

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**ORATORY IN FAREFARI CULTURE**



**JAMES AZURE ABABILA**

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**ORATORY IN FAREFARI CULTURE**

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**of the requirements for the award of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(Applied Linguistics)  
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## DECLARATION

### Student's Declaration

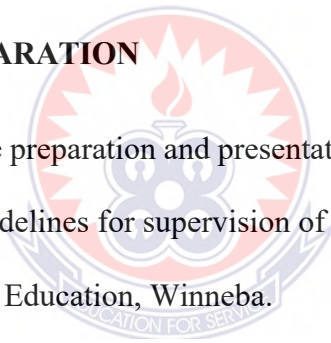
I, **James Azure Ababila** declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works that have all been identified and acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

Signature: .....

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### SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work were supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis/dissertation/project as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.



Dr. James A. N. Saanchi (Principal Supervisor)

Signature: .....

Date: .....

Dr. Kwaku Ofori (Co-Supervisor)

Signature: .....

Date: .....

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my family.



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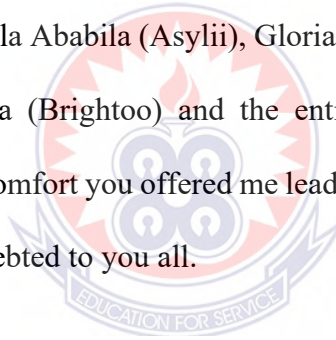
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>xiv</b>
CHAPTER ONE	1
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 A brief background to Farefari	2
1.2 Background to Farefari Oration	5
1.3 Purpose of the Study	6
1.4 Statement of the Problem	6
1.5 Objectives of the Study	9
1.6 Research Questions	9
1.7 Significance of the Study	9
1.8 Delimitation of the Study	13
1.9 Limitations of the Study	13
1.10 Organisation of the Thesis	14
1.11 Summary	15
CHAPTER TWO	17
LITERATURE REVIEW	17
2.0 Introduction	17
2.1 Theoretical Framework	17
2.2 Classical Rhetoric	17
2.3.2 Judicial Oratory (Forensic)	27
2.3.3 Epideictic Oratory (Ceremonial)	28
2.4 Dell Hymes' Communication Model	29
2.4.1 Setting and Scene	29
2.4.2 Participants	29
2.4.3 Ends	30
2.4.4 Acts Sequence	31
2.4.5 Key	31
2.4.6 Instrumentality	31

2.4.7 Norms	32
2.4.8 Genre	32
2.5 The Concept of Oration and Rhetoric	32
2.6 The Style of Oratory Delivery	47
2.7 The Structure of Oratory	49
2.8 Marriage Issues	52
2.9 Personalities who qualify to orate	54
2.10 Qualities of an Orator	58
2.10.1 Yizukiima, ‘Head of Clan’	58
2.10.2 Baga, ‘Soothsayer/diviner’	59
2.11 Summary of the Chapter	60
CHAPTER THREE	62
METHODOLOGY	62
3.0 Introduction	62
3.1 Research Design	62
3.1.1 Research Approach	64
3.1.2 Population	65
3.1.3 Sample and Sampling Technique	66
3.2 Data collection Instruments	68
3.2.1 Observation and Participant Observation	68
3.2.2 Interviews	70
3.3 Data Analysis Procedure	74
3.4 Ethical Considerations	75
3.5 Summary of the Chapter	76
CHAPTER FOUR	77
ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ORATORY AND HOW ORATORY IS STRUCTURED IN FAREFARI CULTURE	77
4.0 Introduction	77
4.1 Research Question 1: What types of oratory are found in Farefari culture?	78
4.1.1 Deliberative Oratory (Legislative)	78
4.1.1.1 An alleged Bewitching of a young lady	79
4.1.1.2 Dispute over a Parcel of Land	84
4.1.1.3 Time with a Newly Married Bride	88
4.1.1.4 Day 1 Visitation: At the In-law’s House	90
4.1.1.5 Day 2 Visitation: At the in-law’s house	94

4.1.1.5.1 Payment of Bride Price	99
4.1.1.5.2 Pɔgekigera, ‘Marriage Negotiator’	100
4.1.1.5.3 Death and Mourning of a Spouse	102
4.1.2.1 Reciprocity	104
4.1.2.2 Accusation	109
4.1.3 Epideictic (Ceremonial) Oratory	111
4.1.3.1 Farewell Tribute to a Deceased’	111
4.1.3.2 Severe Drought in the Community	118
4.1.3.3 Health Pandemic	124
4.1.3.4 Bereavement: Discussion with a Widow and Pallbearer	127
4.1.3.5 Bereavement and the Bonds of Lineage	129
4.2 How is Language Structured in Oratory in Farefari Culture?	136
4.3 Summary of the Chapter	146
CHAPTER FIVE	148
ANALYSIS OF SOME LITERARY DEVICES IN FAREFARI ORATORY AND HOW ORATORY IS DELIVERED IN THE CULTURE	148
5.1 Introduction	148
5.2 Question 3: What are some of the Literary Devices used in Farefari Oration?	148
5.2.1 Listing	150
5.2.2 Alliteration	151
5.2.3 Assonance	152
5.2.4 Repetition	153
5.2.5 Anaphora	156
5.2.6 Personification	158
5.2.7 Apostrophe	162
5.2.8 Rhyming	164
5.2.9 Simile	166
5.2.10 Metaphor	168
5.2.11 Hyperbole	171
5.3 Summary of Research Question 3	173
5.4 Research Question 4: How is oratory delivered in Farefari culture?	173
5.5 Syntactic Structures of Farefari Oration	183
5.5.1 Use of Personal Pronouns in Oratory	183
5.5.2 Use of Pronouns in Oration	184
5.5.3 Use of Pronouns to Include the Audience	185

