin church e don flop and chair e no dey for me for shidon. [<i>My child the church is full and there are no seats left</i>] You: Okay Papa, shidon, you can have my seat since I am young... Old man: Ma pikin if I shidon I go fall sleep... [<i>My child if I sit I will fall asleep...</i>]

In (149–150) above, both interlocutors understand CPE. Though they belong to different generations, CPE serves as a meeting point for them, an age-free language through which various statuses and relationships can be constructed.

4.5 Summary: Age and social and linguistic behaviour between Ghana and Cameroon

The vertical and horizontal structures of offer-refusal communicative acts and the postcolonial pragmatic components investigated in this chapter revealed, like in Chapter 3, more similarities between Ghana and Cameroon than differences. The hybridised and still hybridising aspects of their social interactional systems are seen to be predominantly similar signalling various instantiations of colonial contact with indigenous structures in, for instance, religion, in-group collectivist cultures, norms of respect and societal roles and expectations.

As shown above, most differences are at the micro-level of speech realisation. While the underlying structure of these two postcolonies remains similar, each of them has its own specific instantiations of the mixture that took place during colonialism. The next chapter uses the same procedure as the last two but investigates the offer of food on an inter-city bus between two people of the same age group.

Offers, refusals and peer equality

This chapter adopts a similar analytical procedure as the previous two, but focuses on the impact of peer equality on the realisation of an offer of food on an inter-city bus. As opposed to the previous two chapters where the relationship between offerer and offeree is unequal or imbalanced or asymmetrical, here the interlocutors are peers, i.e. they are of the same age group and social rank. Having shown that social or professional status (Chapter 3) and age (Chapter 4) play important roles in interaction in the two postcolonial societies studied here, this chapter investigates how, in the absence of these two factors, interaction takes place. Does peer equality impact on the address forms chosen, patterns of respect and politeness, use and choice of language, etc? Are the same strategies in offer and offer refusal head acts used in the power asymmetrical situations also adopted here? These questions will guide the analysis carried out here.

The chapter is divided into three main parts. The first establishes the vertical structure of this offer-refusal interaction involving two peers while the second part describes the realisation strategies of the offer and offer refusal head acts. It also identifies and explains the pragmatic relevance of the internal modification moves used in these head acts as a means of understanding speakers' illocutionary intents. The last part brings into the picture the postcolonial pragmatic components interlocutors draw on to achieve their communicative intents. The location, i.e. a bus, a public meeting point in which strict ethnic or regional affiliations cannot be immediately determined, is crucial to the choice of postcolonial pragmatic components chosen here. Again, the physical context of the bus is limiting for speakers: they cannot (physically) move away, they are bound to sit together till the destination, etc. This has an impact on the type of preparatory and supportive acts that can possibly be used.

The data used in this chapter were also collected from the 200 questionnaires. In this offer situation, the respondent played the role of the offeree:

- Situation 3: Offering food: You are on the bus to another city and the person sitting next to you, who is in the same age range as you, offers you some of his/her food. You don't trust the person.

The onus in this situation is on trust rather than on status and age asymmetry as in Situations 1 and 2. This situation is typical for polite offers. The data has several instances of polite offers, but there are also offers that start off as polite offers but end up as substantive offers through the use of insistence and justification supportive acts. This aside, there is much freedom of expression, less fear of face threat and no strict respect for age-based or status-based social norms in the way interlocutors handle each other. This is most certainly because of peer equality. As the examples in this chapter show, potential face threats tend to be cancelled out by peer equality. Contrary to Situations 1 and 2 where no interlocutor is ready to violate the social responsibility attached to their participant statuses and roles in the dialogue, in Situation 3, peers simply do not feel this pressure and sometimes smile over potential face threats.

5.1 Communicative act structure: Preparatory, head and supportive acts

The data on Situation 3 contains some but not all the external modification acts found in the other offer situations. External speech acts like greeting, insistence, explication, alternative and refusal acceptance acts are conspicuously present. The grounder preparatory act as well as the postponement, promise, closing, compliment and solidarity supportive acts are not used in this situation. Again, because of peer equality, these are apparently not always absolutely necessary. However, one new preparatory act is introduced here, i.e. the introduction preparatory act, in which interlocutors introduce themselves in a bid to create a closer relationship and trust which could facilitate the acceptance of the offer. Conspicuous in introduction acts is the use of first names – a peer indicator – which shows that it is not ultimately about ethnic identity politics as in Situation 2 but rather about peer acquaintance or even friendship. No new supportive act is introduced in this situation. Six supportive acts, used in Situations 1 and/or 2, are also used here namely, insistence, explication, refusal acceptance, alternative offer, offer acceptance and deferral supportive acts.

5.1.1 Preparatory acts and peer equality

Given the symmetrical relationship between interlocutors in Situation 3, preparatory acts serve to create an atmosphere of trust, friendship and closeness. Interlocutors search for a platform of equality and friendship on which the offer-refusal act can be performed free of social or professional status and age expectations or limitations. So, using or not using a preparatory act does not significantly hurt the relationship between the two. Three preparatory acts were used in this offer situation: greeting,

introduction and familiarisation. The desire to create trust and closeness is mostly achieved through the introduction preparatory act since it gives interlocutors the chance to know each other and to even become friends in future after this initial encounter on an inter-city bus.

a. *Greetings*

As opposed to the old man-younger person situation (Chapter 4) where greeting indexes social status and age, in Situation 3, there is no obligation to index these factors. Interlocutors, the data show, rather use greetings to open up new spaces for communication (i.e. making an offer) rather than for negotiating interlocutor statuses or relationship along the lines of social or professional power and age. Some of these greetings are simply the ritual *hi-hi* and *hello-hello* types while others are accompanied in the same speaker turn by an address form, a self-introduction or a familiarisation move.

In Table 5.1, 41 (20.5%) of the 200 respondents used greetings both as a simple preparatory act (30 tokens) and as a complex preparatory act (11 tokens). The 41 occurrences of greetings belong to nine greeting preparatory act structures: four realised as simple acts and five as complex acts, i.e. together with an introduction or familiarisation move (Table 5.1). Similar to Situation 1, *H-greeting* is the most frequently used structure, occurring 16 times out of 41. This is in contrast to Situation 2 where *G-greeting* + *Address form* is the most recurrent greeting preparatory act structure. The simple explanation here is that interlocutors are peers and, therefore, easily use H-greetings which generally index equality especially among young people. There are more occurrences of *hi* than *hello* in the data on Situation 3 – an indication that it indexes youth peers. That the use of H-greetings is a marker of the youth is evident from the respondents' age range. Only three of the 16 respondents who used H-greetings (Table 5.1) fall in the age range 26–34 years, the rest are in the 17–25 years age range. Like in Situation 2, personal names are not used in the greeting adjacency pair certainly because interlocutors do not know each other. Where names are used, it is only after interlocutors have introduced themselves in the introduction preparatory act.

Cameroonian respondents (29 times) used significantly more greetings than Ghanaians (12 times). This is consistent with Situations 1 and 2 where Cameroonians also used greetings more than Ghanaians (cf. Tables 3.1 and 4.1). So, in all three offer situations, Cameroonians utilised greetings more than Ghanaians. This is basically a variational difference and not a fundamental one because both societies use greetings but only to varying degrees. The fundamental similarity in their underlying postcolonial setup is not affected by this variation.

At the level of gender, slightly more females in both countries made use of greetings than males. The trends within each country are different, for example, in

Table 5.1 Distribution of greeting preparatory act (Situation 3)

Type	Greeting prep. act structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 12)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 29)			Grand total
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Simple prep. act	H-greeting	5	2	7	7	2	9	16
	H-greeting + Address (dear, friend)	–	–	–	1	4	5	5
	G-greeting	–	1	1	2	2	4	5
	G-greeting + Address (friend, sister)	1	–	1	–	3	3	4
Complex prep. acts	H-greeting + Familiarisation	1	1	2	1	2	3	5
	H-greeting + Introduction (+Familiarisation)	1	–	1	1	1	2	3
	H-greeting + Address + Familiarisation	–	–	–	1	–	1	1
	G-greeting + Introduction	–	–	–	–	1	1	1
	G-greeting + Address + Familiarisation	–	–	–	–	1	1	1
Total		8	4	12	13	16	19	41

Cameroon, more males used greetings than females (Table 5.1). From the greeting structures in Table 5.1, I have selected three that are not attested in Chapters 3 and 4 for illustration here.

i. *H-greeting + Familiarisation structure*

Where a simple H-greeting might not be enough to create the required degree of peer-level trust, a familiarisation move is appended to it. Familiarisation generally takes the form of a ritual *How are you?* and a corresponding ritual response *Fine, thanks* as in (151). Worth of note in (151) is the interjection “Oh!” whose pragmatic function is not surprise but rather readiness to open up to the other. In all, only five instances of this greeting structure were found in Situation 3: two by Ghanaian and three by Cameroonian respondents (Table 5.1).

(151) Other: Oh! Hello, how are you?

You: I am fine. Thank you.

(GaF13)

ii. *H-greeting + Address form structure*

Although the interlocutors in this situation are meeting for the first time, the desire to locate a social peer group space in which to interact compels them to use certain address forms to refer to each other. The three address forms used in the five dialogues that belong to this greeting preparatory act (i.e. friend, fellow boy and dear) embody camaraderie and endearment. In (152), “friend” and “dear” indicate a relationship of equality and interlocutors’ readiness to cooperate in the conversation.

(152) Other: Hello friend.

You: Hello dear.

(CaM33)

Interestingly, kinship is not invoked perhaps because the natural order of respect within the family is not needed here since peer equality already exists. Playing societal roles as members of a collectivist culture is not at risk here either. All five instances of *H-greeting + Address form* were constructed by Cameroonian respondents: four males and one female. It could, though cautiously, be attributed to the Cameroonian peer group social space.

iii. *H-greeting + Introduction structure*

In this greeting structure, the new preparatory act of introduction is used together with an H-greeting move. By introducing themselves by name, interlocutors feel closer to one another and can, thereafter, use each other’s personal names. By directly asking the other partner’s name as in (153), an atmosphere of equality is created where freedom of action and speech is guaranteed. This would not happen in the other offer situations because it is not worthy of a senior or an old man to introduce themselves to a junior or a younger person – it is rather the other way around.

(153) Other: Hello, I am Peterson and you?

You: Hi, I am Kent.

(CaM22)

(154) Other: Hello, my name is Baaba. Are you travelling to Mankessim?

You: Hello, am Esaaba, am travelling to Apam.

(GaF9)

Sometimes, the greeting and the introduction moves can be complemented by a familiarisation move as in (154). The familiarisation in (154) seeks to know if the other interlocutor is going to the same place as the speaker. If yes, then there could be a possibility that they are from the same ethnic group. With this knowledge, therefore, ethnic group norms and societal rules of this geographical region could then be incorporated into the interaction. The interlocutors could also immediately switch to the ethnic language as an identity marker, thereby closing group boundaries to non-members. There were only three tokens of this greeting structure in Situation 3 (Table 5.1).

b. *Familiarisation*

Familiarisation, as explained in Chapter 3, offers interlocutors the chance to know each other and to break the ice before starting a conversation. Pragmatically, familiarisation is more pertinent than greeting because familiarisation moves are not usually ritualised behaviour. In Situation 3, familiarisation is important because of the type of offer (food) involved and the status of interlocutors as strangers. Accepting food from strangers requires a lot of trust in them, and familiarisation helps build that trust. In multicultural, multilingual and multiethnic societies like Ghana and Cameroon where tribal distrust is widespread, knowing an interlocutor's place of origin or destination could be relevant for the building of trust, the choice of identity and the avoidance of stereotypes linked to that ethnic group or place of origin (cf. Chapter 6).

Table 5.2 Distribution of familiarisation preparatory act (Situation 3)

Type	Familiarisation structure	Ghana (n = 7)			Cameroon (n = 11)			Total tokens
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Simple prep. act	Small talk (journey, destination, time)	2	1	3	2	4	6	9
	How-are-you & How-do-you-do?	2	–	2	2	1	3	5
Complex prep. act	H/G-greeting (+Address) + Familiarisation	1	1	2	–	2	2	4
Total		5	2	7	4	7	11	18

Taking from Table 5.2, there were 18 (9%) instances of familiarisation in the 200 dialogues, realised using three structures categorised here according to their content and composition: *how-are-you familiarisation*, the complex type *Greeting + Address + Familiarisation* (cf. Chapter 3) and *small talk familiarisation*. Small talk familiarisation is used for the first time in Situation 3 while the other two were used in Situation 1. The differences in the distribution of these familiarisation structures according to country and gender are not significant. Below I focus on small talk familiarisation alone because the other two were already dealt with in Chapter 3.

i. *Small talk*

Since nine of the 18 instances of familiarisation are small talk, it is, therefore, a common method of starting a conversation between peers in Ghana and Cameroon. Small talk in the data includes questions or discussions about just any topic not directly linked to the offer of food. If the topic is directly linked to the offer, then it would be a grounder. The topics discussed in the nine exchanges of small talk

familiarisation include the journey (e.g. arrival time, enjoying the journey, etc. (155), asking for the time, the interlocutor's final destination (155–156), the interlocutor's habits when on a bus (e.g. sleeping, eating) and a hint at a previous meeting between offerer and offeree, i.e. if they had met before. The longer the familiarisation act (cf. 155) the higher the desire to build trust and friendship since these are crucial for the acceptance of food from a stranger in a public space like the bus. Trust is crucial here because the offeree, unlike in Situations 1 and 2, is free from the pressure of the offerer's social power or age superiority.

(155) Other: Are you enjoying the natural scenes by the road side?

You: Yes, very much.

Other: Do you get to the last bus stop?

You: No. I will get off before the last one. (GaF4)

(156) Other: Where are you going to?

You: I am on my way to Douala. (CaM22)

Example (155) is constructed by a female Ghanaian respondent. Compared to (156) constructed by a male respondent, this exchange (155) is longer, stretching over two adjacency pairs. Moreover, the potentially threatening question about the offeree's destination comes up only in the second adjacency pair as opposed to (156) where it is asked directly. Also whereas the male respondent in (156) directly asks where the offeree is going to, in (155) the female respondent does this indirectly by rather asking if the offeree will go to the last bus stop. These indirect and mitigated strategies are suggestive of the gender-related linguistic habits often attributed to women. The shorter and snappy Example (156) fits with the type of language identified with men in the literature on gender and language.

c. *Introduction*

Introduction is a new preparatory act used for the first time in Situation 3. In it, interlocutors introduce themselves to each other like in first time meetings. This entails telling their names and sometimes where they are going to. The pragmatic function of this preparatory act is to create or further consolidate an atmosphere of trust and friendship within which an offer of food can be made. Offers of food are generally delicate because these carry potential health risks for the offeree. To accept food from a stranger and eat it, therefore, requires a lot of trust.

The introduction act occurred only six times in the data on Situation 3. Four of them were by Cameroonian respondents (two males and two females) and two by female Ghanaian respondents. As Table 5.3 illustrates, there was only one instance of a simple introduction adjacency pair (157). In the other five, introduction was accompanied by another preparatory act, i.e. greeting and/or familiarisation.

Table 5.3 Distribution of introduction preparatory act (Situation 3)

Type	Greeting structure	Ghana (n = 2)			Cameroon (n = 4)			Total tokens
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Simple prep. act	Introduction	1	–	1	–	–	–	1
Complex prep. act	H/G-greeting + Introduction	–	–	–	2	2	4	4
	H-greeting + Introduction + Familiarisation	1	–	1	–	–	–	1
Total		2	–	2	2	2	4	6

Due to peer group social equality, interlocutors in Situation 3 mostly introduced themselves using first names without any honorific or professional titles attached. In some dialogues, the first name is hypocorised, e.g. Elisabeth becomes “Lizzy” (157). In others, traditional Ghanaian (Akan) first names are used, e.g. Yaw and Kwaku (158). The introduction act also sometimes occurs in post-offer positions, i.e. where one would normally have supportive acts (158). Here, it seeks to assure the offeree that although s/he did not accept the offer, they could still be friends or acquaintances and possibly still meet in the future.

- (157) Other: I am Joyce.
You: I’m Lizzy.

(GaF2)³⁰
- (158) GaM41
Age: 17–25
Ind.L: Twi
Usage: Often
L1: Twi
Town: Kumasi
Edu: WASSCE

Offer & Refusal
Other: Friend, can you take this cake?
You: No, thank you very much.
Explication
Other: Did you just have any?
You: Yes.
Introduction
Other: My name is Yaw.
You: Kwaku is mine.
Other: Nice meeting you.
You: It’s a pleasure.
Other: I hope seeing you again.
You: Thank you.

30. This introduction preparatory act comes immediately after an H-greeting preparatory act.

In (158), the introduction act is spread out on three adjacency pairs. If we take this as a criterion, then it could be claimed that the offer in this peer group context serves more to start new friendships than only to give food to the other. What this says about the base structure of these societies is that their collectivist foundation makes for an ever expanding circle of acquaintances or relations or friends, i.e. the metaphorical family.

Figure 5.1 provides an overview of the use of preparatory acts in Situation 3 according to respondent country based on Tables 5.1–5.3. It reveals that Cameroonians used all three preparatory acts more than Ghanaians. Apart from greeting where the difference is high, in the other two, it is negligible. Most important here, however, is that all three preparatory acts are used in the two societies.

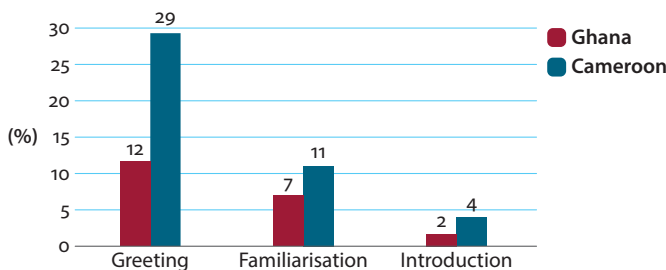


Figure 5.1 Overall use of preparatory acts between Ghana and Cameroon (Situation 3)

5.1.2 Head acts (types) and peer equality

Like in Chapters 3 and 4, this section deals with the realisation of offer and offer refusal head acts. Are they realised as simple, mixed or complex head acts? What internal modification moves are used in each of these head acts? And to what pragmatic effect are they used, especially in relation to peer equality? These questions will help us to establish the horizontal structures at which offer head acts and offer refusal head acts involving peers on an inter-city bus are realised.

Two prominent aspects of Situation 3 are the use of imperative or directive speech acts in which addressees are asked to perform the action of the offer – identified predominantly among Ghanaian respondents – and the use of preference questions in the offer utterance – common mostly among Cameroonians. The imperative speech act used by Ghanaian respondents is realised indirectly using the now ritualised declarative realisation strategy *You are invited* (+VP)+NP. Cameroonian respondents rather preferred the preference question strategy framed as *Would/do you mind* + VP (+NP). These strategies are accompanied by the politeness marker, *please*, attention getters, e.g. *hey, hi there, hey man*, the Ghanaian

English camaraderie form *Charlie* or *Charley* – which according to the respondent (GaM16) means *my friend* – and H-greetings, *hi* and *hello*. In all 200 head act sequences, a personal name was used only once (by a Ghanaian respondent) – a fact that is normal since the interlocutors are meeting for the first time.

The distribution of the three types of head acts used in Situation 3 is shown in Table 5.4. The 200 head act sequences constructed for Situation 3 make up 21 structures that belong to the different head act types. The simple head act is realised at only one structure (4.5%) which involves a simple offer head act and a simple offer refusal head act. The mixed head act is realised using nine structures (43%) involving a simple offer head and a complex offer refusal head or vice versa. The complex head act is realised at 11 structures (52.5%) in which both offer head and offer refusal head acts are complex (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Overall occurrences of head act types (Situation 3)

Head act type	Occurrences (<i>n</i> = 21)	%
Simple head acts	1	4.5
Mixed head acts	9	43
Complex head acts	11	52.5
Total	21	100

The overall occurrence of these offer types, their realisation structures, internal modification moves and frequencies in the data on Situation 3 are reported on in Table 5.5. There are noticeable differences in the recurrence of mixed and complex head acts between Ghanaians and Cameroonians. Whereas more Cameroonians (54 times) used mixed head acts than Ghanaians (45 times), more Ghanaian respondents rather used complex head acts (50 times) than Cameroonians (40 times). Apart from this, the tendencies at the level of gender are less significant. The prominence of both mixed and complex head acts among peers in Situation 3 signals interlocutors' readiness to engage with one another without the pressures of social norms. These head acts are not filled with reasons and asymmetrical address forms but rather with symmetrical address forms, persuasions and other moves that facilitate the emergence of friendship. In Situations 1 and 2, social, professional and age superiority oblige interlocutors to use additional modification moves that enable them refuse offers without breaking social norms or being rude or disrespectful.

The most common internal modification moves in this situation are interjection, reason, thanks, apology and address forms. The address forms used are reciprocal or equal and not asymmetrical as in the other offer situations. Most of the reasons advanced for offer refusal are neither health-related nor religious – though

Table 5.5 Head act types and their realisation structures (Situation 3)

No.	Type of head act and realisation structures (<i>n</i> = 21)	Ghana <i>n</i> = 100		Cameroon <i>n</i> = 100		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
	<i>Simple head acts</i>	<i>n</i> = 2	<i>n</i> = 3 ($\Sigma 5$)	<i>n</i> = 2	<i>n</i> = 4 ($\Sigma 6$)	<i>n</i> = 11
1	Simple offer	2	3	2	4	11
	Simple refusal					
	<i>Mixed head acts</i>	<i>n</i> = 25	<i>n</i> = 20 ($\Sigma 45$)	<i>n</i> = 26	<i>n</i> = 28 ($\Sigma 54$)	<i>n</i> = 99
1	Simple offer	11	9	9	13	42
	Refusal + Thanks					
2	Simple offer	6	1	8	4	19
	Interjection + Thanks + Refusal / Reason					
3	Simple offer	2	1	6	4	13
	Refusal + Thanks + Reason					
4	Simple offer	4	8	–	1	13
	Thanks + Reason					
5	Simple offer	–	–	–	4	4
	Apology + Reason (+ Thanks)					
6	Simple offer	2	–	–	2	4
	Refusal + Thanks / Reason (+ Compliment)					
7	Simple offer	–	1	1	–	2
	Interjection + Compliment (+ Reason)					
8	Simple offer	–	–	1	–	1
	Apology + Preference + Thanks					
9	Simple offer	–	–	1	–	1
	Apology + Address + Conditional + Reason					

(continued)

Table 5.5 (*continued*)

No.	Type of head act and realisation structures (<i>n</i> = 21)	Ghana <i>n</i> = 100		Cameroon <i>n</i> = 100		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
	<i>Complex head acts</i>	<i>n</i> = 23	<i>n</i> = 27 ($\Sigma 50$)	<i>n</i> = 22	<i>n</i> = 18 ($\Sigma 40$)	<i>n</i> = 90
1	PM + Offer / Offer + PM Refusal + Thanks (+ Reason)	9	7	12	6	34
2	H-greeting + Offer Refusal + Thanks (+ Reason)	7	–	4	4	15
3	Attention getter (+ Address) + Offer Interjection + / Thanks + Refusal (+ Reason + Address)	4	–	–	5	9
4	PM + Offer / Offer + PM Interjection + Refusal + Thanks (+ Reason)	–	5	3	–	8
5	Address + Offer Interjection / Address + Thanks + Reason	–	4	–	2	6
6	Address + Offer Refusal + Thanks (+ Reason)	–	6	–	–	6
7	H-greeting + Address / PM + Offer Thanks + Reason	2	2	–	–	4
8	Grounder + Offer Interjection + / Thanks + Reason	–	3	1	–	4
9	Attention getter + Offer Refusal + Thanks – Apology + Reason	–	–	2	–	2
10	Interjection + Offer Interjection + Compliment + Reason	–	–	–	1	1
11	Name + Offer Refusal + Thanks + Name	1	–	–	–	1

these are also invoked – but rather personal or individual, i.e. the offeree takes full responsibility for the refusal by not blaming it on health, religion, family or any other cause beyond their control. Peer equality is certainly the motivation for this.

Three of the 21 realisation structures in Table 5.5 are not found in the Ghanaian data while two are also not found in Cameroon. These country-specific variations indicate that each postcolonial society grapples differently with its postcolonial heritage. While the base structure might be similar, specific instantiations of verbalised interaction might be more unique to certain societies than others.

a. *Simple head acts: Simple offer head act = Simple refusal head act*

As opposed to Situations 1 and 2 where one and seven respondents respectively used simple head acts, in Situation 3, simple head acts are used by 11 respondents. This significant increase is possibly because peers normally take no serious offence if an offer or a refusal is performed without mitigation. Of the 11 occurrences, five are realised by Ghanaian respondents and six by Cameroonians. A slight difference exists at the level of gender in both countries. More male respondents used it than females in both countries, i.e. seven males to four females (Table 5.5).

In (159), the offer utterance takes the form of an indirect speech act. It is a declarative statement stating the action the speaker is performing. With such indirect offers, the addressee is expected to join the speaker in performing the action predicated in the offer. In other dialogues, the simple head act offer is realised as a single word (160). This is usually accompanied by a physical action, e.g. pointing at, holding up or giving the offered object to the offeree. Besides these, the internally-mitigated preference question format *Do you mind* + VP is also used to realise simple offer head acts in Situation 3. In each of these simple head act realisation strategies, the intention of offering is understood by the offeree who responds to it accordingly.

(159) Other: I am eating.

You: Go ahead.

(CaM20)

(160) Other: Biscuit?

You: Thank you.

(GaF34)

The offeree in (159) performs the refusal using a directive speech act in which s/he asks the offerer to “Go ahead” with eating. The offeree’s response in (160) seems positive but is indeed negative. Though supportive acts follow that emphasise the offer and its refusal, the head act sequences in (159–160) show how direct and unmitigated interaction among peers could be in these postcolonial spaces.

b. *Mixed head acts: Simple offer head act = Complex refusal head act and vice versa*

Like in Situations 1 and 2, the mixed head act type is also prominently used here. With 99 occurrences (49.5%) in the 200 dialogues, it is the most used in Situation 3 followed by complex head acts with 90 tokens (45%). Of the nine realisation structures listed in Table 5.5, three are produced exclusively by Cameroonian respondents. Here, the internal modification moves apology, preference and conditional are used only by Cameroonian respondents even though the recurrence is minimal. Overall, from the 99 tokens of mixed head acts, 54 are produced by Cameroonians and 45 by Ghanaians. To illustrate the structures used to achieve mixed head acts in this peer group interaction, I have selected three of the most used structures in Table 5.5.

i. *Simple offer head act = Refusal + Thanks*

With 42 tokens out of 99, this is clearly the most common mixed head act structure in the data. The offer turn is generally a simple direct offer head act while the offer refusal turn is a complex head act consisting of at least two moves, e.g. thanks and a refusal, mostly *no*. In Examples (161–162), no mitigation is used in the refusal utterance even though the offer utterance is mitigated to reduce imposition on the offeree. Again, peer equality could be said to be at work here.

- (161) Other: You are invited to take part in my food.
 You: No, thank you. (GaF12)
Refusal + Thanks

- (162) Other: There are groundnuts, have some.
 You: Thank you but no. (CaF23)
Thanks + Refusal

The distal deixis “there” used in the offer utterance in (162) places the offered object (groundnuts) away from the offerer, the deictic centre, but closer to the offeree. This reduces the offerer’s ownership of it by relocating it to some space closer to the offeree. This strategy maximises the receptiveness of the offer. It implies that there is little loss to offerer and hence making the offer offeree-beneficial.

Slightly more Cameroonians used this mixed head act structure than Ghanaians. According to Table 5.5, the difference in the use of this structure between Cameroonians and Ghanaians is of little significance, signalling only a slight variation in realisation choices between these postcolonial societies which seem to share a similar hybrid social stratum.

ii. *Simple offer head act = Interjection + Thanks + Refusal +/- Reason*

Here, a number of moves are used in the offer refusal turn, e.g. interjection, reason and thanks. In (163), the reason advanced is not related to health, religion and family, as in Situations 1 and 2, but deals directly with the individual and their personal preferences and decisions. Adopting this individualised position can only occur in peer interactions where the respect of social norms is less strict. The use of “I” indicates how peer interlocutors are ready to bear responsibility for their refusals. Other individualised reasons used extensively in the data are: “I am not hungry” (CaM45), “I’m very full” (GaF47), “I don’t eat between meals” (GaM12), “I don’t have appetite” (CaF4), “I don’t feel as taking bananas now” (CaM11), and even face threatening ones like “I don’t feel like taking your food” (GaF33).

- (163) Other: Do you care for some food?
 You: Oh! No thanks I don’t eat while travelling. (CaF18)
Interjection + Refusal + Thanks + Reason

From Table 5.5, the 19 occurrences of this structure are produced by seven Ghanaian and 12 Cameroonian respondents. Clearly more females in both countries make use of this structure: six out of seven in Ghana and eight out of 12 in Cameroon – consistent with female respondents’ behaviour in other realisation structures in Situations 1 and 2.

iii. *Simple offer head act = Thanks + Reason*

In this mixed head act structure, thanks could precede the reason or vice versa. In (164), there is no clear refusal marker but refusal is embedded in the adversative conjunction “but.” Again, as above, the reason is limited to the offeree alone and not attributed to social norms, societal obligations or speaker statuses. This structure is dominantly Ghanaian given that 12 of the 13 occurrences were produced by Ghanaians: four females and eight males. It is also more common among males in both countries: nine of the 13 occurrences were produced by male respondents (Table 5.5).

- (164) Other: Can you have some of my snack?
 You: Thank you for the offer but I don’t eat between meals. (GaM12)
Thanks + Reason

c. *Complex head acts: Complex offer head act = Complex refusal head act*

Compared to Situations 1 and 2, the complex head acts in Situation 3 employ far less moves. Moves like address forms, name, apology, conditional, assurance and preference which occur extensively in Situations 1 and 2 are rare or even completely absent in Situation 3. A possible reason is interlocutor constellation. A peer does not necessarily need to apologise to another peer for turning down their offer – or at least social norms do not oblige them to do so.

90 occurrences of complex head acts were registered in Situation 3. These were realised at 11 head act adjacency pair structures (Table 5.5). As already mentioned above, more Ghanaians (50 tokens) used it than Cameroonians (40 tokens). The tokens are almost equally distributed between the genders in the two countries. Two structures that show new tendencies are selected from Table 5.5 for illustration below with focus on their internal modification moves and pragmatic intents.

i. *H-greeting + PM + Offer = Refusal +/ Thanks (+ Reason)*

The H-greeting in this complex head act structure precedes the offer move and functions both as a greeting and a mitigator of the offer. In (165), the offer is mitigated by the use of the politeness marker “please” immediately before the offer unit. The refusal turn consists of thanks, a compliment and a reason. The refusal is softened by an embedded compliment that references the Bible, “your Samaritan heart.” By invoking religion here, the offeree presents herself as a Christian and attributes a Christian status to the offerer as well, thereby moving interaction to the Christian religious domain in which religious norms operate. Within these norms, refusal is more easily accepted.

(165) Other: Hello, + I have fried yam and chicken, + please + do eat with me.

Greeting + Alternatives + PM + Offer

You: Thanks so much + for your Samaritan heart, + but I am ok. (GaM8)

Thanks + Compliment + Reason

As Table 5.5 shows, the 15 tokens of this complex head act structure were almost equally produced by Ghanaian (seven tokens) and Cameroonian (eight tokens) respondents. However, again female respondents (11 tokens) in both countries made more use of this structure than males (four tokens).

ii. *Attention getter (+ Address) + Offer = Thanks +/ Interjection + Address/ Refusal (+ Reason)*

The use of camaraderie attention getters like “hey friend” (166), *hey man*, *hey dude* together with address forms signals the friendly atmosphere interlocutors create in this offer situation. In (166), the offeree reciprocates the address form “friend” with the endearment term “dear”, possibly to acknowledge the other’s friendship request and also to soften the impact of the refusal.

(166) Other: Hey friend, + do you mind sharing my food?

Attention getter + Address + Offer

You: Thanks + dear, + I’m very fine.

(GaF28)

Thanks + Address + Reason

This head act structure occurs nine times in the data. Five of those occurrences are by Cameroonian males and four by Ghanaian females (Table 5.5), giving no hint to gender specificity.

The discussion above and the statistics in Table 5.5 show extensive similarities between Ghana and Cameroon as far as Situation 3 is concerned. The differences identified are again only variational. H-greetings, which in Situations 1 and 2 are common among Ghanaians, are also used by Cameroonians in Situation 3. G-greetings, which were identified earlier with Cameroonians, do not occur at all in this offer situation. Postcolonial hybridic instantiations of cultural, linguistic and ethnic contact may be similar across postcolonial contexts but are not always the same.

5.1.3 Supportive acts and peer equality

Although the supportive acts used in Situation 3 are similar to those used in Situations 1 and 2, their framing is a bit different. Most of them are not used to fulfil societal expectations of respect and deference or to play certain social roles but rather to convince or persuade the offeree to accept the offer and, through it, create a friendship relationship.

In all, six supportive acts were used in the 200 dialogues in this offer situation. No new supportive act was introduced; however, some that were used in Situations 1 and 2 were not used here, e.g. postponement, promise, justification, solidarity, compliment and closing. The supportive acts used here are: insistence, explication, alternative offer, deferral, refusal acceptance and offer acceptance.

a. *Insistence act: Offer and offer refusal insistence*

Insistence is the most used in this offer situation, just as in the other two. From this, it can be upheld here that the acceptance of offers is crucial to social cohesion among members of these collectivist postcolonial societies, also including peers. To achieve cohesion, interlocutors, therefore, have to insist that their offers be accepted. Not tied down by social norms of respect and deference, peers in Situation 3 still find the need to create a smooth relationship of trust between them through insistence – one that could potentially lead to friendship. We see this in the ways offer insistence is realised, for instance, using persuasive strategies (167) and solid justifications for the offer insistence. The offer refusal insistence moves range from jocular explanations to more serious excuses involving health (168), religion, etc.

Of the 200 dialogues, 147 (73.5) made use of the insistence supportive act (Table 5.6). No significant difference exists between Ghanaians (75 times) and Cameroonians (72 times) or between the genders in both societies. This again

points to the absence of pressure from the social structure of society given that interlocutors are peers.

Table 5.6 Use of insistence supportive act (Situation 3)

Insistence act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	36	39	75	37	35	72	147	73.5
Not used	14	11	25	13	15	28	53	26.5
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

As opposed to Situations 1 and 2 where insistence is accompanied by respect markers such as address forms, in Situation 3, interactants do not overtly create respect strata. Rather, they use various persuasive strategies to achieve their illocutionary intents. For instance, the offerer in Example (167) uses four insistence exchanges to persuade the offeree to accept the offer. Each new insistence act adds a new reason why the biscuit should be accepted. Persuasion is realised through the use of positive expressions like “they are delicious” and “something sweet.”

- (167) GaF21

Age: 17–25

Ind.L: Ewe

Usage: Often

L1: Twi

Town: Accra

Edu: BA
- Offer & Refusal*

Other: Hi there, you are invited to my snack.

You: Thank you for the offer but I’m okay.
- Insistence 1*

Other: I insist.

You: Thanks once again.
- Insistence 2*

Other: Okay, just a bite of my biscuit would not hurt, would it?

You: It won’t but I have to say I am really okay.
- Insistence 3*

Other: Are you sure you don’t want a bite? They are so delicious.

You: I am positive.
- Insistence 4*

Other: Well you are really missing the opportunity to taste something sweet.

You: I know but thanks anyway.

The less stratified social relationship between the interlocutors in Situation 3 opens up a new perspective on the structure of these postcolonial societies. Even in the absence of pressure from the collectivist cultures in peer-level encounters,

interlocutors still feel the need to stay together as a group. Though the offer in (167) is not eventually accepted, the effort made by the offerer signals to the offeree that s/he wants to be close and certainly cares too.

One strategy used to realise offer refusal insistence in Situation 3 is to invoke health or religious reasons. Health and religion, as said in the previous two chapters, are readily acceptable reasons for opting out of an offer. Since most offers on inter-city buses are mostly snacks that contain sugar, offerees quickly seize on that to conveniently refuse offers on the basis of health. In (168), though the offeree is not diabetic, s/he still uses the sugar argument to get out of the offer situation.

(168) Other: Biscuit?

You: Just finished a bowl of rice, thanks anyway.

Other: But a bite won't harm.

You: I have decided not to take anything sugar for some time.

Other: Are you diabetic?

You: No, just a personal thing. (GaM6)

In uttering the question "Are you diabetic?", the offerer begins to share in the offeree's supposed health predicament – a pointer to the collectivist base of the society – and so immediately accepts the offer refusal.

In other dialogues, the verbal act of insistence is realised after the offerer decides to make the offer and takes a physical action that facilitates it. The insistence is realised as offerer accomplished action, deemed beneficial to the offeree. In (169), the insistence act is an offerer accomplished action in which the offerer tells the offeree s/he bought the food because of him/her. This indicates that, without asking his or her opinion before buying, the offerer respects the collectivist rules of the society through which members are expected to take care of others, provide for them when need be and watch over them. Acceptance is presumed to be default behaviour.

(169) Other: Here, you can have some of my drink.

You: Thank you, I just had one some few minutes ago.

Other: Please, I bought it because of you.

You: Am ok, you can give out to another person. (GaM21)

The pragmatic importance of this framing strategy is that it puts the offeree under pressure to accept the offer by insinuating that the item being offered was deliberately acquired for them. That is, there is no loss to the offerer since the offer was bought only for the offeree, i.e. offeree-beneficial.

However, certain insistence exchanges also reveal the possibility of peer-level interaction being direct, jocular and bordering on impoliteness which generally is tolerated by peers. In (170), the interlocutors basically argue about the reason for

refusing the offer, and although this sounds intense, it apparently eventually has little effect on their relationship or individual faces. As a form of compromise, they agree that the offerer eats the offer on behalf of the offeree.

- (170) GaM22 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 17–25 Other: Some food brother.
 Ind.L: Twi You: Thank you very much! Am ok!
 Usage: Very often *Insistence 1*
 L1: Twi Other: No, you're not. You just don't want to.
 Town: Accra You: Not that. Am full, you know!
 Edu: Diploma *Insistence 2*
 Other: It's just an excuse!
 You: It's just the truth!
 Insistence 3
 Other: Take just a bite and I'll feel ok.
 You: You take it for me. I'll feel ok when you are.
 Insistence 4
 Other: You sure about it?
 You: Yes, I am, eat for me bro!

The four insistence sequences in (170) are direct but also jocular indexing a relationship of equality in which none of the interlocutors has any age-related or social strata-related status to lose. In Situation 3, more than in Situations 1 and 2, insistence acts were spread out on more than one adjacency pair. Interlocutors were at ease to convince or persuade each other or to argue and even joke about their offers and the refusals.

b. *Explication act: Refusal questioning and refusal explication*

In asymmetrical situations, the explication act signals the amount of power the offerer wields over the offeree. This explains why in Situation 1, the senior colleague uses it 105 times (Chapter 3). But in Situation 2 where the younger person wields less power over the old man, it is used only 35 times (Chapter 4). In Situation 3 where both interlocutors wield the same amount of power, it is used by almost half of the respondents, i.e. 94 times in the 200 dialogues. The tendencies in the three offer situations are consistent with the social respect structure of postcolonial societies.

In Table 5.7, 53 (56.5%) of the 94 occurrences of the explication supportive act are constructed by Cameroonian respondents as opposed to 41 (43.5%) by Ghanaians. In all three offer situations, Cameroonians tend to use this supportive act more than Ghanaians. It can, therefore, be identified as typical of offer behaviour in this postcolonial society – although it is also used in Ghana. At the level of

gender, the trends are mixed, with more males using it in Ghana but rather more females using it in Cameroon (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Use of explication supportive act (Situation 3)

Explication act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	19	22	41	30	23	53	94	47
Not used	31	28	59	20	27	47	106	53
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

That almost half of the respondents used the explication act suggests that peers also place value on the acceptance of their offers. This is perhaps because, in this offer context, the offer is simply a symbolic gesture that opens the door to a new friendship. It is not only for politeness but also for achieving long lasting outcomes, for example, expanding one's social group of friends in accordance with the collectivist nature of the society.

Apart from the direct why-explication format of typical explication supportive acts (171), this supportive speech act is also realised at other structures. For instance, in (172), the why-explication is followed by a potential reason for the refusal. The offeree simply has to agree with it or advance another reason. In some dialogues, the potential reason anticipates what the offeree might have in mind – often a negative assumption or hidden fear as in (173).

(171) Other: Why?

You: It's a habit and also for religious purpose, I don't eat when am on a journey. (GaM26)

(172) Other: Why? Does it cause you any harm?

You: Not really but I usually have nausea after taking it. (CaF3)

(173) Other: Why, are you afraid that I will poison you?

You: Oh no, not at all. Am full. (GaF17)

In (171), the offeree is given the chance to explain the refusal – which s/he does by invoking religion. But in (172–173), the offerer proposes reasons, both of which are face threatening and potentially negative to the offeree or their social or ethnic group, especially in (173). By framing the explication act as a face threatening act, the offerer in (173) disperses any fear of harm harboured by the offeree. The premise behind is: 'I know you think I might poison you, but that is not true'. The offeree is then somehow obliged to discredit this supposed fear by either vehemently refusing it and then advancing another reason as in (173) or by simply accepting the offer as a way of challenging the supposed reason.

c. *Alternative offer act: Offering something else*

Alternative offers are made when the initial offer fails. They are generally meant to satisfy the excuse or reason advanced by the offeree for refusing the initial offer. What such offers suggest about the social structure of society is that offers when accepted strengthen the bond between interlocutors. From the collectivist nature of these societies, alternative offers portray how each member watches out for the other by providing for them, and how they try to accomplish the roles expected of them by society.

In the data, there is no difference in the use of alternative acts between Ghana and Cameroon even though in Situation 1, more Ghanaians used them than Cameroonians. At the level of gender, more males use them than females in both societies. Employed only 16 times (8%) in both societies, the use of alternative offers is not common in this offer situation. It might be because the context of a bus limits interlocutors' access to other things that could be offered. They are physically bound to the bus and can only offer what they have on the bus, e.g. snacks and drinks. The alternative offer in (174) is adapted to the offeree's complaint.

- (174) Other: Hello, will you have some of my biscuits?
 You: Thank you, I am not fond of biscuits.
 Other: Will you then have a drink? I got some fruit juice too.
 You: I appreciate, but really, I am ok. (CaM17)

d. *Deferral act: Offer remains open*

The deferral supportive act, first used in Situation 2 with the old man, functions to mitigate refusals by deferring their acceptance or reoffer to some point in the future. In Situation 3, both offerer deferrals (175) and offeree deferrals were used. Pragmatically, deferrals rescue social cohesion by keeping the performance of the offer open. They ensure that the relationship between interlocutors is not harmed by the refusal. Since both interlocutors care for their group's face, they quickly accept deferrals as in (175).

- (175) You: Thanks for your concern but I'm really not hungry.
 Other: When you are hungry, you tell me.
 You: I will, I acknowledge your concern. (GaM19)

From the 200 dialogues, only 3 instances of the deferral supportive act were found in Situation 3. All three are produced by male Ghanaian respondents. This is in sharp contrast to Situation 2 where it is used by 20 respondents; 10 from each country. The possible explanation for the minimal use of deferral here could also be the offer context. Asking someone on a bus to keep a biscuit until you are hungry is unlikely.

e. *Refusal acceptance act: Letting offeree off the hook*

The refusal acceptance act reassures the offeree that their refusal has been accepted and that their relationship with the offerer has not been harmed by it. In other words, societal cohesion has not been hurt. Used by 81 (40.5%) of the 200 respondents in Situation 3, this supportive act is important for smoothening interaction between interlocutors in situations of offers and refusals.

More Cameroonians (49 respondents) used this supportive act than Ghanaians (32 respondents). We can, therefore, attribute this speech act to the Cameroonian context since, in Situations 1 and 2, they also used it more. More females in Ghana and Cameroon used refusal acceptance than males: 20–12 times in Ghana and 27–22 times in Cameroon (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Use of refusal acceptance supportive act (Situation 3)

Refusal acceptance act (<i>n</i> = 200)	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Grand total	%
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
Used	20	12	32	27	22	49	81	40.5
Not used	30	38	68	23	28	51	118	59.5
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200	100%

The difference between Ghana and Cameroon is significant: 17 tokens. Again, while it may be significant, it is important to note that both societies make use of this supportive act. In other words, it is not unique to Cameroon alone.

In Situation 3, refusal acceptance is realised using cooperative expressions like *no problem*, *okay*, “okay, if you say so” (176), *okay, I understand*. It could also be an entire utterance composed of a refusal acceptance marker and an apology or a wish, e.g. blessing. The offeree could reply simply with *thanks* or thanks and a compliment as in (176) or simply remain silent.

(176) Other: Hum, ok, if you say so...

You: That’s kind of you anyway, thanks.

Other: You’re welcome.

(CaF50)

f. *Offer acceptance act: I accept it, thanks*

By accepting the offer – contrary to the instructions of the DCT questionnaire – we understand how difficult it is for some of these postcolonial citizens to violate default behavioural patterns of their societies. Like in Situation 2 with the old man, four respondents constructed dialogues in which the offer of food in a bus was accepted. Though possibly influenced by the third-party effect or simply obeying collectivist rules of their society, these respondents, however, define the conditions under which they are accepting. For instance, they accept because the offerer insisted (177) or simply to please the offerer. For these reasons, the offeree states

clearly that s/he will eat only a little bit of the food offered. Acceptance of the offer also implies acceptance of the offerer’s (embedded) friendship request.

- (177) Other: Filled even to share a little?
You: O.k, just to please you. Thanks anyway.
Other: You are welcome. (CaF28)

Offer acceptance was used by only four respondents: three from Cameroon and one from Ghana. This is much lower than the 39 tokens of offer acceptance in Situation 2 involving the old man. The ultimate reason is that social norms are stricter in interactions with older interlocutors than among peers.

The six supportive acts exemplified above are compared in Figure 5.2 according to respondent country of origin. Apart from the explication and refusal acceptance supportive acts in which the difference is more than 10, the other four supportive acts are used almost equally in both countries.

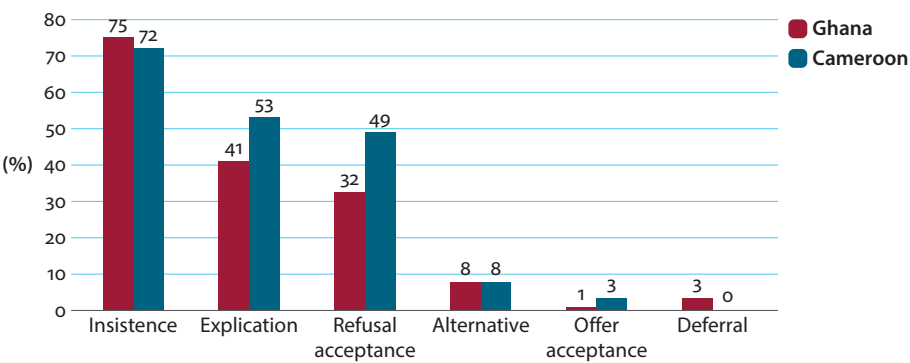


Figure 5.2 Overall occurrences of supportive acts (Situation 3)

One country-specific peculiarity is visible in the choice of supportive acts in the three offer situations. In all three situations, Cameroonian respondents used the refusal acceptance act far more than Ghanaians: Situation 1: 41 to 30 respondents, Situation 2: 54 to 28 respondents and Situation 3: 49 to 32 respondents. The similarity in the distribution of the other supportive acts is consistent with the hypothesis that these two societies share a common hybrid social base.

Section 5.1 above has identified the vertical structure of the communicative act in Situation 3. Apart from describing how the preparatory acts, head acts and supportive acts are framed; the chapter has also identified the various moves and realisation structures used in each of these acts. Table 5.9 illustrates 23 of the 40 vertical structures found in Situation 3 distributing them according to country and gender. The complete list can be found in Appendix 4).

Table 5.9 Vertical structures of the offer-refusal communicative act (Situation 3)

No	Type of vertical structure	Ghana			Cameroon			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
1	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance / Alternative / Acceptance / Deferral / Explication	12	11	23	10	7	17	40	20
2	Offer + Insistence	13	12	25	5	3	8	33	16.5
3	Offer + Explication + Acceptance/ Alternative/ Insistence/ Refusal-Acceptance / Introduction	2	9	11	9	9	18	29	14.5
4	Offer + Explication + Insistence / Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	3	2	5	7	6	13	18	9
5	Offer + Explication	3	5	8	1	2	3	11	5.5
6	Offer / Refusal	5	2	7	–	3	3	10	5
7	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance / Alternative / Deferral	3	3	6	3	1	4	10	5
8	Greeting + Offer + Explication / Insistence	1	1	2	3	4	7	9	4.5
9	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance / Alternative	1	1	2	2	3	5	7	3.5
10	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer + Explication / Insistence	2	2	4	–	2	2	6	3
11	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance / Insistence	–	–	0	3	2	5	5	2.5
12	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence / Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	2	2	4	5	2.5
13	Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Deferral / Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	1	1	2	3	1.5

(continued)

Table 5.9 (continued)

No	Type of vertical structure	Ghana			Cameroon			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
14	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence	–	–	0	2	1	3	3	1.5
15	Introduction + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	0	1	1	2	2	1
16	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer	1	–	1	–	1	1	2	1
17	Offer + Alternative + Insistence	–	–	0	–	1	1	1	0.5
18	Offer + Alternative + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
19	Greeting + Introduction + Offer + Explication + Insistence	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
20	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
21	Familiarisation + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance + Introduction	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
22	Introduction + Offer + Insistence	–	–	0	1	–	1	1	0.5
23	Introduction + Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	0	–	1	1	1	0.5

In spite of the similarity in the two postcolonial communities, a few specificities are visible from Table 5.9. From the four most recurrent structures, Ghanaian respondents are seen to prefer structures (1) and (2) while Cameroonians prefer structures (3) and (4) below:

1. Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance or Alternative offer or Acceptance or Deferral or Explication: 40 occurrences (20%)
2. Offer + Insistence: 33 occurrences (16.3%)
3. Offer + Explication + Acceptance or Alternative offer or Insistence or Refusal-Acceptance or Introduction: 29 occurrences (14.5%)
4. Offer + Explication + Insistence or Alternative offer + Refusal-Acceptance: 18 occurrences (9%)

Like in Situations 1 and 2, some structures are realised only in one country but not in the other. These do not point to any strong preferences because they are used by only a few respondents. The list of vertical structures in Table 5.9 and especially Appendix 4 show that offer head acts can occur in three positions within the vertical structure of this offer-refusal act: at the beginning (22 times of 40), immediately after a preparatory act, e.g. greeting (13 times, 32.5%) or after two preparatory acts, e.g. greeting and familiarisation or introduction (5 times, 12.5%). See Appendix 5c.

5.2 Offer utterances: Realisation strategies and pragmatic functions

This section establishes a taxonomy of the horizontal structure of the offer head act in the communicative act involving peers. It looks at the realisation strategies of the offer minimal head act unit as well as the internal modification moves in the entire offer head act turn. Similar to Chapter 4 (Situation 2), most head acts in Situation 3 are realised with many internal modification moves whose function, as said earlier, is to maximise the acceptance of the offer and through it to achieve a peer-level friendship or acquaintance with the offeree.

The four offer head act realisation strategies identified in Situation 1 are also used here (Situation 3). Besides Schneider's (2003: 183–185) imperative, preference and execution strategies, the declarative strategy is also extensively employed. In this strategy, a declarative statement is used to make an (indirect) offer. The bulk of the declarative strategy examples use the verb *invite* in a passive construction, i.e. *You are invited* (+VP)+NP (see below).

The four offer utterance realisation strategies found in Situation 3 are quantified in Table 5.10 according to respondent country and gender. The imperative strategy (43.5%) again, like in Situation 2, is the most preferred strategy followed, like in Situations 1 and 2, by the preference strategy (26.5%). The declarative strategy with 19.5% is third while the execution strategy is the least used with only 10.5% of the

200 respondents. The use of all these strategies further accentuates the freedom of choice that peers enjoy in such symmetrical interactions.

Table 5.10 Offer utterance realisation strategies (Situation 3)

Offer utterance strategy	Ghana			Cameroon			Overall total & %
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Imperative	23	29	52	21	14	35	87 (43.5%)
Preference	4	7	11	19	23	42	53 (26.5%)
Declarative	21	12	33	1	5	6	39 (19.5)
Execution	2	2	4	9	8	17	21 (10.5%)
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200 (100%)

Several significant variations abound in the choice of these strategies both at the level of respondent country and gender. Consistent with Situations 1 and 2, Ghanaian respondents prefer the imperative strategy. They use it 52 times as opposed to 35 times by Cameroonians (Table 5.10). On the contrary, Cameroonians (42 times) use the preference strategy three times more than Ghanaians (11 times). This is consistent with Situations 1 and 2, where more Cameroonians also employ the preference strategy than Ghanaians. The declarative strategy is predominantly used by Ghanaian respondents, not only in Situation 3 but also in Situation 1 where it is unique to Ghanaians. More Cameroonians chose the execution strategy in Situation 3, i.e. 17 times than Ghanaians, i.e. four times – in tandem with Situations 1 and 2. However, the difference in Situations 1 and 2 is less significant in comparison to Situation 3. These differences are mostly interactional variations that replicate divergent patterns of hybridism in each society and not exclusiveness or uniqueness. The postcolonial hybridic base structure from which these two societies tap is inherently similar but the various mixes of cultural, social, linguistic, etc. factors in each of them yield variations of diverse kinds. Figure 5.3 illustrates the distribution of the four realisation strategies between both countries in Situation 3.

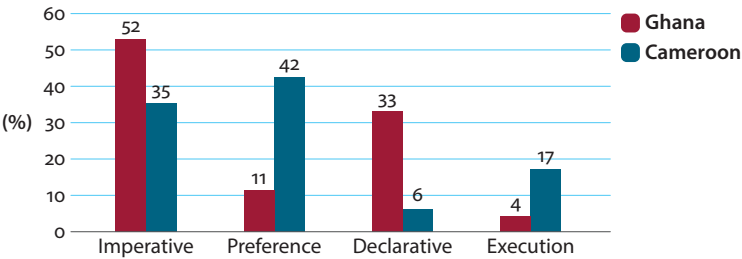


Figure 5.3 Distribution of offer utterance realisation strategies (Situation 3)

As for gender, each country shows certain trends which are not consistent in the three offer situations. Worthy of note in this situation is that more females (22 times) use the declarative strategy than males (17 times), especially in Ghana where it is extensively used (Table 5.10).

In the next sections, I will elucidate the use of the four strategies in the data using suitable examples with the aim of establishing the horizontal structure of the head acts used in this offer situation and possibly comparing them to the other situations.

5.2.1 Imperative strategy in offer utterances

The imperatives used in this offer situation are similar to those in Situations 1 and 2 in that they make a command expecting some physical response. The directive speech acts that realise the imperative strategy employ verbs like *have*, *take*, *share*, *eat*, etc. These are accompanied by internal modification moves like address forms, the politeness marker *please* and grounders. Contrary to Situations 1 and 2 where the address forms create an asymmetrical relationship, here they rather create a relationship of equality. For instance, the only two kinship terms used are *brother* and *sister* – and these are symmetrical because they are not modified using adjectives like *big* or *small*, e.g. big brother, that symbolise asymmetry. Offer utterances of the imperative strategy are realised both as simple and complex head acts.

All four types of imperative strategies found in Situation 1 are also used here: (a) offeree imperative or action, (b) state offerer permission, (c) offer deictic, and (d) state offeree invitation. Without doubt, offeree imperative or action is the most recurrent. Given that 52 (60%) of the 87 tokens of the imperative strategy are produced by Ghanaians and 35 (40%) by Cameroonians, it is, therefore, a preferred strategy in Ghanaian English usage.

a. *Offeree imperative or action*

In this type of imperative strategy, the offeree is asked, using a directive speech act, to perform the offer. The most frequently used verbs are *have*, *take*, *share* and *join* followed by an NP. Like in Situations 1 and 2, the syntactic construction at which this type of imperative strategy is realised is *verb* + *NP*. As in (179), this could be mitigated through greetings, grounders, politeness marker, etc. Simple imperative offer utterances are also found in the data, e.g. “Have this piece” (CaM19) (178). The grounder in (179), i.e. “I am eating”, serves as a preparator for the offer and could itself be an indirect offer realised through the declarative strategy type I refer to below as state offerer progressive action. This imperative type is the most recurrent imperative strategy in Situation 3 and is used by both Ghanaians and Cameroonians (Table 5.11).

(178) Have this piece. (CaM19)

(179) Hi, I am eating, take some. (CaM50)

Greeting + Grounder + Offer

b. *State offerer permission*

Here, the offerer grants the offeree permission to perform the offer. This type appears in all three offer situations. In Situation 3, it is produced through the constructions *you can* + *VP* (+*NP*) and *you may* + *VP* (+*NP*). Contrary to Situation 1, the *you could VP* (+*NP*) construction is not used here at all. Since *could* functions as a politeness mitigator, peer equality often neutralises it given that peers, amongst themselves, do not always insist on the strict respect of social norms.

(180) Please, you can share with me these chewables. (CaM14)

PM + Offer

The state offerer permission imperative offer in (180) is mitigated only by the politeness marker “please” at the beginning of the utterance. Other modification moves used in this imperative type include address forms, grounders, names, attention getters and familiarisation. This type was employed by Ghanaian as well as Cameroonian respondents (Table 5.11).

c. *Offer deictic*

Offer deictic imperative offers are not extensively used in Situation 3 and like in Situation 1, they are produced only by Ghanaians (Table 5.11). In all occurrences in Situation 3, the proximal place deixis “here” is used as in (181) where the doughnuts are presented as *fait accompli* without regard for the offeree’s interest or plan of action. No modification is used in (181), though other offer deictic offers were internally modified.

(181) Here’s some doughnuts. (GaF3)

d. *State offeree invitation*

This type is the least used in Situation 3. As explained in Chapter 3, it consists of two parts presented as a series of related actions in which one leads to the other. The invitation part is marked in Situation 3 by the use of the verbs *come* and *join*. A coordinating conjunction links the invitation to the offer statement in (182). These two parts could be modified using other moves like name and alternatives as in (182) or any of the other moves. Example (182) is realised as an offerer-offeree joint action.

(182) Esaaba, I have kenkay and fish, join me and let’s eat. (GaF9)

Name + Grounder + Offer

Like in Situation 1, this imperative type is also used in both countries in Situation 3. However, it is also used by Cameroonians in Situation 2. Table 5.11 recaps the use of the four types of imperative strategy discussed above.

Table 5.11 Types of imperative strategies (Situation 3)

Type of imperative strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Offeree imperative or action	– <i>verb</i> + <i>NP</i>	+	+
State offerer permission	– <i>you can</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>) – <i>you may</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)	+	+
Offer deictic	– <i>deitic</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)	+	–
State offeree invitation	– <i>invitation</i> + (<i>conj</i> +) <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)	+	+

5.2.2 Preference strategy in offer utterances

Like in Situations 1 and 2, all instances of the preference strategy in this offer situation are also questions. They provide the offeree with the possibility to choose or to make their preference known. Internal modification moves are used whose pragmatic functions include creating a friendly atmosphere, attending to society members' needs and wants, starting a friendship relationship and optimising the acceptance of the offer. These pragmatic functions are different from those used in Situations 1 and 2 that predominantly seek to respect social norms in order to safeguard in-group cohesion.

The data in Situation 3 contain four types of preference strategies. Three of them were introduced in Situations 1 and 2, while one is new. The old ones are realised with slight framing variations that reflect the peer equality between interlocutors. The four types are: (a) question offeree preference, (b) question offeree interest, (c) question offeree (future) action, and (d) question offeree need (new).

a. Question offeree preference

This type is also the most common in Situation 3. In this preference type, the offeree's preference is sought for. The same syntactic constructions that realise it in Situations 1 and 2 are also applied here: *do you mind/like* + *VP* (+*NP*)?, *would you mind/like* + *VP* (+*NP*)?, *will you mind/like* + *VP* (+*NP*)? (Table 5.12). Examples (183–184) employ two of the constructions above. The desire to make friends and peer equality between interlocutors are embodied in the choice of H-greeting “hi” (183), address form “friend”, attention getter “hey” (184) and the youth-group familiarisation or greeting “wats up?” (183). These features create an atmosphere of equality and friendship within which trust can be built.

- (183) Hi, wats up? Would you mind sharing my food with me? (CaF7)
Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer
- (184) Hey friend, do you mind sharing my food? (GaF28)
Attention getter + Address + Offer

From Table 5.12, both Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents made ample use of this preference type. The verb “share” in (183–184) points to how people consider themselves as a group in these collectivist societies. The offers are meant to be shared between the interlocutors, hence indexing togetherness, closeness and in-group bonding.

b. *Question offeree interest*

Realised through the construction *do you care for + NP?* (185), this preference type seeks to establish the offeree’s interest in the offer. If the interest is positive, then the offer is made. It gives offerees the power to authorise the performance of the offer. In Situation 1, it is additionally realised using the construction *will you care for + NP?* It is, however, not used at all in Situation 2 due to the context of the offer and interlocutor statuses.

- (185) Do you care for some food? (CaF18)

Although Example (185) is a simple preference offer, this preference type also exists as complex offers. It is attested in Ghana as well as Cameroon, and is the second most used type after the question offeree preference type.

c. *Question offeree (future) action*

Similar to Situations 1 and 2, in this preference type, the offer is treated as a default action the offeree ought to be performing already. In Situation 3, it is not introduced by a verb operator (as in Situation 1) but by the wh-word *why* in the construction *why don’t you + VP (+NP)?* (as in Situation 2). The negative form “don’t” makes the offer sound normal and default, putting the offeree under pressure to accept.

Example (186) is a complex offer. The grounder “the journey is long” is a logical reason why the offeree should eat something. Only one instance of this type was found in Situation 3. Like in Situations 1 and 2, it is produced by a Ghanaian respondent (Table 5.12), making it a typical Ghanaian feature.

- (186) The journey is long, why don’t you eat some of my food? (GaM13)

d. *Question offeree need*

Employed for the first time in Situation 3, this preference type seeks to know if the offeree needs or wants the offer. Its performance is dependent on the offeree’s

need for it. In the data, it is realised through two constructions: *want* + *VP/NP?* and *NP?*, i.e. the name of the item being offered, e.g. “Biscuit?” (188). This latter realisation pattern is accompanied by the physical action of pointing at, holding up or presenting the offered item.

- (187) A bird in my nest. Want to dine? (GaM50)
Proverb + *Offer*
- (188) Biscuit? (GaF34)
Simple preference offer

Example (187) is mitigated by a proverb which suggests that the offer is not detrimental to the offerer, but beneficial to the offeree. Proverbs are a cultural tool in most African societies for indirect communication. What the offerer in (187) communicates through the proverb is that s/he has enough food for both of them. The four preference types explained above are presented in Table 5.12 below showing in which country they were used.

Table 5.12 Types of preference strategies (Situation 3)

Type of preference strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Question offeree preference	– <i>do you mind/like</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)?	+	+
	– <i>would you mind/like</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)?		
	– <i>will you mind/like</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)?		
Question offeree interest	– <i>do you care for</i> + <i>NP</i> ?	+	+
Question offeree (future) action	– <i>why don't you</i> + <i>VP</i> (+ <i>NP</i>)?	+	–
Question offeree need	– <i>want</i> + <i>VP/NP?</i>	+	+
	– <i>NP?</i>		

Two verbs, *share* and *join*, which reoccur in this offer realisation strategy (preference) point to the collectivist nature of the postcolonial societies and members' readiness to attend to each other's desires and needs. The verbs encode collective action by both offerer and offeree as opposed to other verbs like *take* or *have* whose action is limited to the offeree alone.

Statistically, the preference strategy is used predominantly by Cameroonian respondents. Of the 53 tokens, 42 (79%) were produced by Cameroonian respondents: 19 females and 23 males. The remaining 11 (21%) were by Ghanaian respondents: four females and seven males. As mentioned above, Cameroonians used this strategy more than Ghanaians in all three offer situations analysed in this study. In both countries, more males (30 respondents) use the preference strategy than females (22 respondents). Though the difference is not that high, this is contrary to the previous statements that women tend to give interlocutors alternatives in

interaction. However, in other offer realisation strategies, female respondents do offer interlocutors a range of alternatives or the chance to make their preferences known (see Chapter 3).

5.2.3 Declarative strategy in offer utterances

After the two occurrences of the declarative strategy in Situation 1, it is used more elaborately in Situation 3 where it is the third most used realisation strategy (Table 5.10). In Situation 1, both usages were in the passive voice. But as the examples below illustrate, in Situation 3, the declarative strategy entails making a statement, either in the passive or active voice, stating an action which by implication is expected to be performed by the addressee, i.e. the offeree. It is understood as an indirect speech act.

Four types of declarative strategies are employed in the data on Situation 3: (a) state offeree invitation (passive), (b) state offerer progressive action, (c) state offered item, and (d) state offerer possession. Apart from state offeree invitation (passive) which is realised only in the passive voice using the verb *invite*, the other types are all in the active voice. Strong country preferences are found in the data. As in Situation 1, state offeree invitation (passive) is exclusive to Ghana alone, while state offerer progressive action and state offerer possession are attested only in Cameroon. The type, state offered item, is used in both societies.

a. *State offeree invitation (passive)*

This declarative type is different from the state offeree invitation type of the imperative strategy above in that it is realised using the verb *invite* in the passive voice. The verb *invite* is an obligatory part of it, as shown in the syntactic construction: *You are invited* (+VP + NP) used to realise it. The offeree is *invited* to perform some action, e.g. drink, join, eat, etc. The verb *invite* could be followed by an NP as in (189) or a VP in which the action the offeree is invited to perform is stated. As opposed to other declarative types which are offerer-agentive, this type is offeree-agentive, i.e. the action is to be performed by the offeree.

There is also no limit to the possible internal modification moves that can be used here. In (189), the greeting form “hi there” is the only modification, and serves as a marker of youth-group interaction.

- (189) Hi there, you are invited to my snack. (GaF21)
Greeting + Offer

As said above, this type is unique to Ghana. Of the 33 tokens of the declarative strategy by Ghanaians, 30 belong to the state offeree invitation (passive) type. The remaining three are of the ‘state offered item’ type. What this implies is that this

structure is now a ritual strategy for making offers of food and drinks. However, *You are invited* ceases to be a ritual offer only if the offerer insists or states that s/he is serious. As a ritual offer, offerees are expected to refuse. The most widespread responses to the ritual offer are *thank you*, *I am alright*, *I am ok*, etc.

b. State offerer progressive action

In this type, the offerer states what s/he is doing. The verb is in the progressive tense. The syntactic construction that realises it in the data is: *I am V+ing* (190). By stating the action s/he is performing in the offer head act unit, the offerer expects the offeree to join in. This type is built on indigenous cultural norms of certain African ethnic groups in which, for instance, when a visitor enters a house and finds people eating, s/he simply joins in. S/he is not explicitly asked to eat but is expected to feel at home and do what the others are doing. Food, this norm presupposes, is a shared amenity to which all group members have access no matter in whose house they are.

- (190) Excuse me, I am eating something. (CaF12)
Attention getter + Offer

In (190), the statement “I am eating” serves to remind the offeree to join in. This type is not attested in Ghana (Table 5.13), perhaps because of the emergence of the routine offer strategy, *You are invited*, which may have displaced it. A more plausible reason cannot be found in the data at hand.

c. State offered item

Used here for the first time, in this declarative type, the offerer simply names the item offered either through the use of a proper noun, e.g. “food” (191) or an indefinite pronoun, e.g. “something” (190) above. Usually realised without an explicit verb, this declarative type could consist of a two constituent noun phrase (NP), i.e. a determiner and a noun, e.g. “some food” (191). From its framing, it is understood that a physical action is performed simultaneously which indicates where the offered item is. It falls in the same category as offer deictic imperatives and state offerer progressive action declaratives above, since it also does not ask for the offeree’s opinion prior to the offer.

- (191) Charlie, some food ooo (GaM43)
Address + Offer

In (191), the Ghanaian English (male) camaraderie term “Charlie” (friend) is used to initiate a friendship relationship between the interlocutors in order to build trust. As Table 5.13 indicates, this declarative type was used in both Ghana and Cameroon.

d. *State offerer possession*

Here, the offerer declares s/he possesses the offered object which may be explicitly named or identified using the indefinite pronoun “something” as in (192). Framed as *I have + NP*, this declarative type functions along the same sociocultural lines as the state offered item type above. By stating that s/he possesses the offered item, the offerer indirectly invites the offeree to have it or to share in it.

- (192) I have something nice here. (CaM34)
Simple declarative offer

All three usages of this type were by Cameroonians (Table 5.13). Like the state offered item type above, there is no explicit marker of offering in this declarative type. Interlocutors understand it by relying on the repertoire of cultural knowledge learned from the society. In the data, these indirect offer types were understood by the offerees. In both types, a direct offer through an imperative is avoided, perhaps because it could be interpreted as imposing. Rather than focusing on the offeree, the last three declarative types are rather offerer-agentive, i.e. they focus on the action performed by the offerer.

The four declarative types above are represented in Table 5.13 according to country and syntactic construction. Apart from the state offered item type which is used in both countries, the other three are used in one country but not the other, implying that each society makes use of specific microlinguistic strategies that are unique to it alone even when the macro strategies are similar to other postcolonial societies.

Table 5.13 Types of declarative strategies (Situation 3)

Type of declarative strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
State offeree invitation (passive)	<i>You are invited (+VP+ NP)</i>	+	–
State offerer progressive action	<i>I am V+ing (+NP)</i>	–	+
State offered item	<i>NP</i>	+	+
State offerer possession	<i>I have + NP</i>	–	+

A look at the numbers in Table 5.10, reveals that the declarative strategy was used by far more Ghanaians than Cameroonians. Of the 39 occurrences, 33 (84.5%) were produced by Ghanaians and only six (15.5%) by Cameroonians.

5.2.4 Execution strategy in offer utterances

The commissive nature of execution offers discussed in Situations 1 and 2 is also projected in Situation 3 involving two peers. The offeree is addressed directly using the second person pronoun *you*, a name, an address form or an attention getter. Where the offer is realised using the offerer-offeree (future) action type, then the first person plural pronoun *we* is used. With 21 tokens (Table 5.10), this strategy is certainly not preferred in peer interactions, especially in the physically restraint context of the bus.

As evidence of the collectivist character of the interlocutors and their cultural background, the verbs *to share*, as in “Can we share?” (CaM40) and *to join*, as in “Can you join me in my food?” (GaF46) are also extensively used in this offer realisation strategy. Through them interlocutors demonstrate generosity in accordance with social norms of their collectivist society. Additionally, the desire to start friendships is achieved through the use of camaraderie terms like *friend* and *Charlie*.

Four of the execution strategy types identified in Situations 1 and 2 are also attested here. These are (a) question offeree ability, (b) question offerer ability, (c) state offerer desire, and (d) offerer-offeree (future) action. The latter two are found only in Cameroon although they also occur in Ghana in Situation 1.

a. Question offeree ability

Like in Situations 1 and 2, two syntactic constructions were utilised to realise this execution type: *can you + VP?* and *could you + VP?* The question is directed at the offeree and is about their ability to perform the offer. In (193), the verb “share” is used as well as the attention getter “hey” which both relocate interaction to a friendly space where trust can be easily built. This type, Table 5.14 shows, is attested in both datasets.

- (193) Hey, can you share with me? (CaM48)
Attention getter + Offer

b. Question offerer ability

Here, the offerer commits to perform the offer if the offeree permits. In the data on Situation 3, it took the forms: *can I + VP?* and *could I + VP?*, with or without modification moves. There are many simple execution offers of this type in the data, e.g. (194) below which is proof to the fact that interlocutors do not feel obliged to show respect or deference since they are peers. This type is used by Ghanaians as well as Cameroonians.

- (194) Can I offer you a piece of my cake? (GaF16)
Simple execution offer

c. *State offerer desire*

By stating the desire to perform the offer, the offerer commits to do so if the offeree accepts. Such a commissive intent is curtailed by the limited opportunities and physical freedom offered by the offer context, the bus. This explains why only two instances of this execution type were found in the data; both of them in Cameroon. Worthy of note in (195), as above, is the use of the verb “share.” We could interpret this as a friendship request motivated by the collectivist thrust of the society.

(195) I will like us to share my food. (CaF45)

d. *Offerer-offeree (future) action*

In this type, the offerer makes the offer a joint future plan of action between him/her and the offeree. The pronouns *we* and *us* are central to this common plan of action. In this offer situation, as in Situation 1, two constructions are used: one is a statement, i.e. *Let us + VP (+NP)* while the other is a question *Can we + VP?* (196). Consistent with the execution types above, the desire to create an in-group is also suggested here through the verb “share.”

(196) Friend, Am having some chewables here. Can we share it? (CaM16)
Address + Grounder + Offer

We see in Table 5.14 that this execution type, contrary to Situation 1, is used in Situation 3 only in Cameroon. Other trends in the use of the four execution types above are found in Table 5.14. As stated above, this strategy is exceedingly preferred by Cameroonians since 17 (81%) of the 21 tokens are produced by them and only four (19%) by Ghanaians. No considerable differences exist at the level of gender.

Table 5.14 Types of execution strategies (Situation 3)

Type of execution strategy	Syntactic construction	Ghana	Cameroon
Question offeree ability	– <i>can you + VP?</i>	+	+
	– <i>could you + VP?</i>		
Question offerer ability	– <i>can I + VP?</i>	+	+
	– <i>could I + VP?</i>		
State offerer desire	– <i>I will like + VP</i>	–	+
Offerer-offeree (future) action	– <i>Let us + VP(+NP)</i>	–	+
	– <i>Can we + VP?</i>		

5.3 Offer refusal utterances: Realisation strategies and pragmatic functions

This section establishes the realisation strategies and accompanying internal modification moves of offer refusal utterances in Situation 3. Are the same strategies in the asymmetrical situations analysed in Chapters 3 and 4 also used here? How do peers realise offer refusals? These questions will guide the description of the offer refusal utterances embarked on here.

Contrary to Situations 1 and 2 where five and six offer refusal strategies respectively are used, in Situation 3 involving peers, only three are used. Realisation strategies such as preference, inability, postponement, return offer and offer acceptance, employed in the other offer situations, are not used here at all. Besides interlocutor status, the physical context of the bus also accounts for the absence of some of these realisation strategies in Situation 3. The three strategies that reoccur here are direct refusal, impediment and assurance. In all three refusal realisation strategies, various internal modification moves are adopted that soften the impact of the refusal or that project the interlocutors' desire to maintain a close relationship in spite of the refusal – a form of refusal mitigation. These moves include compliment, apology, assurance, thanks and address forms.

As Table 5.15 reveals, direct refusal is the most used with 104 occurrences (52%), followed by impediment with 54 occurrences (27%) and assurance with 42 occurrences (21%). That direct refusal, which normally embodies threats to (individual) face and social cohesion, is recurrent is consistent with the peer status of the interlocutors. Direct refusal comes second in Situation 1 and third in Situation 2 perhaps because of its potential to hurt social cohesion.

From Table 5.15, it is clear that impediment is preferred by Cameroonians who use it 33 times as opposed to 21 times by Ghanaians. Ghanaian respondents rather prefer assurance which they use 26 times to Cameroonians' 16 times. Direct refusal is used almost equally by both sets of respondents. The variations in the use of these offer refusal utterance realisation strategies are inconsistent with tendencies in Situations 1 and 2, probably because of the symmetry between interlocutors and the context of the interaction.

Table 5.15 Offer refusal utterance realisation strategies (Situation 3)

Offer refusal strategy	Ghana			Cameroon			Overall total & %
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	
Direct refusal	31	22	53	25	26	51	104 (52%)
Impediment	9	12	21	16	17	33	54 (27%)
Assurance	10	16	26	9	7	16	42 (21%)
Total	50	50	100	50	50	100	200 (100%)

At the level of gender, only one major variation can be pointed out in Table 5.15: more Ghanaian females (31 times) use the direct refusal strategy than Cameroonian females (25 times). Females in both countries, when put together, use more direct refusals (56 times) than males in both countries (48 times), contrasting the trend in Situations 1 and 2 where more males use this potentially confrontational strategy than females. Again, the peer equality relationship between interlocutors could be accountable for this. Figure 5.4 recapitulates the occurrences of the three refusal realisation strategies in the 200 dialogues according to respondent country.

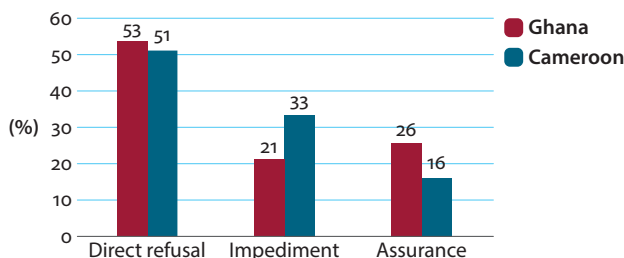


Figure 5.4 Distribution of offer refusal realisation strategies (Situation 3)

5.3.1 Direct refusal strategy in offer refusal utterances

Most direct refusals consist of a refusal marker, especially *no*, and one or more additional moves, e.g. compliment, apology, wish, politeness marker and thanks but not a reason, justification or explication. Where these three latter moves occur, it is an impediment strategy. However, not all direct refusals contain an explicit refusal marker; refusal could be embedded in the utterance as in (199) below but is understood as such. The bulk of interlocutors in Situation 3, in their choice of the direct refusal strategy, did not find the need to mitigate a refusal directed at a peer. After all, they are not bound by social norms of respect, age, social status to do so. However, as the Examples (197–199) below show, certain internal modification moves are used to mitigate the direct refusals, e.g. apology (197), interjection, thanks and compliment (198), and a religion-based wish (199). In Situation 3, there was not a single occurrence of *no* as refusal without some form of modification. The compliment in (198) praises the offerer thereby shifting focus from the refusal to the offerer's good deed of kindness.

- (197) Other: Hello would you eat some bush meat?³¹
 You: No sorry. (CaM31)
Refusal + Apology
- (198) Other: Please, have some bread.
 You: Oh! No. Thank you. It's very kind of you. (CaF1)
Interjection + Refusal + Thanks + Compliment
- (199) Other: Please, you are invited.
 You: Thank you very much, God bless you (smile and turn away). (GaF23)
Thanks + Wish

The way the thanking move in (199) is realised could suggest acceptance but this is not the case. Although the refusal utterance is positively framed, it is indeed a refusal. Interlocutors understood it as a refusal which explains why it was followed by supportive acts like insistence and explication. Usages like (199) indicate the extent of indigenisation (Anchimbe 2014) of English in these two locations. Other examples of indigenised forms include the use of the word “stranger” for guest in Chapter 3 and the words “chewables” for snacks in Examples (180) and (196) above and “bush meat” for game in (197).

Also of interest to postcolonial pragmatics is the wish “God bless you” (199) in the offer refusal utterance. Like in Situation 2 (Chapter 4) with the old man, this blessing wish is intended to compensate for the refusal and serves as a reward for the offerer’s effort in offering. Used by 53 and 51 respondents respectively in Ghana and Cameroon (Table 5.15), direct refusals are certainly normal among peers irrespective of the postcolonial society in which they live.

5.3.2 Impediment strategy in offer refusal utterances

The impediment strategy in offer refusal utterances, as explained earlier, advances reasons or justifications for the refusal of the offer. The premise is that: *I can't do X because of Y*. Offer contexts and interlocutor statuses determine how strong the impediment reason must be to be accepted. In Situation 1, the impediment reason must be solid enough to persuade the senior colleague from insisting on the offer. Health, religion and family, which form the core of the social fabric of these societies, are successfully exploited as impediment reasons. In Situation 2 (Chapter 4), the impediment reasons advanced by the old man – who theoretically

31. Like “chewables” above, “bush meat” is an indigenised expression that refers to game. It is any meat gotten from wild animals. It is attested in the literature on Cameroon English as well on West African English (cf. Bamgbose et al. 1995).

is not obliged to give one – align with his age and status, e.g. health and the need to exercise the body by standing. In Situation 3, the impediments are rather personalised individual reasons, e.g. “Oh! I’m not hungry” (GaM36), which do not rely on health, religion or family to be immediately accepted. Even though (202) invokes a health-related reason, it does not rely on the recommendation of a doctor or any third-party authority. The offeree claims full responsibility for it. Again, these personalised impediments are motivated by the speakers’ status as peers.

All impediments are realised as complex refusals sometimes consisting of up to three modification moves (200–202). Besides impediment reasons, other modification moves are utilised to smoothen the relationship between the two, e.g. assurance, apology, endearment, wish, politeness marker and conditional. The conditional in (202) accentuates the offeree’s supposed desire to cooperate if the impediment “runny stomach” were not present.

- (200) Other: Please, have a piece of this.
 You: No, don’t bother. I don’t have appetite but thank you. (CaF4)
Refusal + Assurance + Reason + Thanks
- (201) Other: Please share my food with me.
 You: Thank you, but I am not hungry. Please enjoy yourself. (GaF4)
Thanks + Reason + PM + Wish
- (202) Other: Can you share this with me?
 You: Sorry dear, I would have loved to just that I have a runny stomach.
Apology + Address + Conditional + Reason (CaF29)

An important aspect of the refusals in (200–202) above is the use of the first personal singular pronoun “I”. The offeree does not attribute the reason to any third-party, e.g. a doctor or religion, but assumes full responsibility for it. These reasons are frank and direct and are not mitigated by any illusive excuses. The speakers do not fear any potential consequences on their relationship most probably because of the equal status between them as peers.

Impediment, following Table 5.15, is more common among Cameroonian than Ghanaian respondents. Of the 54 tokens, 33 (61%) were produced by Cameroonians and 21 (39%) by Ghanaians. In the other offer situations, Ghanaians also make more use of this strategy than Cameroonians.

5.3.3 Assurance strategy in offer refusal utterances

The assurance strategy is found in Situations 2 and 3 but not in 1. Speaker constellations, types of offers involved and contexts seem to influence their usage. By assuring the offerer that s/he is fine even without the offer, the offeree annuls the

offeree-beneficial status of the offer. Usually, reasons for refusal are not part of the assurance strategy. The most common assurance expressions used are *I am ok*, *I'm alright*, *I'm fine*, etc. However, other internal modification moves could be appended to these to show the offeree's appreciation of the offerer, e.g. compliment (203), thanks (203–204) and address forms (204).

- (203) Other: Hello, I have fried yam and chicken, please do eat with me.
 You: Thanks so much for your Samaritan heart, but I am ok. (GaM8)
Thanks + Compliment + Assurance
- (204) Other: Charlie, some biscuit for you.
 You: Thanks so much buddy, but I'm ok. (GaM31)
Thanks + Address + Assurance

In all, assurance was used 42 times in the 200 dialogues, with 26 of these (62%) produced by Ghanaians and 16 (38%) by Cameroonians. This is contrary to Situation 2 where more Cameroonians used it. In relation to gender, Table 5.15 shows that slightly more males (23 times) in both countries use the assurance strategy than females (19 times).

Having established the structure and pragmatic functions of offer head acts and offer refusal head acts above, the next section focuses on the postcolonial pragmatic components speakers relied on to support their illocutionary intents. Issues of gender, address forms, religion, collectivist social norms, societal ills and peer-group equality are investigated here.

5.4 Peer equality in offers and offer refusals: Postcolonial pragmatic components

The postcolonial pragmatic components interlocutors invoked in Situation 3 are similar to those in Situations 1 and 2 but are approached from a slightly different perspective. For instance, while the junior colleague in Situation 1 and the younger person in Situation 2 strive to respect social norms, here peers rather try to persuade each other or to protect themselves by making choices that help them avoid societal ills (see below). This section, therefore, establishes the importance of peer equality, social norms, societal structure and collectivist cultures in the realisation of offers and offer refusals. Attention is on the postcolonial pragmatic components, address forms, religion, peer equality and imposition, collectivist cultures and in-group bonding, gender and societal ills, the functioning of which are explained in Chapter 2.

5.4.1 Address forms

As opposed to Situations 1 and 2 where most address terms create social differentiation according to social and professional status (Situation 1) and age (Situation 2), in Situation 3, most address forms rather construct a horizontal, non-hierarchical, symmetrical relationship between interlocutors. This explains why camaraderie and friendship terms, especially (*my*) *friend*, abound in the data on Situation 3 (Table 5.16). Interlocutors do not create an asymmetrical hierarchical relationship most probably because they are peers. Addressing a peer using an asymmetrical kinship term like *aunt*y which could “be used to address a total stranger who is female and looks old enough to be the speaker’s mother’s contemporary” (Wong

Table 5.16 Address forms in Situation 3

Address form (<i>n</i> = 68)		Ghana (<i>n</i> = 33)		Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 35)		Total
		Females	Males	Females	Males	
Camaraderie, friendship terms (18 tokens)	– friend, my friend	1	5	–	6	12
	– Charley, Charlie	–	4	–	–	4
	– dude	–	–	–	1	1
	– man	–	–	–	1	1
<i>Total</i>		1	9 (Σ10)	0	8 (Σ8)	18
Names (14 tokens)	– first name	2	1	4	4	11
	– surname	2	1	–	–	3
	<i>Total</i>	4	2 (Σ6)	4	4 (Σ8)	14
Endearment terms (12 tokens)	– dear, my dear	2	1	3	6	12
Kinship terms (10 tokens)	– bro, bros, brother, my brother	–	6	–	1	7
	– sister	3	–	–	–	3
	<i>Total</i>	3	6 (Σ9)	0	1 (Σ1)	10
Attention getters (10 tokens)	– hey	2	1	1	1	5
	– lady	1	–	–	1	2
	– girl, girlfriend	1	–	–	1	2
	– fellow boy	–	–	–	1	1
<i>Total</i>		4	1 (Σ5)	1	4 (Σ5)	10
Honorifics (4 tokens)	– sir	–	–	–	2	2
	– madam	–	–	1	–	1
	– mister	–	–	–	1	1
<i>Total</i>		0	0	1	3 (Σ4)	4
Overall total		14	19	9	26	68
		33 (48.5%)		35 (51.5%)		

2006: 454), would suggest a completely different meaning, e.g. an insult. Proof of the impact of peer equality is that only four tokens of honorifics were used in the data. Moreover, the two kinship terms adopted, i.e. *brother* and *sister*, are also symmetrical in nature.

In all, six address forms were used: camaraderie and friendship terms, names, endearment terms, kinship terms, attention getters and honorifics. From Table 5.16, it is evident that (peer) social equality between interlocutors plays a central role in speakers' choice of address terms. Camaraderie and friendship terms are the most used, occurring 18 times in the 68 tokens of address forms. Names are second with 14 tokens followed by endearment terms with 12 tokens. Kinship terms – most used in Situation 2 (Chapter 4) – and attention getters are fourth with 10 tokens each. Honorifics, which are the most used in Situation 1 (Chapter 3) and second most recurrent in Situation 2 (Chapter 4), are the least employed in Situation 3 with only four tokens. Again, this is certainly because honorifics create hierarchy between interlocutors.

In all three offer situations, Cameroonians use address forms more than Ghanaians. In Situation 1: the percentage difference is 54% to 46%, in Situation 2, it is 56.4% to 43.6%, and in Situation 3, it is 51.5% to 48.5%, all for Cameroonian respondents. In Situation 3, at the level of gender, males in both societies use address forms more than females (Table 5.16). But in Situations 1 and 2, it is rather females who use more address forms. This inconsistency points to the hybridising nature of these communities. The differences between Ghana and Cameroon shown in Table 5.16 are portrayed in the bar chart in Figure 5.5.

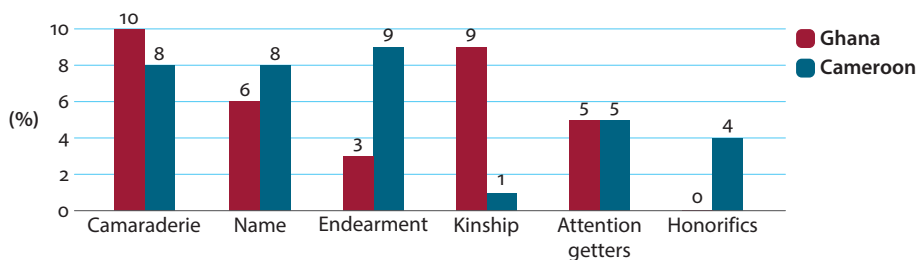


Figure 5.5 Use of address forms between Ghana and Cameroon (Situation 3)

a. *Camaraderie and friendship terms*

To achieve the illocutionary intent of initiating friendship through an offer, there seems to be no better way to do this than to use an address form that incorporates this intent. Four camaraderie terms were used in Situation 3: *friend*, *Charlie*, *dude* and *man* (Table 5.16). The first three overtly suggest friendship and are hence used here to achieve the speaker's pragmatic illocutionary goal.

Worthy of note in the use of these terms is gender. Of the 18 tokens of camaraderie terms, only one was used by a female (Ghanaian) respondent; the rest are by males. This sole female usage is *friend* – the only of the four terms that is not explicitly masculine. Also noteworthy, though already mentioned above, is the use of the hypocoristic first name *Charlie* to mean *my friend* (male) by male Ghanaian respondents, cf. Example (204) above. It is a peculiar feature of Ghanaian English – all four occurrences of *Charlie* are from Ghana.

b. Names: First name and surname

As said in Chapter 3 (Situation 1), the use of surnames indexes formality while first names suggest equality. That 11 out of 14 tokens are first names proves that interlocutors feel they are equals. Here, both interlocutors call each other by first name as opposed to Situation 1 where it is mostly the senior colleague who calls the junior by their first name. Almost all instances of naming occurred in the introduction preparatory act where interlocutors introduced themselves to each other. This is normal because there is no clue in the DCT questionnaire that they knew each other before.

The first names used range from Western names (e.g. Joyce, Peterson) to ethnic Ghanaian first names (e.g. Kwaku³²). No significant differences exist both at the level of country and gender (Table 5.16).

c. Endearment terms

The endearment term, *dear* or *my dear*, occurs 12 times in Situation 3. It is used almost exclusively by the offeree, i.e. 10 times out of 12, as a mitigator for the refusal. Showing the offerer that s/he is dear softens the impact of the refusal by shifting attention from the refusal to the supposed closeness suggested by the word *dear*. Doing this matches the offerer's intention of initiating friendship. It helps both interlocutors come within range of realising their illocutionary intents – and building trust.

As shown in Table 5.16, nine of the 12 occurrences of endearment terms are by Cameroonian respondents and only three are by Ghanaians. Like above, slightly more male respondents (7 times) in both countries use endearments than females (5 times).

32. This name is the day of the week on which the person is born. Kwaku corresponds to Wednesday of the English week. It is an Ashanti custom to name people according to the day they are born.

d. *Kinship terms*

The kinship terms, *brother* and *sister*, used in this offer situation imply a horizontal, non-hierarchical, symmetrical relationship and not a vertical, hierarchical, asymmetrical relationship as in Situation 2, e.g. the father-child kinship relationship. Apart from indexing kin-like closeness, *brother* and *sister* also index social equality between interlocutors. Used by both offerer and offeree, these terms also index reciprocity of peer equality, i.e. it is not lopsided since each acknowledges the other as an equal or peer.

Interestingly, the kinship terms in Situation 3 are used predominantly by male respondents. Seven of the 10 occurrences are by males: six Ghanaians and one Cameroonian. The three occurrences of *sister* are all produced by females: all Ghanaian.

e. *Attention getters*

All attention getters in Situation 3 are found in the offer head act utterance, i.e. they are used as an internal modification of the offer head act unit. All are, therefore, produced by the offerer. The gender-neutral form *hey* is the most commonly used followed by the polite, respect-laden term *lady*. Attention getters are, therefore, used here both to capture the addressee's attention and also to, in that process, achieve respect or politeness since this might be essential for the offeree's acceptance of the offer. Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents used attention getters equally, i.e. five times each. Also, the 10 occurrences were used equally by the genders; both countries put together (Table 5.16).

f. *Honorifics*

Occurring only four times in the 68 tokens of address terms, honorifics are clearly not common in peer group interactions in these postcolonial societies (Table 5.16). Where they are used, they are almost always reciprocated, thereby maintaining peer equality between interlocutors. In (205), the honorific "mister" used by the offerer is reciprocated using another honorific "sir" by the offeree. Whatever asymmetrical relationship "mister" embodies is immediately cancelled out or equalled by "sir." All four instances of honorifics were produced by Cameroonian respondents: three by males and one by a female respondent.

(205) Other: Good morning Mister!

You: Good morning Sir.

(CaM8)

5.4.2 Religion

Religion is also prevalent among (youth) peers. Having been hybridised with indigenous social norms makes it to integrate various layers of the social systems of these postcolonial societies. In Situation 3, religion is invoked in three ways: (1) to make a compliment, (2) to give a solid reason backing the refusal, and (3) to suggest closeness between interlocutors who may actually be strangers. Each of these usages is intended to achieve an illocutionary intent.

Firstly, religion is appropriated mostly by the offeree to make a compliment to the offerer. Here, the offerer's good behaviour, i.e. the decision to offer, is attributed to religion or likened to the good behaviour of a religious character as in (203) above where the offerer's benevolent act is analogised to the Samaritan man in the Bible: "Thanks so much for your Samaritan heart, but I am ok" (GaM8). The Biblical "Samaritan heart" and the (indigenous culturally-motivated) offer mark the point of hybridism of the two cultures that came into contact during colonialism. While the offer represents the collectivist cultures of the society which expects members to care for each other, the Samaritan heart embodies the Christian religion's teaching about giving to, or being benevolent towards, others even strangers. Both ideologies merge in this offer context.

Secondly, religion is used in Situation 3, just as in the other two, as a solid reason to refuse offers. As shown earlier, reasons that deal with religion are generally unchallenged by the offerer. In (206), the Islamic religious tradition of fasting is cited as the reason for the refusal. As expected, the insistence move ends immediately after religion is mentioned.

(206) You: No. Thanks because am fasting.

Other: Are you a Muslim.

You: Yes I am.

(GaM39)

(207) GaF39 *Offer & Refusal*

Age: 17–25 Other: Hello girl, Please you are invited.

Ind.L: Twi You: Thank you but I am filled.

Usage: Very often *Insistence 1*

L1: Twi Other: No you are not, you just don't want to eat my food.

Town: Medoma You: It's not like that but I don't even know you.

Edu: WASSCE

Insistence 2

Other: It doesn't count, you are my sister.

You: What makes you think so?

Other: Because the Bible says we are equal.

You: I know but it is just that I'm not hungry.

Thirdly, religion is pulled into interactions to indicate that interlocutors belong together or are equal. Religion serves to close social distance between people and to bring them closer for trust to be built. It removes boundaries and overcomes those barriers that separate strangers or people who belong to different social or ethnic entities within the society. In (207), for instance, the offeree quickly abandons the argument that they are strangers as soon as religion is mentioned. The offeree's adversarial tone in "I don't even know you" immediately changes into a more personalised and friendlier excuse "it is just that I'm not hungry" when religion is mentioned. The offeree acknowledges the religious claim that they are equal, "I know but..." thereby implicitly withdrawing the earlier reason, "I don't even know you", and replacing it with a personalised excuse: "I'm not hungry."

5.4.3 Collectivist cultures and in-group bonding

In these collectivist cultures, members fulfil obligations towards their group, for instance, by playing those social roles that society expects of them, e.g. taking care of, providing for, and advising other members. Since interlocutors in Situation 3 are peers, age-based and status-based expectations do not apply strictly to them. However, other expectations, for instance, providing for, and taking care of others and consolidating in-group cohesion and solidarity, still apply. I discuss these below with illustrations from the data.

Firstly, in the context of the bus where travellers are confined to a limited space for a long time, expectations of the collectivist in-group become higher. Members feel the need to provide food or drinks to others who do not have. In (208), the offerer fulfils this expectation without informing the offeree in advance. After over-hearing the offeree complain of hunger, the offerer decides to offer them food. Here, the offer is offeree-beneficial, and through it the offerer plays the role society expects of him or her in that context.

- (208) Other: Can you take some of my food?
 You: No thank you.
 Other: Why?
 You: Oh I'm not hungry.
 Other: Is that so, I thought I heard you complain about hunger.
 You: Oh I was just kidding.
 Other: Ok if you insist.
 You: That's ok by me. Thank you once again for your kindness (GaF37)

Secondly, due to the collectivist nature of these societies interlocutors are ready to share personal information especially when they need advice or help. They show concern for each other's predicament and are available to assist either by giving

advice or helping out. In (209), the offerer shows concern for the offeree's illness, "runny stomach", by indicating readiness to help. She asks if the offeree had taken any medicine and feels accomplished that s/he had: "Nice to hear that." Focus shifts from the offer (refusal) to the offeree's – construed here as an in-group member – health and wellbeing.

- (209) CaF29 *Offer & Refusal*
 Age: 17–25 Other: Can you share this with me?
 Ind.L: Oshie You: Sorry dear, I would have loved to just that I have
 Usage: Never a runny stomach.
 L1: English, *Explication*
 Pidgin English Other: I am sorry to hear that but what have you taken
 Town: Buea for it?
 Edu: AL You: Well, this morning I took some flagile.
 Other: So are you feeling any better now?
 You: Well! A little bit.
 Other: Nice to hear that.
 You: Thanks for your concern.
 Other: You are welcome.
- (210) You: Am sorry but I don't like biscuits in the morning.
 Other: Ok, I see you are afraid of tooth decay.
 You: Yes that's right. My tooth was pulled out last week.
 Other: Oh sorry, better don't eat sweet things at all. (CaF47)

In (210), there are two indicators of collectivist belonging. (1) the offeree's readiness to reveal personal health information to a stranger, and (2) the offerer's sympathy and advice. The offerer links the refusal of a biscuit to "tooth decay" – a potentially face threatening suggestion given its rather negative formulation: "decay" rather than perhaps *problems*. After learning of the offeree's tooth removal, the offerer quickly shows sympathy, "Oh sorry" and then advises the offeree not to eat sweet things at all, i.e. not only in the mornings as specified by the offeree in the refusal utterance.

Thirdly, accepting an offer of food or taking only a bit of it indexes in-group solidarity and consolidates cohesion within the group (cf. 177 above). Offer acceptance, as said above in Section 5.1.3f, is default behaviour in these contexts. So, even if the offeree accepts to take just a bite (211), it is enough to consolidate solidarity within their group.

- (211) You: Thanks for your generosity my dear, am sorry, am ok.
 Other: No at least a bite.
 You: Alright! If you insist, just a bite.
 Other: It's ok. (CaM14)

(212) Other: Is that how people in your city behave?

You: God! You are so rude. I thought one minute ago you were actually inviting me to join your meal.

Other: Yeah! But you refused so?

You: Thank God, I refused, I really would have regretted. (GaF15)

This solidarity would also be hurt if the offeree refused the offer on grounds that s/he does not know the offerer. Where interlocutors feel they do not belong to the same in-group, the interaction risks breaking down, especially if the refusal is not performed well, i.e. in a manner that cancels the default expectation. Unsatisfied by the refusal, the offerer in (212) attacks the offeree, extending that attack to include the offeree's in-group: "people in your city." This collectivistic accusation and the subsequent defence of the "city" by the offeree, show how strong in-group bonds are, and how members quickly rise to defend their group's public face. So, in these collectivist societies, members subsume their individual faces into the group's face. When the group's face is threatened, it is their duty to fight for it since their individual faces are only worthy if that of their group is respected.

5.4.4 Peer equality and imposition

Peer equality seems to cancel out the potential of face threat and imposition of the offer (on the offeree) or the negative effect of the refusal (on the offerer). While the offerer and offeree do not mind attacking each other's face, they at the same time also accept these face attacks amicably. The logic behind this apparently is: *I let you say X to me because I can also say X to you*. In Examples (213–214), the offerer's direct imposing question and the offeree's direct refusal (213) do not cause any breakdown in the interaction as in (212) where the group's face is threatened. Again, the offerer's unmitigated direct refusal of the offeree's offer refusal – "I won't take no for an answer" – and the offeree's laughter in (214) are taken lightly by both interlocutors. The offeree softens the laughter with the address form "bros." This term creates a symmetrical kinship relationship to the offerer thereby insinuating that they both belong together.

(213) Other: Are you refusing my offer?

You: Yes, my dear.

Other: Why?

You: I don't eat on a bus. (GaM5)

(214) Other: I won't take no for an answer.

You: hahaha no bros. I already had a lot of food to eat while you were sleeping. (CaM30)

Such instances of reciprocal face threat tolerance are common in the data on Situation 3. For example, the following direct threats do not cause any harm to the cohesion between the two: “Are you trying to escape from my proposal?” (CaF1); “Do you refuse my offer?” (CaM6) and “Are you forcing me?” (CaF20). The threat they embody is absorbed by the peer tolerance that both interlocutors show towards one another.

5.4.5 Societal ills and suspicion

Interlocutors use some of the common ills or problems reported in their society to either pre-empt offer refusals (i.e. the offerer) or to support or justify their refusal thereof (i.e. the offeree). For the offerer, the premise is that, *I know you are aware of X, but I am not doing X to you* while for the offeree it is *I know you are aware of X; it is because of X that I cannot accept your offer*. In the interviews analysed in Chapter 6, societal ills are cited as basis for the refusal of genuine offers.

The fear of strangers and the fear of being poisoned motivate the refusals in (215–216). In (215), this fear is raised by the offerer but in (216) it is raised by the offeree, hence indicating that both know about these societal problems. The offerer uses fear to pre-empt the reason for the offeree’s refusal (215), while the offeree in (215) also hints at it but refuses it is the main explication or justification of the refusal.

- (215) You: Sorry, I don’t eat at odd hours.
 Other: I see. I thought you were afraid because nowadays...
 You: No, it has nothing to do with fear. Thanks a lot. (CaF13)
- (216) You: Well you are a complete stranger but other than that am full.
 Other: Why, do you think I will poison you?
 You: Far from that, I don’t feel like taking your food. (GaF33)

Though fear of strangers is not unique to postcolonial contexts alone, it, however, signals that those who are treated as strangers often represent an out-group, another collectivity whose values may not be similar to the speaker’s.

In the picture in Figure 5.6 taken at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Kumasi, Ghana in 2010, the fear of strangers is expressed. This banner warns students of thieves but categorises these thieves as strangers. The framing of the banner makes it possible for any person who genuinely offers help to be treated unfortunately as a thief. While this flouts the social norm of collectivity, it also indicates a phase in the hybridisation process. Inter-group competition and animosities in these multiethnic and multicultural societies often lead to



Figure 5.6 Fear of strangers (© Anchimbe)

victimisation; hence people sometimes resort to identity opportunism (Anchimbe 2006b) or to closing in-group boundaries to others (until they are sure these are in-group members).

5.4.6 Gender

Apart from the gender-based tendencies in the use of address forms (Table 5.16) above, two additional gender-related features were identified in Situation 3: behavioural traits associated with females (217) and societal expectations of females (218). Example (217) follows the societal conceptualisation of females as being shy. In (218), both interlocutors agree with the adage that a “lady should not refuse an offer.” If it is an adage, then it is folk expectation of how females should behave in offer situations. The dialogues in (217–218) are constructed by female respondents: a Cameroonian and a Ghanaian.

- (217) You: Nothing really. I just had something to eat.
 Other: Are you shy?
 You: Gave you a reason already. (CaF32)
- (218) Other: A lady should not refuse an offer.
 You: Yes, so says the adage, but it is not every offer that should be accepted. (GaF27)

Given that the societal attribution of gender roles works similarly in Ghana and Cameroon (cf. 217–218), there is reason to further state that their postcolonial hybrid setups contribute to this.

5.5 Summary: Peer equality between Ghana and Cameroon

The discussion in this chapter has revealed that in spite of some differences, the underlying structure of these two postcolonial societies is still predominantly similar. Peer equality plays a significant role in both linguistic expression and social behaviour. In both societies, peers do not apply social norms strictly by relying on the reciprocity of respect or face threats. This notwithstanding, some salient variations were found:

- In Ghana, in making offers, the expression *You are invited* has become ritualised. In most cases, it is not used to introduce genuine offers but simply for politeness. However, when it is used for a genuine offer, the offerer has to explicitly state it, e.g. after the offer is refused, the offerer adds in the insistence act: “Don’t worry, I am serious” (GaF12). Respondent GaM45 also adds in the insistence act “I really mean that you should partake with me.”
- The French expression “bon appétit” occurs mostly among Cameroonians. The reason for this is that Cameroon is also French-speaking. It is also now calqued into English as “good appetite” (CaF37), “enjoy your meal” (CaF44, CaM2) in the Cameroonian data. However, the expression “bon appétit” occurs once in the Ghanaian data.
- In Ghana, the forename forms *Charley* and *Charlie* mean friend, mainly male, but not in Cameroon.
- The word *chewables* is used in Cameroon to mean snacks but not in Ghana. It is a semantic extension in Cameroon English.
- In all three offer situations, Cameroonians use address forms more than Ghanaians.

In the next chapter, the analysis shifts to speakers’ motivations and choices in specific situations of offering. The data used there is predominantly from interviews I conducted with different respondents in Ghana and Cameroon. In the interviews, speakers explain why they refuse offers and the circumstances under which they would receive offers. Most of the examples used in Chapter 6 are culled from these interviews.

Postcolonial hybrid structures and social interaction

After the microlinguistic analyses of offers and offer refusals in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, this chapter moves beyond the intra-linguistic elements analysed to tackle the impact of postcolonial social and societal structures, e.g. collectivist or group cultural systems and social and linguistic hybridism, on speakers' sociolinguistic behaviour. The overall aim of the chapter is, among other things, to provide answers to the research questions: "Does the choice of a particular language in these multilingual postcolonial communities (e.g. indigenous language, official language or Pidgin) influence speakers' decisions to accept or refuse offers? What is the impact of postcolonial collectivist cultural systems (including ethnicity, linguistic identity, religious background, age, gender and sociocultural respect norms) on the acceptance or refusal of offers? To answer these questions, I will rely on the presentation and analysis of postcolonial pragmatic components in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.2), Chapter 3 (Section 3.4), Chapter 4 (Section 4.4) and Chapter 5 (Section 5.5). The data used in this chapter include, besides the DCT questionnaire, excerpts from the over 40 individual and group interviews I conducted in Cameroon and Ghana in 2009 and 2010 respectively.

The discussion here is not limited to offer situations alone but also includes behaviour in other interactional contexts involving both intra-lingual and inter-lingual choices. Focus is on four aspects that potentially index the emergence of a hybrid postcolonial set of norms and patterns of behaviour in postcolonial multilingual societies. These aspects which are described below are: (1) language identities and linguistic in-group building (6.1), (2) ethnic or tribal in-group relationships (6.2), (3) religious belonging and corresponding societal expectations (6.3), and (4) social roles and collectivist group expectations (6.4).

By describing these patterns below, I aim to explicate the societal norms that guide social interaction, the linguistic resources speakers make use of and the individual-to-group relationships that exist between members and their society. That social interaction heavily follows societal norms in these postcolonial societies has been elaborately illustrated in the previous chapters. What motivates them and why speakers choose certain norms together with corresponding linguistic forms in specific contexts and with specific interlocutors is the focus of this chapter.

6.1 Language identities and linguistic in-groups

Negotiating linguistic identities to suit societal exigencies of age, respect, deference, in-group bonding, etc. is a common feature of postcolonial life. Speakers navigate through these exigencies using competences acquired from their family circles, immediate external social context or community, educational systems, religious institutions they belong to and their networks of professional, occupational, tribal or ethnic interactions. Each of these networks functions using a given language(s) on which members – both normative and opportunistic – build linguistic identities that index belonging to the same (linguistic) in-group.

These linguistic and alignment competences, as the excerpt below from an interview with an anglophone Cameroonian child living in Yaounde (a predominantly French-speaking town) illustrates, are generally acquired early in life. Members, therefore, become competent in them and hence require little effort to switch identities, topics, modes, alignments, levels of formality and cooperativeness as they switch from one language to another.

Child: I talk country talk with my mother. I talk Pidgin and country talk with my sister and brothers. I talk French when I play with my friends. I talk English and Pidgin in school. (Tanyi 1978: 10)

The different languages the child speaks correspond to different interlocutors, contexts of usage, speaker relationships, level of formality, language functions and identity. While the country talk, i.e. the indigenous language, for instance, marks the intimate home and family domain, English is a formal code used in school. Pidgin cuts across both the home and formal domains (cf. Anchimbe and Janney 2017). So, context, role relationships, language, interlocutor and identity define choices in interpersonal and intergroup communication in postcolonial societies – as explained in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

To further illustrate this, I focus below on the construction of identities on languages, especially the official and ethnic languages, speakers' use of the multilingual resources at their disposal through, for instance, code-switching, and patterns of linguistic victimisation and identity opportunism. With excerpts from the interviews, I explore speakers' intentions and motivations in their acceptance or refusal of offers in different contexts, with different interlocutors, performing different identities, adopting different role relationships and speaking different languages.

6.1.1 Linguistic identities on ex-colonial languages

With the introduction of European languages during 18th–19th Century colonisation, a new language identity was created in the colonised areas. For Ghana, only one colonial language (English) was introduced thereby creating only one new language identity. But in Cameroon, the introduction of two colonial languages (English and French) after World War 1 when the former colonial power Germany was defeated resulted in a complex web of language identities, i.e. between French and English on the one hand and the indigenous languages and Pidgin English on the other. Though short-lived, German had also become an identity icon for educated Cameroonian elite during German colonialism (1884–1916). France and Britain waged a de-Germanisation campaign in the 1920s that almost completely wiped out this linguistic identity possibility (see Anchimbe 2013b, Tabi-Manga 2000, Vernon-Jackson 1967). Whereas Ghanaians only deal with one official language besides the indigenous languages and Pidgin English (see 6.1.2 below), Cameroonians have two official languages besides their ethnic languages and Pidgin. The outcome is that Cameroonians tend to identify themselves mostly as francophones (French) or anglophones (English) rather than, for example, as Pidginophones (Pidgin) (see Nkwain 2014), Ngembaphones (Ngemba), Basaaphones (Basa) or Fulfuldephones (Fulfulde).³³

Many ethnic groups are incorporated in the labels anglophones and francophones. As Wolf (2001: 223) points out, in Cameroon, “the feeling of unity is so strong that ‘being Anglophone’ denotes a new ethnicity, transcending older ethnic ties.” Building ethnic-like identities around an ‘imposed’ colonial language illustrates the extent to which these languages have been indigenised and are appropriated for social bonding within in-groups. Similar conclusions on the strong identity functions of English and French in Cameroon – what Anchimbe (2005) refers to as *anglophonism* and *francophonism* – have been made by Eyoh (1998), Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003), Mforteh (2007), Anchimbe (2007a, 2007c, 2010). I will illustrate how attachment to these two languages impacts on social behaviour with an excerpt from a female Cameroonian interviewee. In response to the question if the choice of English, the anglophone in-group language, in an offer situation would push her to accept the offer, the respondent indicated she would normally react positively to such offers (219).

33. These are indigenous Cameroonian languages.

(219) CaF-I1 & CaF-I2, both 35–40, Yaounde

Q: If you met someone on the bus and the person spoke to you in English, would you move closer to the person or will you still stay far away until you know where exactly that person is from?

CaF-I1: Considering the context in which we are in Cameroon, you know, there is that division, francophone and anglophone, so when we are travelling and you identify your brother anglophone or your sister anglophone, you will find yourself relating more to that person. Because you really identify with the person, so, it is very difficult to refuse an offer from such a person because you already know this is my brother, my sister from the same zone. So, you will, I think for me, I will not refuse...

In Example (219), the 35–40 year-old female Cameroonian interviewee constructs an anglophone in-group into which she places herself and anyone else who speaks to her in English. This in-group is as closely-knit as a family related through kinship. She refers to such speakers of English as her “brother anglophone or sister anglophone”, and states categorically that she would accept an offer if it were performed in English. Here, the identity marker is the ex-colonial language, English, and it is pitted against French, another ex-colonial language. In-group members tend to be considered along family or kinship lines as brothers and sisters.

Language, therefore, indexes both linguistic identity and social belonging since – as a marker of group identity – it obliges anyone who aligns with or speaks the language to abide by a certain set of in-group norms (cf. Section 2.2.2). Postcolonial life incorporates the complex relationships between languages and speakers in the construction and instantiation of various layers of individual and group identities, group social norms and expected or default sociolinguistic behaviour.

6.1.2 Linguistic identities on ethnic languages

British colonial administrations in Cameroon and Ghana encouraged indigenous language identities as part of their divide-and-rule system. For instance, by adopting indigenous languages as medium of instruction in primary schools, the British colonial administration added a new stratum of social prestige to them. The popularity of these schools can be illustrated using the Cameroonian experience where in 1927 British Cameroons operated 299 vernacular schools in which 7,155 children were enrolled (Todd 1982).

While the ex-colonial, official languages index formal interactions associated with education, administration, law, etc. the indigenous languages rather index ethnic group affiliations, roles, expectations and responsibilities which ideally include “one’s cultural, tribal, and family affiliations, one’s matrixes of relations to

others at home, the rules governing respect and proper behaviour towards them, one's responsibilities for their wellbeing, and so forth" (Anchimbe and Janney 2017: 108). An ethnic language identity, Anchimbe (2013b: 153) explains, is "an inevitable result of identification with a village, an ethnic group, its historical origins, and its language. The native language is part of a village and its culture and is, therefore, inseparable from the people's heritage." Being located geographically in a particular region or village, an ethnic language identity excludes all those outside this region. In it, people feel at home in the inner circle of their original homes where non-members are shut out. Through an ethnic language, secrets of the group are shared confidentially especially in heavily multilingual situations. However, when the language is used far out of its geographical home, it sometimes, Examples (220–221) show, does not grant automatic access to the group there perhaps because of urbanisation and the corresponding opportunistic tendencies people adopt to survive.

In the interviews I conducted in Ghana and Cameroon, two levels of attachment to the ethnic language can be found. In the first, interviewees said they would immediately consider anyone who spoke or offered to them in their ethnic language as a brother or sister (220) and, in the second, they said they would be more careful or cautious because it could be a trap (221) by perhaps an opportunistic (non-native) out-group speaker of the language. Even though, the female Cameroonian interviewee in (220) would create a kinship-like relationship to the person who speaks her indigenous language, she is, however, not ready to accept an offer of, especially food, but perhaps a good perfume.

(220) CaF-I3, 45–50, Bamenda

Q: What if that person spoke your indigenous language?

A: Good, I take you as my brother or my sister.

Q: And you would accept the offer without any problems?

A: It depends what kind of offer. To begin with, I am a very choosy person when it comes to eating, I am very choosy. So you cannot just pull me around with your fingers to let me eat something that I don't like. But I like good perfumes, if you offer me a good perfume, I will take it.

Besides the above, encountering the native language in a foreign context where it is normally not expected to be spoken is also received with suspicion and caution (221). Because of inter-ethnic suspicion and the fear of identity opportunism (Anchimbe 2006b), group members are often reluctant to open in-group boundaries to others simply because they speak the ethnic language especially in urban contexts far away from the village. In Example (221) from Ghana, the interviewee signals he would be careful if someone he does not know offered to him in a far off location in his ethnic language. It might simply be a ploy.

(221) GaM-II, 40–45, Kumasi

Q: If you found yourself far away where you don't expect someone to speak Twi, and someone offered you a drink in Twi. Would you feel pushed to accept?

A: Oh! Maybe, for instance, I don't know the place and he will be the one who will be a link to the community because he is speaking my language. Hmm, that is not ehn, something that would let me to take a drink or whatever. I told you I am very selective in things like drinks and going to restaurants even to eat. Maybe after offering me a drink, I would say 'thank you'. I wouldn't, that wouldn't be – what should I say – something that should open the way for me to take a drink from the person.

Q: Even if he spoke Twi.

A: Yes, even if he spoke Twi. Because I have so many people here who speak Twi, once I come in contact with them, I don't take drinks from them. So, that wouldn't be a yard stick or something which would let me to take something from any person who speaks maybe Twi. I am not there.

Although the respondent in (221) allocates the offeree the role of “a link to the community” he still would not accept the offer of a drink. This is perhaps because Twi, his ethnic language, is now extensively used as a lingua franca by L2 and L3 speakers in Ghana. It has somehow lost its unique ethnic ownership especially in urban centres far away from its geographical home. And it is exactly for this reason that postcolonial urban dwellers adopt new layers of flexible and malleable (linguistic) identities to cope with societal constellations and to manage their survival.

From Excerpt (221) and as explained in Section 2.2.2c, ethnic boundaries tend to be well-guarded and are only opened if interlocutors prove to be genuine members of the ethnic group. Language – at least beyond the regional boundaries of the group – is not an ultimate factor in opening in-group boundaries but must be complemented by other factors for access to the in-group to be granted (see 6.1.4 below).

6.1.3 Multilingualism and code-switching

Multilingualism is an important resource in postcolonial societies. Speakers use the different languages in their multilingual repertoires to navigate through the speaker-based, context-based requirements of daily communication. Normally, a standard urban dweller in a multilingual postcolonial city uses up to three languages in the course of a day: an ethnic language at home, a Pidgin with the immediate social environment and an official language at work or in school. To these we could add regional indigenous lingua francas like Twi in Ghana, Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa in Nigeria, or co-official languages like French and English in Cameroon. Code-switching is, therefore, inevitable. It has become, as illustrated

in 4.4.5 (Chapter 4), an indicator of speaker statuses and intentions (cf. Anchimbe 2015). With switching, discourse strategies in the different languages as well as their native speakers' cultural assumptions, attitudes and modes of thought are mixed or carried over into other language(s). The outcome is hybridism at the discourse and pragmatic levels.

However, bilingual or multilingual speakers may simply react adaptively to changes in interlocutor constellations and contexts by switching to the language that enables them interact successfully. For example, in (222), the 45–50 year-old female Cameroonian interviewee has no problems operating in English or French in the areas of the country where these languages are predominantly spoken.

(222) CaF-I3, 45–50, Bamenda

Q: If you happen to be in the French-speaking zone or area in Cameroon and someone you don't know comes up to you and offers you something, maybe food or a drink by speaking first of all in English.

A: I don't know what you call French-speaking zone. I am comfortable in French, so I don't have any barriers when it comes to French or English.

The adaptive capabilities of the respondent in (222) can be compared to the radio host described in Example (9) in Chapter 2 who switches from English (the default language of her programme) to CPE to play the social role of a mother or to French to accommodate to the linguistic needs of her interlocutor – all in the course of the same 45-minute broadcast.

In (223) – an excerpt from an interview conducted by Schröder (2003: 126) with a male anglophone Cameroonian high school teacher in Bamenda – the 'partner' and 'language' motivating the switch are defined according to education. Switching languages is, therefore, indexical of addressee (educational) status and how speakers select codes that suit this status.

(223) Q: And what language do you speak with your close friends?

A: Mostly English. Mostly English for those who are educated. Then for those who are not, we speak either the native language or Pidgin.

Examples (222–223) show that languages in postcolonial societies have normative functions and speakers and are indicative of the different ways in which societal stratification and categorisation is realised, for instance, through education and ethnicity. The quote from the young anglophone child in Yaounde in 1978 used above simply confirms this.

In the 200 DCT dialogues, many instances of code-switching can be found ranging from nominal switches as in "Agya, [parent] you may have my seat" (GaF8) to inter-sentential switches like "Papa, abeg shiddon" [*Papa, I beg (please) sit down*] (CaF9). Like in (223), these code-switches to Twi and Pidgin respectively index

respect, social status and interlocutor statuses vis-à-vis one another. The switch to the Twi word “Agya” (parent) is a nominal symbol of the addressee’s status as an adult member of the society who is old enough to be a parent to the speaker. As a parent, s/he deserves the same amount of respect due one’s biological parents. This indigenous ethnic social norm can best be realised using the indigenous language word and not a foreign indigenised language like English – hence the code-switch.

On another level, the switch to CPE in “Papa, abeg shiddon” (CaF9) from offer situation 3 is to accommodate the addressee’s linguistic competence. The speaker is apparently not sure if the old man speaks English or the ethnic language. Since CPE is the communal, social bonding lingua franca, it becomes a suitable option in this situation. CPE provides the informal, kinship and familial address form “Papa” through which the speaker performs the respect expectations of the society towards the old man. The switch here does not hurt the kinship asymmetrical relationship created through “Papa”; it further illustrates how speakers’ multilingual competences facilitate their adaptive negotiations of meaning, relationships and respect.

6.1.4 Linguistic victimisation and identity opportunism

Linguistic victimisation (see Anchimbe 2007a, 2012) refers to situations where people become victims of exclusion, insult and even torture because of the language they speak or are identified with. It is common in communities that have competing languages and (groups of) speakers. Languages and their speakers could be targets of victimisation: the language could be marginalised or banned in certain contexts while its speakers could be prohibited to use the language in certain contexts – possibly exposing the language to attrition, shift and extinction. With their multiethnic setups, postcolonial communities are sites of linguistic and inter-ethnic competition which gives rise to various forms of “strategic language switching or mixing that enable speakers to take advantage of situational opportunities or avoid threats by projecting different identities or playing different roles” (Anchimbe and Janney 2017: 116) in what Anchimbe (2006b) terms *identity opportunism*. For more on linguistic victimisation and identity opportunism, see Anchimbe (2007a: 70–71, 2006b, 2012).

In-group members are vigilant to spot and exclude people who switch to their language only to benefit opportunistically from the group. Even though switching of this nature is normal in these extensively multilingual postcolonial societies, speakers who do not do it appropriately may be subject to linguistic victimisation by the normative speakers of the language. In Excerpt (224), the 25–30 year-old female Ghanaian interviewee – conscious of the phenomenon of identity opportunism – says she would ensure the offerer is truly an Ewe native speaker, i.e. someone from the Ewe-speaking region, before accepting them into the in-group. As she explains,

she would test the speaker's competence in Ewe to be sure they are genuine before accepting an offer from them. By guarding in-group boundaries, speakers create a confidential and safe space within which they enact their indigenous ethnic identity according to the norms of their group.

(224) GaF-I1, 25–30, Accra

Q: If you found yourself in a town where you don't expect Ewe to be spoken and a stranger walks up to you, speaks Ewe and then offers you something in Ewe, would that make you to accept?

A: Ehm, in this case, the person knows me.

Q: S/he doesn't know you, or you don't know if s/he knows you and you don't know him or her.

A: I think initially I will be surprised, but another aspect too, I may think maybe the person is only trying to play some tricks because in Ghana here we believe those who are light-skinned may be coming from the Volta Region. Mostly some people also say that by looking at your face they can tell whether you are a Voltarian. You know, there are some people who are so trickish [sic] in a way that if he has these facts, he can speak the Ewe very well whether he is from Volta Region or wherever. He may try to play that type of trick. So, I think I will have to observe the person very well. If the person is a true Ewe speaker, for instance, there are certain words that he should be able to understand in Ewe. Hahaha.

Q: So would that make you to accept the offer?

A: Yes, if I realise that this person is genuine I will accept it.

Q: And if you suspect the person is not genuine?

A: I will just say 'thank you' and I will make fun of it and I won't accept it anyway.

In order to succeed in identity opportunism and hence avoid victimisation, members of postcolonial societies must be able to construct, adapt or adopt identities convincingly by fluently switching across languages. If the offerer in (224) is indeed a native Ewe person who unfortunately does not speak Ewe well, perhaps because s/he grew up out of the region, their offer would be rejected and they will not be granted access to the Ewe in-group. However, if the offerer is only using an opportunistic identity to benefit from the Ewe in-group, s/he would effectively not be granted access to the group.

From the illustrations in Sections 6.1.1–6.1.4 above, we see the different layers of language identities that postcolonial speakers construct and negotiate regularly. As shown in Figure 6.1, the four possible language identities – official language identity, Pidgin identity, regional language identity and ethnic language identity – are attached to different functions and role expectations.

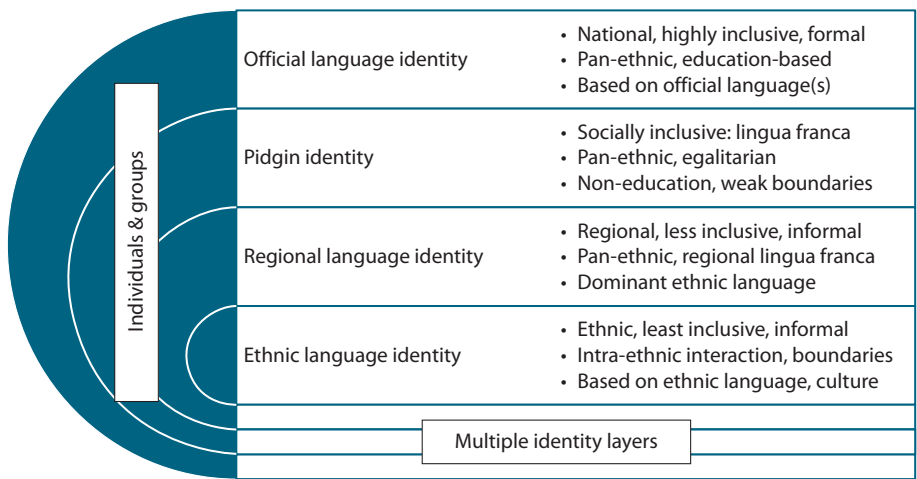


Figure 6.1 Language identity layers in postcolonial societies

The inclusiveness of these language identity groups depends on the normative speakers or those who have access to them who have the power to open and close group boundaries. For the indigenous ethnic languages, access is granted through birth into the ethnic group while for the official language access is granted through knowledge of the language often acquired through the educational system. Pidgins and the regional lingua francas are somewhere in-between since they can be learned as native languages and as lingua francas.

6.2 Ethnic or tribal in-group relationships

As illustrated in Chapter 2, ethnicity and ethnic group norms play a central role in the way people in postcolonial societies align themselves with and within their ethnic groups as well as with other members of the ethnic group. Identification and alignment are fundamental for the collectivist thrust of these postcolonial societies because individuals are expected to submerge their face needs into the public esteem of the ethnic group, and usually have to value themselves in the extent to which the group’s esteem is positively valued both by themselves and others. In Figure 6.1, ethnic identity is the least inclusive, i.e. of non-ethnic group members, but the most intimate and secure for in-group members. The third-party effect or onlooker response, explained in Chapter 2, functions well at the level of ethnic group identity. Here, anyone who violates the social norms of the group is not castigated as an individual but as a member of a family or a clan or another sub-group within the bigger ethnic entity.

Ethnicity serves as a marker of ethnic in-group identity in multiethnic post-colonial contexts. In these multiethnic contexts, ethnic groups constantly compete as each tries to project its public image above that of other competing groups. With this competition comes stereotyping and bias, which are often so strong that inter-ethnic communication is sometimes strained by them. As the interview excerpts below indicate, people would turn down offers from members of those ethnic groups that have negative stereotypes attached to them. So, as explained above, inter-ethnic suspicion effectively influences both linguistic and physical behaviour in inter-ethnic interactions. I focus on two issues below: ethnic in-groups as identity markers and ethnicity as a target for stereotyping.

6.2.1 Ethnicity as identity marker

Although ethnic identities based on ethnic groups are the typical forms of ethnic identification, in some postcolonial societies, new ethnic-like identities are also constructed based on colonial linguistic heritages. In Cameroon, for example, the anglophones, Wolf (2003) holds, consider the unity amongst them as strong as in an ethnic group. This ethnic-like in-group, Anchimbe (2005, 2010) explains, supposedly has its origins in the Anglo-Saxon tradition and ways of life inherited from British colonialism, and is characterised by moral rectitude, orderliness, respectfulness and the rule of law. Adherence to this identity in-group is said to be as strong as adherence to an ethnic group. The analyses in Sections 3.4.5 (Chapter 3), 4.4.3 (Chapter 4) and 5.4.3 (Chapter 5) illustrate the salience of ethnicity in post-colonial societies.

The esteem of the group and its values vis-à-vis other competing groups in the postcolonial society are protected and promoted by the extent to which members are ready to fight for their group, to abide by its social norms, to project themselves in ways that positively value their group, and to guard in-group boundaries against opportunistic intrusions by non-members. The following Excerpt (225) from Ola Rotimi's play *The Gods Are not to Blame* (1971, Nigeria) portrays the solid allegiance members show towards their (ethnic, tribal, etc.) group. It signals the centrality of belonging to a group, defending that group and fulfilling its expectations – both in speech and behaviour. Odewale, the main character, kills a man because that man's insult pushes him to defend the esteem, identity, integrity and face of his tribe.

- (225) Aderopo: Prostrating himself. Your...highness.
 Odewale: My brother, I have done you so much wrong with my grave suspicions.

- Aderopo: It is nothing, your highness...It is the way the gods meant it to happen.
- Odewale: Do not blame the gods. Let no one blame the powers. My people, learn from my fall. The powers would have failed if I did not let them use me. They knew my weakness: the weakness of **a man easily moved to the defence of his tribe**. I once slew a man in Ede. I could have spared him. But he spat on the tribe I thought was my tribe. The man laughed, and laughing he called me a **'man from the bush tribe of Ijekun.'** And I lost my reason.

This excerpt proves that in these collectivist societies, “one’s individual weaknesses could be insulted but those of the tribe, when insulted, members feel obliged to arise and defend them” (Anchimbe and Janney 2011a: 1454). Evidently, Odewale does not kill the man because he calls him a ‘bush man’ but rather because he calls the tribe he believes is his “the bush tribe of Ijekun.” His individuality is submerged into the collectivity of his tribe and his integrity lies in the degree to which he is part of this tribe’s values and norms – which is why he feels obliged to defend them.

6.2.2 Ethnicity as a target for stereotyping

Ethnic stereotyping also influences linguistic behaviour in postcolonial societies. The type of stereotype attached to an ethnic group influences the way non-members treat members of that ethnic group. In Ghana as well as in Cameroon, ethnic group stereotyping is common and is proof of the inherent competitions between groups. Offers of food or drinks – potentially delicate to the offeree’s wellbeing if consumed – are only accepted in these two postcolonial societies, the excerpts below confirm, if the offerer’s ethnic group is not stigmatised for one evil or another.

In (226–227), the interviewees claim they would not accept offers from members of the Bayangi and Bamileke ethnic groups in Cameroon and an unnamed tribe in Ghana because these tribes are noted for “voodoo...sorcery, magic” (226) or because “when they die, they go, they come back” (227) or because “they are involved in sects” (228).

(226) GaF-I2, 20–25, Accra

Q: What would be your first reaction if you found yourself in a situation where you know someone is from a given tribe which is known for this or that. Would you accept an offer from that person?

A: Ok, I will be careful, obviously. I will be very careful because some people are reputed to be this way or that way. There are some people here in Ghana who are so much into, I don’t know if you call it, voodoo, you know, a kind of sorcery, magic – I don’t know what to call it. But it’s got a lot of superstitious connotations.

Q: Which tribe is that?

A: Please (laughter), this is an interview, my reputation is at stake here. So, maybe, there are certain people with whom you will have to be extra careful but like I said, you meet others who are considered to be so prim and proper. There are some tribes, they are considered to be, you know, there are the elites of the country but they are equally crooked. It is just that, maybe they got the prestige from their forbears – they made a very good impression and some were unfortunate enough to have ancestors who didn't, you know, make the mark. So, all their descendants have to pay for the sins of their fathers.

The refusal of an offer of a drink (Situation 1) and food (Situation 3) in the DCT questionnaire could also be as a result of the stereotype attached to the offerer's ethnic group. Ethnic group allegiances are inherited and could, therefore, be cross-generational. The Ghanaian respondent in (226) insinuates that stereotypes are also inherited and could be the fault of the group's forefathers who did not work hard enough to earn for the group a good name, i.e. a good (collectivist) public self image or face (cf. Goffman 1967). Clearly, colonial divisions of peoples into nations and other administrative groups only helped to intensify these stereotypes. Certain administrative districts have become synonymous with the dominant ethnic groups therein thereby spreading the dominant group's stereotype to other smaller ethnic groups in the district. For instance, the Western Region in Cameroon is not inhabited only by the Bamilekes; but in (228), a stereotype often identified with the Bamilekes is extended to include the whole region.

From (227), we gather that even people who live in a particular area for a long time could be treated or victimised in the same way as members of the ethnic group of that area. Respondent CaF-I3 will not accept an offer not only from a Bayangi person but also anybody, including members of her own ethnic group, who have lived in the Bayangi area for up to 20 years. This indicates how negative stereotypes also lead to blurred ethnic boundaries.

(227) CaF-I4, 25–30 & CaM-I2, 35–40, Bamenda (cf. Example (10), Chapter 2)

Q: So you will turn it [the offer] down if you knew that person is from a given ethnic group?

CaM-I2: (male) Good, from a particular ethnic group that is, let's say, is suspicious, I will not consume the offer.

Q: Just tell me, any ethnic group?

CaM-I2: No, I don't have any (laughs).

CaF-I4: (female) (smiles) You know, it is not good calling names here, but ehh, you know, it is a matter of research, research purpose?

Q: hmm, yes.

- CaF-I4: I will say; we get to the South West, the Bayangis. I fear that tribe wholeheartedly from what I have been hearing and they confirm it themselves. Like, you know, when they die, they go, they come back. I don't know how far that is true. But coming from their mouth, I would say, they usually say, get the news from the horse's own mouth. When I get to areas like that I am very very scared. My acquaintance to people, my approach, my manner of approaching to people changes automatically.
- Q: So you would think of turning down an offer if you knew this is a Bayangi person?
- CaF-I4: From that zone, from that area. Even you are from the North West Region or you are [from] my tribe and you've been living there for over 15, 20 years, I am just going to be scared. I will be scared all through until I get out of that place.

While the Ghanaian interviewee in (226) above does not name a tribe because her "reputation is at stake here" (226), the Cameroonians quickly do so. In (227–228), although the question is limited to ethnicities, the interviewees expand it to cover administrative regions like the Western province (228) and non-ethnic group members who have lived in a given area for long.

(228) CaF-I1 & CaF-I2, both 35–40, Yaounde

- Q: You know people from different ethnic groups in Cameroon like the Bamilekes, the Ewondos, Wum and so forth. Would you normally not accept an offer from someone because of his or her ethnic group?
- CaF-I1: Of course.
- Q: For instance.
- CaF-I1: For instance the people from Western province. They are involved in sects, what they call, in quotes, "nyongo", yes.
- Q: So you will normally not accept because the person is from the West?
- CaF-I1: I don't even make friendship with them. For you can make a friend with that type of a person and you find yourself far.

By invoking ethnicity in the analysis of postcolonial data, we are able to understand the underlying tensions that motivate speakers' verbal and physical choices in different contexts and with different partners, using one language or another. From a postcolonial pragmatics perspective, these extra-linguistic factors carry shades of meaning that are certainly not always discernible from the language use alone.

6.3 Religious belonging

A postcolonial pragmatic component that has been central in the hybridism of postcolonial social behaviour is religion. Religion is deep-seated in most postcolonial societies where today God is considered the solution to all problems. Religion also serves as an identity marker and provides a platform for various forms of alignment. The discussions in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 on the role of religion in offers and offer refusals are proof of the strong importance people attach to their religious belonging – both Christianity and Islam, and how religion is an untouchable issue. We see this in the number of times religion is successfully used as a reason to refuse an offer.

To ascertain the indispensability of religion in social communication in postcolonial contexts, I will describe some of the functions it plays in the lives of postcolonial citizens, including its status as a code of conduct, as a source of protection and healing, as a target for stigmatisation and as symbol of an egalitarian social institution.

6.3.1 Religion as a (moral) code of conduct

In postcolonial societies, alignment with, and respect for, religious values and doctrines have transformed religion into a moral code of conduct, a way of life and a lens for viewing almost everything else in the society. Patterns of social behaviour are now controlled by religious expectations and religious sacred books. In Situation 3 of the DCT questionnaire analysed in Chapter 4, the younger interlocutor uses Bible verses to justify their offer of a seat to the old man, for instance, “Daddy, the Bible says honour your mother and father that your days may be long on earth” (GaM8, cf. Example 142). In other instances, religious canons like fasting, praying, abstinence, etc. are invoked by (both Muslim and Christian) respondents to justify or explicate their behaviour.

In the interviews, Ghanaians and Cameroonians underscored the centrality of religion in their linguistic and social behaviour. Both in self-discipline (229) and in offering to others (230), religion is often cited as the ethical basis. In (229), the 40–45 year-old male Ghanaian interviewee does not place stereotypes on ethnic groups because of his religious background as a Christian. As he says in his last turn, he has to “behave accordingly” if he wants others to appreciate his religious background.

(229) GaM-I2, 40–45, Accra

Q: That makes Ghana different from Cameroon because many people in Cameroon said they would refuse offers from specific ethnic groups.

A: I think I would not, considering my background and the little thing that I have learnt I would not say that a particular ethnic group is bad but I know there are culture differences.

Q: What do you mean by your background?

A: By my background, what I want to talk about is; my background as a Christian. I think when I move up to the North, when I want to get you to be a Christian, I have to behave accordingly. I was speaking from that sense.

Here, religion is not only a code of conduct but also a moral alignment entity whose social values are considered superior, moral and ideal. The interviewee's reference to the North (229) suggests he is talking about another religious group, i.e. the Muslims, who, for him, should be converted to Christianity. Besides religious alignment, we also see a religion-based geographical division of the country which insinuates that the North of Ghana is inhabited by Muslims and the South by Christians. This division also exists in Cameroon, Nigeria and many other countries in West Africa (cf. Anchimbe 2006b).

Apart from the religious alignment captured in (229), the 25–30 year-old female Cameroonian interviewee in (230) uses a religious belief to justify her decision to offer. For her, God blesses those who offer gifts to others, i.e. “when you give something to somebody, the heavens bless you.” For such blessings to be received, both offerer and offeree have to cooperate, and because the offeree in (230) does not cooperate, she, the offerer, is not happy.

(230) CaF-I4, 25–30, Buea

Q: What did you give her?

A: I gave her a dress...She said, ‘no, no thanks, no thanks.’ She needed it but since she doesn’t know how to give, it was like a challenge but that was not my ulterior motif, you know. I offered in-toto but she denied.

Q: Were you disappointed?

A: I was not disappointed. I was not surprised, but I told her, I said ‘you are refusing me blessings’ because when you give something to somebody, the heavens bless you. So, I told her ‘you have refused me receiving my blessings from above.’

The Christian belief of giving to other people and receiving blessings from God in (230) is somehow similar to the collectivist cultural norm of offering to other members in these group cultures. Even though the Christians expect to be blessed by the heavens, God, the Bible also explains, indeed works through other people.

So, the logic is that since we all are expected to offer, we should also normally be offered to. It is a circle of offering to others and receiving from others. A syncretism of (foreign) religious doctrines and indigenous cultural norms seems to have taken place thereby yielding a hybrid system in which social expectations shape how people interact.

6.3.2 Religion as a target of stigmatisation

Like ethnicity, religion is also a target of stigmatisation. In Ghana and Cameroon, religious groups have been ethnicised, i.e. they are attributed ethnic features and are hence treated as ethnic groups. In Excerpts (231–232), the reference “Northerners” stands for the predominantly Muslim north which, though ethnically-diverse, is now conceived of as an ethnic-like entity. So, religion and geographical location are used here as the basis for attributing ethnic-like qualities to the Northerners. This is evident in (231), where although the question is about “ethnic stereotypes”, the respondent characterises the north as an ethnic group on the basis of religion.

The interviewee in (231) is a (Muslim) Northerner and even refers to himself as “a typical Northerner, full-fledged Northerner” – confirming the ethnic classification even though he disapproves of the negative attributes that accompany it. The Northerners – an opportunistic religious in-group – are compared in (231) to the Ashantis – an ethnic group defined by many other features than simply religion. In the label “Northerners”, religion serves as a unifying element for in-group members but is rather appropriated as a target of stigmatisation by non-group members.

(231) GaM-I3, 30–35, Accra

Q: What about ethnic stereotypes?

A: I think we the Northerners sometimes have this perception that the Ashantis look down upon Northerners. So, I for one, as Kofi would say, I am a typical Northerner, full-fledged Northerner. So, when I am dealing with an Ashanti, I try to tread cautiously not to allow myself for him or her to use it to humiliate me because when you do, I will hit back. I think it manifests itself in so many ways. Even in ethnic marriages, it is also believed that when Northerners get married to Ashanti women they treat them well but when Ashanti men get married to Northern women they don't treat them well.

A similar ethnification of the Muslim north also takes place in Cameroon. What stops interviewee CaF-I2 in (232) from accepting offers from Northerners in Cameroon is their religion, which is now used to define them as an ethnic group. Religion is presented in (232) as the source of the supposed violence of people from the north, e.g. “they walk with knives...to stab you.”

(232) CaF-I1 & CaF-I2, both 35–40, Yaounde

CaF-I2: ... I would not say the west but people from the north; we call them Hausas. Looking at their religion and also their indecency, at times they offer me certain things I will not like to take because it's like they have a stigma from us southerners. So such people will scare me from receiving anything from them.

Q: Things like food, drinks?

CaF-I2: Anything whatsoever.

Q: Because they are northerners? Ok, if you knew the person is a northerner and he offers to give you a lift in his car, and you need the lift, what would you do?

CaF-I2: That's the worst; giving a lift. We have heard stories where people have carried other people just for helping and they take you to another destination either they kill you or they take away parts of your body and things like that. So, in our society, normally if you don't know somebody it is very difficult to accept that kind of offer not to talk of those wajos,³⁴ as we call them. They walk with knives and things like that; so you don't know. You don't know if they will one time remove their daggers or whatever to stab you. So, such offers are not welcomed.

The pattern of social labelling and stereotyping in (231–232) is a common element in multiethnic postcolonial contexts where groups are constantly involved in various forms of competition and inter-ethnic or inter-group suspicion. In (232), the Hausa ethnic group, who are mostly Muslims, are now aligned to the north because of their religion, even though they are found in many parts of the South of Cameroon as well. In contrast, the Southerners are considered Christians but are not treated as one ethnic entity as the Northerners are. For example, in (231), the speaker makes an ethnic-like distinction between Northerners on the one hand and the Ashantis (not Southerners) on the other. The Ashantis are only one ethnic group in the South. The interviewee in (232) uses the derogatory reference “wajo” for Muslims which captures the negative stereotypes often identified with them.

6.3.3 Religion as source of protection and healing

In Ghana and Cameroon, religion, especially Christianity, is also considered as a source of protection and healing. The belief in an all-powerful supernatural being(s) in indigenous African religions and the Christian belief in an almighty God seem to syncretise in this reliance on religion for protection and healing. In both religions,

34. A derogatory term used to refer to Muslims, especially from the North of Cameroon.

there is an invisible power(s) that works mysteriously. The existence of such an indigenous religious experience in Africa certainly facilitated the acceptance of Western religion in these societies. Their syncretism or hybridism today has also been facilitated by similarities in their underlying belief systems.

In Example (233), the 35–40 year-old female Cameroonian respondent would accept offers from anybody but would rely on God to protect her from any potential harm borne in the offers, e.g. poisoning, witchcraft, etc. All she needs to do is “pray before accepting or using it.” Here, religion seems to take over the in-group boundary checks that members normally conduct to determine whom to associate with, to open group boundaries to, etc.

(233) CaF-I1 & CaF-I2, both 35–40, Yaounde (cf. Example 4)

CaF-I1: ... So, you will, I think, for me, I will not refuse any offer but then considering the fact that I am a Christian, so, anything that I receive I pray and I know nothing evil can happen to me. So, I don't have that much fear.

(234) (cf. Example 144)

GaM3	Old Man:	When I sit down, standing up becomes a
Age: 17–25		problem.
Ind.L: Ewe	You:	I will be near you and help you to get up.
Usage: Very Often	Old Man:	It is the pains at the waist that matters.
L1: Ewe, English	You:	Focus on Jesus and you'll be surprise this
Town: Accra		pain disappears before the end of the church
Edu: A/L		service.

Religion is also given the role of a doctor or a healer. The Christian religious figure Jesus, Example (234) suggests, could heal the old man of his waist pains if only the old man focused on him. By surrendering the tasks of protection and healing to religion, we understand the powerful status (Western) religion enjoys in postcolonial societies. It perhaps makes sense, because as said above, these societies already had similar religious figures (gods, deities) and systems (ancestral belief) on which they relied for protection, healing and blessing.

6.3.4 Religion as an egalitarian social institution

The Christian doctrine that everyone is equal before God – which normally goes against the highly socially-stratified structure of postcolonial societies – is also mentioned in the DCT questionnaire data. Although this occurs only once (235) and only in Cameroon, it captures a stage in the on-going hybridisation of the two belief systems. In (235), the old man in Situation 3 invokes this doctrine as a

justification for his refusal of the offer of a seat: “There is no such thing in God’s house.” Interestingly, the younger person now seems to symbolise the indigenous cultural norm in which old people deserve respect while the old man rather embodies an egalitarian religious social structure in which everyone is equal. It would have been expected to be the contrary. The old man may simply have used this egalitarian religious argument to get off the offer hook, and not that he really expects younger persons to abide by it.

(235)	CaF40	You:	Goodday Sir.
	Age: 17–25	Old man:	Goodday Dear
	Ind.L: Kenyang	You:	You may have my seat Sir.
	Usage: Seldom	Old man:	No thanks am ok.
	L1: Kenyang	You:	but sir...
	Town: Buea	Old man:	Don’t worry dear I’m fine.
	Edu: A/L	You:	It doesn’t look right for me to sit while you are standing sir.
		Old man:	There is no such thing in God’s house , moreover let me relax my old bones. God bless you my child.
		You:	And you too Sir.

That such a glaring juxtaposition of two competing systems is attested in the data is proof of the hybrid social systems of postcolonial societies studied under post-colonial pragmatics. These hybrid systems translate into communicative habits and linguistic choices which can only be understood if the entire social composition of the society is taken into account. The social roles and expectations studied in the next section also form part of these hybrid or hybridising systems.

6.4 Social roles and collectivist expectations

Postcolonial societies attribute social roles and expectations according to age, social status, kinship, gender and professions. People are, therefore, expected to perform those roles that match their age, social status, kinship relation, gender and profession if they want to be considered competent and acceptable members of the group. Where such roles are not performed the group could lose face or its public self-esteem in relation to other groups. In offer situation 1, the senior and junior colleagues co-construct an in-group within which each plays a specific role that enables their (professional) group to maintain its public esteem. While the senior insists that the junior colleague accepts the offer, the latter rather uses solid convincing reasons that enable him violate the role expected of him or her without causing harm to the public esteem of their group.

Similarly, in Situation 2 (Chapter 4), the old man evokes kinship intimacy to mitigate his refusal of the younger person's offer of a seat. The latter, in order not to be treated as a bad member of the group, adopts several persuasive strategies to convince the old man to accept the offer. Though peer equality in Situation 3 (Chapter 5) makes social norms less strict, we still see traces of them – both interlocutors justify their choices in the offer or refusal moves. By and large, these roles and expectations play significant functions in speakers' linguistic choices and their social behaviour in postcolonial societies. I explain some of them in brief below.

6.4.1 Kinship role expectations

Two recent studies that investigate kinship membership and role relationships in postcolonial contexts are Wong (2006) on Singaporean English and Anchimbe (2008) on Cameroon English. Though geographically far apart, these studies indicate that modern postcolonial societies conceive of kinship in a broader sense than individualistic Western societies. *Aunty* in Singapore has more than four meanings besides its family relationship meaning. Similarly, *uncle* in Cameroon often refers to far more referents than in the nuclear family context. Both could be used to address strangers with the aim of relocating relationships and interactions to kinship space where behaviour (e.g. respect, cooperation, formality, etc.) is prescribed by the natural order of age (cf. Anchimbe and Janney 2017).

So, in interaction, speakers adopt age-based kinship roles and then behave according to corresponding expectations of those roles. These roles could be seen in the way speakers address each other, e.g. "my son" in (236) below, or could be self-attributed in relation to the addressee, e.g. by addressing an old man 'father' one immediately considers himself or herself a 'child.' Kinship roles function both asymmetrically and symmetrically, e.g. mother-child, parent-child, uncle-nephew or niece, grandfather-grandchild, etc. (cf. Figure 4.4) are asymmetrical while brother-brother, sister-sister and brother-sister are generally symmetrical. In the following example, the female Cameroonian respondent attributes herself the role of a parent or mother when she refers to the school boy as "my son."

(236) CaF-I 5, 45–50, Yaounde

Q: Do you remember offering to someone whom you thought really needed it but the person turned it down?

A: Yes, talking about offers, it depends. Some people offer because they want to show off... But I think offering should come from your inside. You do it without any strings attached. For instance if I meet a young school boy, I know he is hungry, I offer a hundred francs, I say, 'my son, take this, buy puff-puff', I don't expect that boy to give me back tomorrow.

In this asymmetrical order, the boy is expected to accept this social role allocation and to treat the speaker as a parent or mother, i.e. by accepting the offer as if it were from his own mother. So, as illustrated in Chapter 2, kinship social roles transcend family relationships and are performed even with strangers. This is because the society as a whole is conceived of metaphorically as a family.

6.4.2 Age role expectations

As mentioned earlier, social relationships in postcolonial societies function exceedingly according to age role expectations. The pervasiveness of age in these societies can be traced to the indigenous cultures in which “an elder is usually not referred to by name by a younger person; doing so would be considered rude and patently uncouth” (Adegbiya 1989: 169) in Nigeria. In Cameroonian cultures, Kouega (1998: 46) explains, “it is somewhat irreverent to call an elderly person’s name without affixing a honorific title to it.” This social code of conduct is evident in the address strategies used in offer situations 1 and 2 studied in Chapters 3 and 4.

Age is also important in the attribution of social roles during interaction. The choice of address form is often guided by the age of the addressee. Mühleisen (2005: 209) states in relation to the Caribbean context that “the use of kinship extensions as address terms imply an intimate relationship between the interactants and give information about the age of the addressee.” The same person – in the course of their life – could be addressed as *Sissee*, *Auntie* or *Tants*, *Ma* and *Gran*. Each of these address terms requires a specific code of conduct on the part of the speaker as well as different role expectations on the part of the addressee and could range from verbal choices to physical etiquettes like bowing, stooping, avoiding eye contact, etc. African postcolonial societies exhibit the same expectations as the Caribbean and are even stricter given that there was no population displacement that disrupted the transmission of these indigenous cultural patterns as it was the case in the Caribbean.

Since age is a natural facet, anyone who does not abide by age-based social norms faces rejection from other members of the society through the onlooker response. The collectivist nature of these societies makes it possible for the third-party effect to be extended to other people linked to the ‘non-conforming’ member, e.g. siblings, family, clan, village or ethnic group. It could also lead to various forms of stigmatisation, stereotyping, discrimination, victimisation and ostracism not only of the individual but also of the group s/he is identified with. The discussion in Chapter 4 explains how this happens.

6.4.3 Occupational and professional role expectations

The example of the young anglophone child mentioned above signals the diverse types of diglossia found in most postcolonial societies. The official languages are used in formal public domains while the indigenous languages and Pidgins or Creoles are limited to the private home and ethnic domains. This diglossic distribution could be exploited for strategic pragmatic purposes, for example, “[s]peaking a language unknown to one’s partner or answering a partner in a language diverging from his or her momentary situational expectations is sometimes used in multilingual societies as a pragmatic avoidance strategy” (Anchimbe and Janney 2017: 112). So, deliberately using an official language where an indigenous ethnic language is expected could be to avoid abiding by the social norms and role relationships of that context (cf. Anchimbe 2011b: 1472–1473).

The numerous examples in Chapter 3 illustrate how professional role expectations oblige colleagues to behave in specific ways. The junior colleague observes the rule of name-avoidance or uses honorifics when talking to the senior colleague. Context (bar) does not influence this rule because it is deeply integrated into the sociocultural system, just like age-role expectations are. This notwithstanding, these sociocultural expectations are always smoothly incorporated into interaction even in multiethnic urban centres.

In defining the salience of postcolonial pragmatics, Anchimbe and Janney (2011a: 1455–1456) use the adaptive language-based roles played by an anglophone radio moderator in Cameroon. In her programme *Happy Birthday* – in which she visits mothers in hospital who have just given birth – she switches between English, CPE and French to signal different role relationships to both her listeners and her interviewees, the mothers. When she uses English, she projects her professional role as a journalist but when she switches to CPE it is to show intimacy towards an interviewee or to adopt a mother role towards an interviewee. In one instance, she adopts this mother figure in order to reprimand and then advice a young school girl who has just given birth. The girl meekly accepts the reprimand and advice as she would normally do with her own mother. Although this interaction takes place on radio, in public space, both are not embarrassed since they are simply fulfilling the role expectations prescribed by their collectivist social system. Such language-based role relationships abound in multilingual postcolonial societies.

6.4.4 Gender role expectations

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, I described the different instantiations of gender in the DCT questionnaires at the level of address forms, women's and men's social roles, and the activities generally identified with the genders. These instantiations show the intersection of and, in some cases, mismatch between, traditional indigenous African notions of gender often treated as conservative and backward, and the Western, often considered as modern and progressive (cf. Oduol 2007). In the literature, gender-related forms of politeness have been reported in Southern Africa. Finlayson (2002), for example, investigates the Southern African custom of *ukuhlonipha*, i.e. showing respect, among Xhosa-speaking women. Ntsimane (2007: 116) defines *ukuhlonipha* as "a way to regulate family and clan relationships and to achieve harmonious co-existence...[through which] especially...women show respect to men in their behaviour, speech and general conduct, particularly in performing certain rituals of avoidance."

In the DCT data on Situation 3, we see gender-based expectations being applied, e.g. the female Ghanaian respondent, GaF27, says in her dialogue: "Other: A lady should not refuse an offer; You: Yes, so says the adage, but it is not every offer that should be accepted" (GaF27). The adage and the relativisation of it above symbolise the traditional African and the Western perspectives of gender respectively. Both, however, coexist in this postcolonial society.

No matter how prevalent Western assumptions about gender seem to be, women in postcolonial societies still project themselves as what Atanga (2010: 93) calls, "model traditional Cameroonian women." In her study of the discourses of female Cameroonian parliamentarians, she realises that the Western progressive discourses about gender do not permeate the women's desire to be the ideal Cameroonian woman who is respectful to her husband and is a caring mother to her children. Hybridism may still be ongoing in this domain since clear social indices of a stable gender position or perspective are still missing.

6.5 Summary: Hybrid, hybridising postcolonial systems

That patterns of social interaction in postcolonial societies reflect outcomes of colonial contact is hopefully clear from the discussion in this chapter and in the previous three. Whether these patterns are indicators of a hybrid or a still hybridising system is not controversial at all, especially if the huge literature on indigenisation of ex-colonial languages in postcolonial contexts is taken into account. Syncretism in traditional indigenous religion and Western, colonially-introduced religion, is

visible not only in physical social behaviour but also in speech and belief systems. Again, though variations may exist across postcolonial communities, these are normal since they reflect the specific mix of each postcolonial community and members' adaptive responses to societal expectations.

Hybridism – whether ongoing or not – is attested in language identities, speakers' identity alignments, societal and cultural role expectations, religious belief systems and expectations, among many others. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 illustrated these using data from the DCT questionnaires; these are further corroborated here with data from the interviews.

Conclusion

On offer-refusal communicative acts:

General implications for future research

The ultimate objective of this study was twofold: to contribute to theory formation on postcolonial pragmatics (Chapters 1 and 2) and to offer an in depth empirically-based illustrative application of postcolonial pragmatics to offers and offer refusals in two postcolonial societies, Ghana and Cameroon (Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6). Using data collected through a DCT questionnaire from 200 respondents and 40 individual and group interviews conducted in both countries, the study has established the emergence and functioning of a hybrid or hybridising postcolonial social system of interaction, composed in varying degrees of patterns of local indigenous social interaction and colonially-introduced forms of social conduct. As the analyses have shown, colonial heritages like religion, education, political administration, languages, etc., and the re-categorisation of languages according to functions – granting ex-colonial languages the status of official languages – have had extensive syncretising and hybridising impacts on social interaction in these societies. Focusing on linguistic communication and speakers' choices in daily social interaction, this study has explained the motivation behind these choices using extra-linguistic factors like religion, gender, age, collectivist social norms and cultures, etc. since these are central to the negotiation of social meaning, individual-group relationships and identities, social roles and interlocutor statuses in conversations.

Even though respondents' age-groups are listed in some of the examples (see Table 1.2), these were not always relevant in the analyses because the linguistic strategies and the postcolonial pragmatic components used were common across all age-groups. A 17–25 year-old respondent would use kinship terms in just the same way as a 46+ year-old respondent would do, irrespective of country of origin and gender. Variation in the number of occurrences of such usages according to country and gender was, of course, relevant for the analyses since it showed in which specific directions each of the postcolonial societies had evolved in the postcolonial era.

Taking into account the collectivist nature of these societies where individual face needs play only a minimal role in interaction, the Gricean and Searlean concept of speech acts was found limiting and insufficient to analyse the data. The

concept of the communicative act (cf. Trosborg 1995) was, therefore, adapted here and combined with the postcolonial pragmatics framework to investigate speakers' linguistic strategies and choices in the offer-refusal communicative act, which in these societies is not usually realised as a single Searlean speech act but rather as a combination of speech acts and speech moves. It is this combination of speech acts and speech moves that I refer to here as a communicative act. For instance, to realise an offer, offerers often start with a greeting preparatory speech act, followed by a familiarisation preparatory speech act and/or a grounder preparatory speech act, whose function is to create a closer relationship to the offeree and hence maximise the chances of acceptance of the offer.

The comparison of offer-refusal acts in Cameroon English and Ghanaian English adds a new dimension to current World Englishes studies from a variationist sociolinguistics perspective. It shows the intersection of postcolonial pragmatics and other emerging fields of pragmatics like variational pragmatics. Also, the sequences analysed in Chapters 3–5 demonstrate a feature of African offers and refusals which, although not explicitly emphasised on in the present book, is a central issue in constructivist anthropological linguistics and interactional sociology: namely, the fact that African politeness is complexly co-constructed by the interlocutors and is a reciprocal goal whose aim is to safeguard cohesion within the community or group.

The offer-refusal communicative act is just the tip of the iceberg of possible topics in postcolonial societies analysable from a postcolonial pragmatics perspective. The analyses carried out here are far from exhaustive since this communicative act is simply one little aspect of social interaction in these societies. More studies should follow which expand the scope further.

7.1 Major findings and variation across societies

The linguistic strategies used in realising offers and offer refusals, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 show, are significantly similar among Ghanaian and Cameroonian respondents. In both societies, respondents accompanied their head acts of offering with preparatory and supportive acts. These acts build strongly on the social norms of these societies, and portray how interlocutors adopt and play social roles that match their age, professional or social status and their relationship to the addressee. In all three offer situations, offers which if refused bear potential threats to societal cohesion were accompanied by different types of mitigating strategies, among them, the use of suitable address terms, the reliance on justificatory reasons that are beyond the speaker's control, and invoking indisputable collectivist and identity-defining facets of the society like religion, cultural norms, family and health. Each time these facets were

invoked as the reason for an offer refusal, they were immediately accepted because these form part of the core of the collectivist thrust of these postcolonial societies.

Situation 1 involving a senior and a junior colleague in a bar, was designed to investigate the potential influence of social and professional status on the realisation of offers and offer refusals. The analysis shows that the asymmetrical power relationship between the colleagues accords the senior colleague more leverage to make potentially face-threatening moves. But the junior colleague does not interpret these as face-threatening acts but rather as part of the social role the senior colleague is expected to play in order to guarantee societal cohesion. In order not to disrupt this cohesion, the junior colleague adopts the subordinate role, and to get off the offer hook, s/he has to provide convincing reasons for refusing the senior colleague's offer. The only reasons that are convincing enough are those that build on the social fabric of the collectivist society, i.e. family relations, cultural and social norms, religious expectations and health. The differences between Ghana and Cameroon are of a variational type, i.e. only the number of users varies from country to country; the fundamental phenomena and speech strategies are similar in both countries.

Situation 2 involving an old man and a younger person in church was designed to establish the impact of age on the realisation of offers of a seat and the refusal thereof. The overwhelming outcome here is that most respondents moved this interaction – through the choice of kinship address forms – to family space wherein the relationship between father and child is determined by the natural roles of parent and child. In this space, the father can refuse the child's offer without causing any harm to their relationship or to societal cohesion. Whereas the younger person addresses the old man using the kinship term *father*, the old man – in the case of the offeree – uses both kinship and endearment terms to address the younger person, perhaps in a bid to mitigate his refusal of the offer. This offer situation solidly projects the collectivist nature of postcolonial societies in which societal cohesion and social relationships are metaphorically recast as family cohesion and kinship relationships. Within the family, people care for each other's health, wellbeing, needs and safety. Recasting interactions with strangers in this family space goes with granting them kinship status and privileges.

In Situation 3 involving peers on an inter-city bus, the aim was to see if peer equality influences people's respect for default social norms in offers of food. The findings indicate that, whereas peers tend to be aware of societal norms of respect and collectivist bonding, they do not always feel bound to observe them among themselves. In both Ghana and Cameroon, peer respondents showed more flexibility towards social norms; and often joked over them. The relationship they discursively create is symmetrical and equal, as it is evident in the choice of address forms (e.g. brother-brother, friend-dude).

In spite of the sweeping similarities between Ghana and Cameroon as postcolonial societies, a number of variations were also observed. Some of these have been identified in the analysis chapters taking into account mostly each of the three offer situations. Chapter 5, however, identified some variations in the realisation of the three offer situations between Ghana and Cameroon. Overall, these variations do not put into dispute the similar postcolonial fundamental deep structure of these societies. Below, I revisit some of the most glaring variations, first, at the level of the use of preparatory and supportive acts and then, secondly, at the level of address forms. Focus here is only on statistics and not microlinguistic variations; these have been described in detail in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

As far as preparatory acts are concerned, both postcolonial societies used the four preparatory acts found in the data but to different degrees. These preparatory acts, i.e. greeting, familiarisation, introduction and grounder acts, were not used in all offer situations. For instance, greetings were the only preparatory act used in Situation 2 (Chapter 4) while introduction was used only in Situation 3 (Chapter 5). Table 7.1 reports on the variation in the number of users of these preparatory acts between Ghana and Cameroon. In all three offer situations, Cameroonian respondents made more use – almost twice as much – of preparatory acts than Ghanaians. No watertight explanation can be advanced for this. Relevant at this point is the fact that both postcolonial societies consider these preparatory acts as mitigators of the potential imposing effect of the offer, and a means of maximising the acceptance chances of the offer, since they seek to create a closer relationship between interlocutors.

Table 7.1 Overall use of preparatory acts: Ghana and Cameroon

Offer situation	Ghana		Cameroon	
	No.	%	No.	%
Situation 1 (<i>n</i> = 72)	27	37.5	45	62.5
Situation 2 (<i>n</i> = 34)	10	29.5	24	70.5
Situation 3 (<i>n</i> = 65)	21	32.5	44	67.5
Total (<i>n</i> = 171)	58	34	113	66

The tendencies in Table 7.1 above are captured graphically in Figure 7.1 below. The paucity of preparatory acts in Situation 2 could be caused by the context, i.e. in church. Only greeting preparatory acts are used in this offer situation certainly because interlocutors do not have the time to engage in a long conversation since church service is going on. Moreover, the younger person's interlocutor status does not permit him or her to initiate preparatory acts like familiarisation or introduction – doing so would be considered rude, e.g. asking an old man for his name (introduction preparatory act).

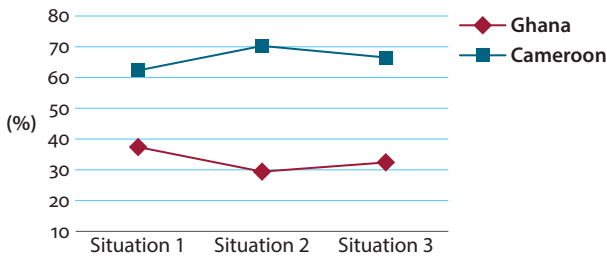


Figure 7.1 Preparatory acts between Ghana and Cameroon

Far more supportive acts were registered in the data than preparatory acts. While some supportive acts are used in all three offer situations, others are used in either one or two offer situations. In all, 12 supportive acts were used in the three offer situations. However, one supportive act was used only in Ghana and only in Situation 2: the solidarity supportive act (Chapter 4). All of the others were used in both countries but, as Table 7.2 illustrates, to varying degrees. These 12 supportive acts are: insistence, explication, postponement, alternative offer, refusal acceptance, promise, closing, justification, solidarity, compliment, deferral and offer acceptance supportive acts. Two of these supportive acts – offer acceptance and closing – do not support the offer *per se* but rather ensure that the relationship between interlocutors and societal cohesion are not negatively affected by the refusal of the offer.

Table 7.2 shows that, like with preparatory acts above, Cameroonian respondents also made more use of supportive acts than Ghanaian respondents. However, unlike in preparatory acts, the differences are less.

Table 7.2 Overall use of supportive acts: Ghana and Cameroon

Offer situation	Ghana		Cameroon	
	No.	%	No.	%
Situation 1 (<i>n</i> = 477)	228	47.5	249	52.5
Situation 2 (<i>n</i> = 445)	200	45	245	55
Situation 3 (<i>n</i> = 345)	160	46.5	185	53.5
Total (<i>n</i> = 1267)	588	46.5	679	53.5

There were significantly more supportive acts (Table 7.2) than preparatory acts (Table 7.1) in the 200 DCT questionnaires. A total of 1,267 tokens of supportive acts were registered as opposed to only 171 tokens for preparatory acts (Table 7.1). The pragmatic significance of this is that, interlocutors consider offer acceptance as the default behaviour in these societies. Where the offer is not immediately accepted, they feel the need to insist on its acceptance by using one or more of the 12 supportive acts listed above. Some supportive acts, especially insistence and

explication, were sometimes used twice in the same communicative act, hence further emphasising the importance of offer acceptance in these collectivist societies. The minimal variation between Ghana and Cameroon is shown graphically in Figure 7.2 below.

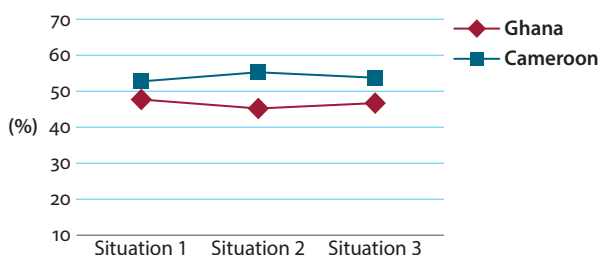


Figure 7.2 Supportive acts between Ghana and Cameroon

Another variation between Ghana and Cameroon is in the use of address forms in the three offer situations. The choice of address forms ranges from kinship terms over honorifics to endearment terms. In all three offer situations, the following seven types of address forms are used: kinship terms, honorifics, attention getters, (personal) names, endearment terms, camaraderie or friendship terms and professional titles. Their use is strongly connected to speaker statuses and relationships in the offer situations. For instance, in Situation 1 with the senior and junior colleague, honorifics are the most used type since they symbolise professional status. In Situation 2, involving the old man, kinship terms are the most recurrent type because interlocutors recreate family relations. And in Situation 3, camaraderie or friendship terms are most common since they effectively reflect the peer equality between the peer interlocutors.

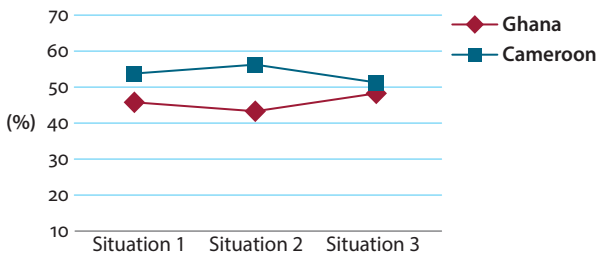
A few country-specific differences were found in the use of address terms. In Ghana alone, the first name forms *Charley* and *Charlie* are used as friendship address terms among male close friends. Again, it is only in Ghana that indigenous language address forms (e.g. *Nana* and *Agya* from Akan) are used. Cameroonian respondents rather prefer Pidgin English address forms like *Massa* and *Pikin*. These differences point to the specific instantiation of the postcolonial hybrid social interaction system in each country according to the specific mix of sociolinguistic factors peculiar to them.

Again like above, Cameroonians made slightly more use of address forms than Ghanaians. Of the 544 tokens registered, 300 were by Cameroonians and 244 by Ghanaians (Table 7.3). Since all the seven types of address forms were used in both countries, numerical variation remains the only point of difference. Figure 7.3 sums up these numerical variations.

Table 7.3 Overall use of address forms: Ghana and Cameroon

Offer situation	Ghana		Cameroon	
	No.	%	No.	%
Situation 1 ($n = 135$)	62	46	73	54
Situation 2 ($n = 341$)	149	43.6	192	56.4
Situation 3 ($n = 68$)	33	48.5	35	51.5
Total ($n = 544$)	244	45	300	55

Situation 2 registered the highest occurrence of address terms because here the social norm of respect towards the old and name-avoidance are in force. Since the younger person initiates the conversation, creating a kinship or other relationship to the old man is relevant for the acceptance of the offer. The old man also uses many address forms (mostly kinship and endearment) to soften the force of his refusal.

**Figure 7.3** Use of address forms between Ghana and Cameroon

In spite of the similarities above, a few general features were specific to one country alone. As already mentioned, the address forms *Charley* and *Charlie* were found exclusively in Ghana. Similarly, the solidarity supportive act was also attested only in Ghana. It was also found in the analysis that the formula “You are invited” is used only in Ghana for ritual or polite offers. Again, while Ghanaian respondents chose indigenous language address forms, Cameroonians rather preferred Pidgin English address forms. However, code-switching beyond the nominal level was realised only in Cameroon and also only to CPE. Ghanaian respondents do not use Pidgin at all even though the language is attested to be relatively widespread in Ghana, especially among young people (Huber 1999). The reason for this might be the low social status attributed to Pidgin in Ghana. Traces of lexico-semantic indigenisation of English to the local ecology were found in the Cameroon data. The words *stranger*, *bush meat* and *chewables* are used by Cameroonian respondents to refer to a guest or visitor, game and snacks respectively.

7.2 Postcolonial pragmatics and future research

The analyses carried out in this study focus on only one aspect out of an endless list of possible topics in postcolonial discourse that could benefit from a postcolonial pragmatic investigation. For the complex and hybridic structures and phenomena of postcolonial societies to be properly described, we need multidimensional frameworks like postcolonial pragmatics which incorporate extra-linguistic and historical factors to explain contemporary choices in interaction. As Anchimbe and Janney (2011a: 1458) explain, “adopting a monolingual framework to analyse them runs the risk of misrepresenting these phenomena.” Postcolonial pragmatics could be complemented by other frameworks that also prioritise emic perspectives on multilingual and multicultural societies and discourses. Some such frameworks include the World Englishes paradigm, Creole pragmatics (cf. Mühleisen and Migge 2005), postcolonial linguistics, emancipatory pragmatics, cross-cultural pragmatics, historical pragmatics and variational pragmatics.

In all, postcolonial pragmatics offers a new framework for describing phenomena in postcolonial societies often speciously analysed using mainstream Western pragmatic theories. The scope and possible topics are thus enormous. The following research directions, far from being exhaustive, may prove beneficial in further theory construction and description of interactional phenomena in these societies. A postcolonial pragmatic analysis would elucidate:

- all types of communicative acts or speech acts in different contexts of social interactions: requests, promises, insults, apologies, greetings, complaints, etc.
- situated discourses in ethnic ritual performances
- popular and media discourses and interactional choices and strategies
- the expanding functions of Pidgins and Creoles in institutional settings hitherto reserved for the official languages
- fluctuating balances of power between colonial official languages, indigenous languages, and Pidgins and Creoles
- emerging idioms and group identities in postcolonial youth culture
- interactional patterns in indigenous languages and cultures in the light of cultural contact
- identities constructed on multiple competing languages
- the persistence of identity constructions rooted in the former colonial languages
- identities constructed in virtual spaces that potentially extend beyond geographical boundaries: virtual identities
- globalising tendencies on hybrid or hybridising postcolonial patterns of social interaction: diasporic interactions

- political nationhood discourses, language policy and popular language use
- evolving attitudes towards the ‘nativisation’ or ‘indigenisation’ of former colonial languages (cf. Anchimbe 2014)
- etc.

If the above research directions are taken up in future research – the ultimate plea in this book – then we would have come closer to understanding the complex structures of postcolonial societies as well as the dynamics of language indigenisation or nativisation at the pragmatic level. This linguistic component (i.e. pragmatics) has often been sidelined in previous research.

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APPENDIX 1

Discourse Completion Task Questionnaire

We are carrying out research on patterns of offering and refusals in English in Ghana and Cameroon and will be very grateful if you participated by filling out the following questionnaire. The information is destined exclusively for research purposes. Be as detailed as you find necessary.

A. Personal information

- 1. Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐
- 2. In which of these age groups do you fall?
17–25 ☐ 26–34 ☐ 35–45 ☐ 46+ ☐
- 3. Your highest educational qualification:
A/L ☐ BA ☐ MA ☐ PhD ☐ Other _____
- 4. In which town do you live? _____

B. Language use

- 5. What is your ethnic or indigenous language? _____
- 6. How often do you use this language? Very often ☐ Often ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐
- 7. What is your **first** language or **mother tongue**? (If two or more languages, name all of them)
Indigenous language (name it) _____ English ☐
Pidgin English ☐

C. On offers and offer refusals

The focus in this section is on how people refuse offers. Read the following situations and as truthfully as possible write a possible conversation between the two people. You could be the one offering or the one being offered to. For more space use the back of the paper. *Feel free to try out some of these situations before filling out the questionnaire.*

- 8. Situation 1. Offering a drink: A senior colleague offers you a drink in a bar. You cannot stay any longer to drink.

Senior colleague:

You:

Senior colleague:

You:

9. Situation 2. Offering a seat: An old man enters the church and you decide to offer him your seat but he prefers to stand.

You:
Old man:
You:
Old man:

10. Situation 3. Offering food: You are on the bus to another city and the person sitting next to you, who is in the same age range as you, offers you some of his/her food. You don't trust the person.

Other:
You:
Other:
You:

D. Opinion

11. Would you be offended if someone refused an offer from you in one of the above situations?
Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know ☐
12. Which of the situations would offend you most? _____
Why? _____
13. Would you still insist if your offer were refused? Yes ☐ No ☐
Why? How? When? _____
14. How would you interpret the person's behaviour if s/he refused your offer?
Normal ☐ Impolite ☐ Arrogant ☐ Polite ☐
Other _____
Why? _____
15. Would you repeat the same offer another time to the same or similar person?
Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know ☐ Other _____
Why? _____

Thanks for your cooperation

APPENDIX 2

Offer vertical structures in offer situation 1

(complete version of Table 3.6, Chapter 3)

No.	Type of offer vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
1	Offer / Refusal	1	1	2	1	1	2	4	2
2	Offer + Explication	2	4	6	1	1	2	8	4
3	Offer + Insistence	11	5	7	1	2	3	10	5
4	Offer + Alternative	1		1	–	–	–	1	0.5
5	Offer + Postponement	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
6	Offer + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
7	Offer + Insistence + Postponement	3	5	8	1	–	1	9	4.5
8	Offer + Insistence + Alternative		1	1	2	–	2	3	1.5
9	Offer + Insistence + Explication	1	2	3		1	1	4	2
10	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	3	2	5	4	1	5	10	5
11	Offer + Insistence + Closing	1	–	1	1	1	2	3	1.5
12	Offer + Insistence + Promise	–	1	1	1	–	1	2	1
13	Offer + Grounder + Closing	1	–	1	–	–	–	2	1
14	Offer + Explication + Postponement	4	–	4	–	–	–	4	2
15	Offer + Explication + Alternative	2	1	3	–	1	1	4	2
16	Offer + Explication + Closing	–	1	1	2	2	4	5	2.5
17	Offer + Explication + Insistence	–	1	1	1	–	1	2	1
18	Offer + Explication + Promise	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
19	Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	1	2	3	3	1.5
20	Offer + Familiarisation + Closing	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
21	Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Closing	2	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
22	Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Promise	–	–	–	2	–	2	2	1
23	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1		1	4	1	5	6	3

(continued)

No.	Type of offer vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
24	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	2	3	5	1	2	3	8	4
25	Offer + Insistence + Promise + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
26	Offer + Insistence + Promise + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
27	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	–	2	2	–	–	–	2	1
28	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Closing	2	1	3	2	1	3	6	3
29	Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1	1	2	3	3	6	8	4
30	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	2	2	4	5	2.5
31	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Postponement	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
32	Offer + Explication + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
33	Offer + Alternative + Explication + Closing	1		1	–	2	2	3	1.5
34	Offer + Alternative + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
35	Offer + Alternative + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1		1	–	–	–	1	0.5
36	Offer + Insistence + Postponement + Closing	–	1	1	2	2	4	5	2.5
37	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1	1	2	2	2	4	6	3
38	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Explication + Closing	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
39	Offer + Explication + Postponement + Closing	–	–	–	–	2	2	2	1
40	Offer + Explication + Postponement + Promise + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
41	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Promise + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
42	Offer + Explication + Postponement + Insistence + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
43	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
44	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Insistence + Closing	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5

(continued)

No.	Type of offer vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
45	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1	–	1	–	3	3	4	2
46	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Postponement + Closing	–	2	2	–	1	1	3	1.5
47	Offer + Insistence + Postponement + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	1	–	1	–	1	1	2	1
48	Offer + Insistence + Promise + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
49	Greeting + Offer	–	1	1	1	–	1	2	1
50	Greeting + Offer + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
51	Greeting + Offer + Explication	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
52	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Promise	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
53	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Closing	1	–	1	–	2	1	2	1
54	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Insistence	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
55	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Postponement	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
56	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
57	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	2	–	1	1	0.5
58	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
59	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Insistence + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
60	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
61	Greeting + Grounder + Offer + Insistence	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
62	Greeting + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Postponement	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
63	Greeting + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5

(continued)

No.	Type of offer vertical structure	Ghana (<i>n</i> = 100)			Cameroon (<i>n</i> = 100)			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
64	Greeting + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
65	Greeting + Grounder + Familiarisation + Offer + Postponement	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
66	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer + Explication + Closing	1	–	1	2	–	2	3	1.5
67	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Closing	2	–	2	–	1	1	3	1.5
68	Greeting + Familiarisation + Grounder + Offer + Alternative	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
69	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
70	Familiarisation + Offer + Explication	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
71	Familiarisation + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
72	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1	1	2	–	1	1	3	1.5
73	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Closing	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
74	Familiarisation + Offer + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
75	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Explication + Postponement	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
76	Familiarisation + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Accept	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
77	Familiarisation + Grounder + Offer + Insistence + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
78	Familiarisation + Offer + Postponement + Closing	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
79	Grounder + Offer + Postponement	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
80	Grounder + Familiarisation + Offer + Explication+ Insistence	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5

APPENDIX 3

Offer vertical structures in offer situation 2

(complete version of Table 4.3, Chapter 4)

No	Type of vertical structure	Ghana			Cameroon			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
1	Offer / Refusal	2	2	4	1	1	2	6	3
2	Offer + Deferral	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
3	Offer + Refusal-Acceptance	2	–	2	–	1	1	3	1.5
4	Offer + Insistence	5	5	10	1	2	3	13	6.5
5	Offer + Insistence + Justification	6	3	9	1	1	2	11	5.5
6	Offer + Insistence + Deferral	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
7	Offer + Insistence + Acceptance	2	2	4	–	–	–	4	2
8	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	2	3	5	3	2	5	10	5
9	Offer + Insistence + Explication	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
10	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance + Compliment	1	1	2	1	–	1	3	1.5
11	Offer + Insistence + Justification + Solidarity	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	1
12	Offer + Insistence + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance	2	1	3	3	1	4	7	3.5
13	Offer + Insistence + Justification + Acceptance	4	3	7	1	3	4	11	5.5
14	Offer + Insistence + Justification + Deferral	–	2	2	1	–	1	3	1.5
15	Offer + Insistence + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance + Deferral	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
16	Offer + Insistence + Solidarity + Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
17	Offer + Insistence + Solidarity + Deferral	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
18	Offer + Justification	1	3	4	1	1	2	6	3
19	Offer + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance	4	1	5	2	4	6	11	5.5
20	Offer + Justification + Acceptance	1	4	5	–	2	2	7	3.5
21	Offer + Justification + Deferral	1	2	3	2	–	2	5	2.5
22	Offer + Justification + Closing	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5

(continued)

No	Type of vertical structure	Ghana			Cameroon			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
23	Offer + Justification + Insistence	–	2	2	1	1	2	4	2
24	Offer + Justification + Solidarity	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
25	Offer + Justification + Explication	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
26	Offer + Justification + Compliment	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
27	Offer + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance + Closing	–	–	–	1	2	3	3	1.5
28	Offer + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance + Deferral	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
29	Offer + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance + Compliment	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
30	Offer + Justification + Explication + Deferral	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
31	Offer + Justification + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	2	–	2	2	1
32	Offer + Justification + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1	2	3	4	3	7	10	5
33	Offer + Justification + Insistence + Acceptance	1	–	1	2	2	4	5	2.5
34	Offer + Justification + Insistence + Solidarity	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
35	Offer + Justification + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
36	Offer + Justification + Solidarity + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–1	–1	–	–	–	1	0.5
37	Offer + Explication	–	2	2	–	1	1	3	1.5
38	Offer + Explication + Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
39	Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	1	1	2	1	4	5	7	3.5
40	Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance + Compliment	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
41	Offer + Explication + Justification + Insistence	1	–	1	1	1	2	3	1.5
42	Offer + Explication + Justification + Acceptance	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
43	Offer + Explication + Justification + Insistence + Deferral	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
44	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Acceptance	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
45	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1

(continued)

No	Type of vertical structure	Ghana			Cameroon			Total	%
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
46	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
47	Greeting + Offer + Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
48	Greeting + Offer + Insistence	1	–	1	1	1	2	3	1.5
49	Greeting + Offer + Explication	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
50	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Closing	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5
51	Greeting + Offer + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	0.5
52	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Justification + Acceptance	1	–	1	1	–	1	2	1
53	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Deferral	–	–	–	–	2	2	2	1
54	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Acceptance	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	2
55	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	3	1	4	5	2.5
56	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Justification	–	1	1	2	–	2	3	1.5
57	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Justification + Closing	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	1
58	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	1	3	4	4	2
59	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	0.5
60	Greeting + Offer + Justification + Refusal-Acceptance	1	1	2	1	1	2	4	2
61	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	0.5

APPENDIX 4

Offer vertical structure in offer situation 3

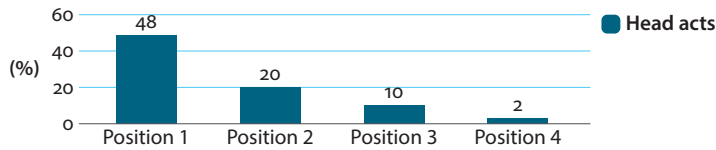
(complete version of Table 5.5, Chapter 5)

No	Type of vertical structure	Ghana			Cameroon			Total %	
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
1	Offer / Refusal	5	2	7	–	3	3	10	5
2	Offer + Insistence	13	12	25	5	3	8	33	16.3
3	Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	9	5	14	6	3	9	23	11.5
4	Offer + Insistence + Alternative	1	1	2	–	1	1	3	1.5
5	Offer + Insistence + Acceptance	–	1	1	–	2	2	3	1.5
6	Offer + Insistence + Deferral	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
7	Offer + Insistence + Explication	2	3	5	4	1	5	10	5
8	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	3	1	4	3	1	4	8	4
9	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Alternative	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
10	Offer + Insistence + Explication + Deferral	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
11	Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Deferral	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
12	Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	0	1	1	2	2	1
13	Offer + Explication	3	5	8	1	2	3	11	5.5
14	Offer + Explication + Acceptance	–	–	0	1	–	1	1	0.5
15	Offer + Explication + Alternative	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
16	Offer + Explication + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	1	2	3	4	2
17	Offer + Explication + Insistence	–	6	6	3	7	10	16	8
18	Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	1	2	3	5	2	7	10	5
19	Offer + Explication + Introduction	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
20	Offer + Explication + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	3	1	4	6	4	10	14	7
21	Offer + Alternative + Insistence	–	–	0	–	1	1	1	0.5
22	Offer + Alternative + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
23	Greeting + Offer + Explication	1	–	1	1	1	2	3	1.5

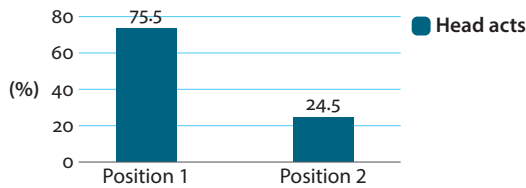
(continued)

No	Type of vertical structure	Ghana			Cameroon			Total %	
		Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total		
24	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	0	2	2	4	4	2
25	Greeting + Offer + Explication + Insistence	–	–	0	1	–	1	1	0.5
26	Greeting + Offer + Insistence	–	1	1	2	3	5	6	3
27	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	2	3	5	6	3
28	Greeting + Offer + Insistence + Alternative	–	1	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
29	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer	1	–	1	–	1	1	2	1
30	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer + Explication	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
31	Greeting + Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence	1	2	3	–	2	2	5	2.5
32	Greeting + Introduction + Offer + Explication + Insistence	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
33	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence	–	–	0	2	1	3	3	1.5
34	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	2	1	3	4	2
35	Familiarisation + Offer + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	0	–	1	1	1	0.5
36	Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Alternative + Refusal-Acceptance	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
37	Familiarisation + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance + Introduction	1	–	1	–	–	0	1	0.5
38	Introduction + Offer + Insistence	–	–	0	1	–	1	1	0.5
39	Introduction + Offer + Explication + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	0	1	1	2	2	1
40	Introduction + Familiarisation + Offer + Insistence + Refusal-Acceptance	–	–	0	–	1	1	1	0.5

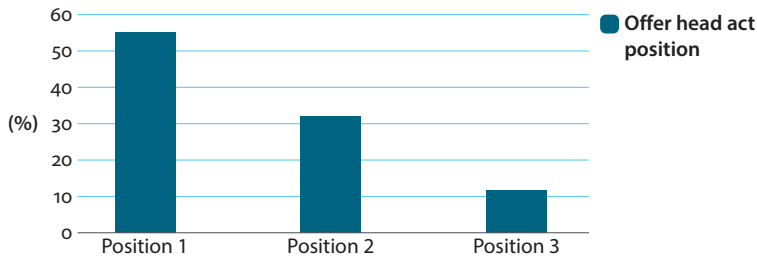
Positions of offer head acts
in communicative acts



Appendix 5a. Positions of the head act sequence in the 80 structures listed in Appendix 2 (Situation 1)



Appendix 5b. Positions of the head act sequence in the 61 structures listed in Appendix 3 (Situation 2)



Appendix 5c. Positions of the head act sequence in the 40 structures listed in Appendix 4 (Situation 3)

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This study offers a pragmatic dimension to World Englishes research. It is particularly timely because pragmatics has generally been understudied in past research on World Englishes, especially postcolonial Englishes. Apart from drawing attention to the paucity of research, the book also contributes to theory formation on the emerging theoretical framework, postcolonial pragmatics, which is then applied to data from two World (postcolonial) Englishes, Ghanaian and Cameroon Englishes. The copious examples used clearly illustrate how postcolonial societies realise various pragmatic phenomena, in this case offers and offer refusals, and how these could be fruitfully explained using an analytical framework designed on the complex internal set ups of these societies. For research on social interaction in these societies to be representative, it has to take into account the complex history of their evolution, contact with other systems during colonialism, and the heritages thereof. This book does just that.

ISBN 978 90 272 0173 7



John Benjamins Publishing Company