5.5.4 Use of Pronouns to Exclude Audience	186
5.6 Semantic Structures of Farefari Oration	188
5.6.1 Positive Connotation of Words/Sentences	188
5.7 Summary of the Chapter	191
CHAPTER SIX	193
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	193
6.0 Introduction	193
6.1 Summary of Chapters	193
6.2 Findings	196
6.3 Conclusions	196
6.4 Implications of the Study	198
6.5 Recommendations	198
6.6 Suggestions for further Research Work	199
REFERENCES	200
APPENDICES	216
APPENDIX A	216
Presentation of Data	216
Introduction	216
APPENDIX B(i)	217
Interview with a <i>Solensolena</i> , ‘Storyteller’	217
APPENDIX B(ii)	219
Sample of a Story Narrated by the <i>Solensolena</i> , ‘A Storyteller’ on the occasion of Marriage	219
APPENDIX C(i)	228
Interview with <i>Tindaana</i> , ‘The Land Priest’	228
APPENDIX C(ii)	235
Interview with <i>Kana</i> , ‘the Chief’s Spokesperson’	235
APPENDIX C(iii)	241
Interview with <i>baga</i> , ‘soothsayer/diviner’	241
APPENDIX C(iv)	247
Interview with <i>Pɔgebaambaana neɲa daana</i> , ‘Leader of a Female Praise Singing group’	247
APPENDIX D(i)	253
Bereavement: Discussion with a Widow and Pallbearer	253
APPENDIX D(ii)	257



Death and Mourning of a Spouse	257
APPENDIX D(iii)	260
Bereavement and the Bonds of Lineage	260
APPENDIX E	263
Severe Drought in the Community	263
APPENDIX F(i)	267
Marriage Issues	267
APPENDIX F(ii)	268
Day 1 Visitation: At the In-law's House	268
APPENDIX F(iii)	274
Day 2 Visitation: At the In-law's House	274
APPENDIX F(iv)	279
Witness to Payment of Bride Price	279
APPENDIX G	282
Dispute over a Parcel of Land	282
APPENDIX H	288
An Alleged Bewitching of a Young Lady	288
APPENDIX I	291
Farewell Incantation to a Deceased	291
APPENDIX J	294
Health Pandemic	294
APPENDIX K	296
Health Care and Oratory	296
APPENDIX L	300
Reciprocity	300
APPENDIX M	306
Theft	306
APPENDIX N	308
An Epidemic	308
APPENDIX O	310
Accusation of Adultery	310
APPENDIX P	313
Illness	313

## ABSTRACT

Oral genres in Farefari form part of the fundamental instruments of growth and development of Gurenɛ. As one of these genres, oratory helps to enhance the listening and oral skills of children for effective communication. The Farefari community has resources such as folktales, libation prayer, divination, conflict/dispute resolution, marriage and performance of funerals. These activities play key roles in the acquisition of linguistic competences and cultural values for effective speech delivery. In the past, the youth in the community participated effectively in these verbal art forms. However, the infiltration of foreign cultures into the traditional set up of the society has negatively influenced the lives of the youth. These days the youth are less interested in the traditional folktales and riddles. Rather, they often glue themselves to foreign movies being shown on television, YouTube and other electronic media outlets. Therefore, this study sought to investigate the various dynamics of oratory including the types and structure of oratory, literary devices used and how oratory is delivered in Farefari culture. The Classical Rhetoric and Dell Hymes' communication model (SPEAKING) were used to form the foundation of the study. I employed a qualitative research approach to collect the data using interviews, observation and native speaker intuition. A Sony IC voice recorder ICD UX50F was used to collect the data, transcribed and translated into English equivalences. I used a purposeful sampling technique to select twenty-five (25) participants, comprising twenty (20) men and five (5) women. The results from the data revealed that, oration is firmly anchored on the principles of conviction and persuasion based on the classical rhetoric theory. Five canons of oratory namely; inventory, arrangement, style, memory and delivery were identified. The data also showed that there are three types of oratory (deliberative, judiciary and epideictic) in Farefari culture. Again, the data revealed that many of the orators used simple sentences in order to drive home the supplications they are bringing before their ancestors. Apprenticeship was noted to be one of the surest ways of acquiring oratory skills for effective speech delivery.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

Oratory may be referred to as public speaking, which appeals to the emotions and reasoning of people. In all aspects of our human development effort language plays a pivotal role. Thus, “language is a tool that we use to communicate with each other; it may be our mother tongue, a second, or a foreign language that we learn” (Altam, 2020). Languages have different means of communication, some of which are verbal and others nonverbal. For the sake of expressing, stating, asking, requesting and emphasising certain types of information, we sometimes tend to use some of these verbal or nonverbal means either directly or indirectly. Therefore, scholars and rhetoricians have studied most of these communicative forms and the factors that can lead speakers to select a highly effective form in order to convey meaningful information to the audience, get a successful understanding of meaning in its literal sense and also to choose the appropriate diction for the comprehension of the intended meaning without ambiguity. They have also investigated the ways of getting a persuasive discourse by using different aspects, some of which are syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, poetic and stylistic. One of these ways used to get a persuasive speech and to sway an audience's opinion is the art of oration (cf. Agyekum 2004). Since the most obvious purpose of oration is persuasion, the orator is required to be eloquent; thus, being fluent in his speech thereby having the ability to conform to the approved manner of speaking in many different sociolinguistic situations.

This thesis, therefore, investigates oratory in Farefari from an oral performance perspective. It also pays attention to some aspects of Gurene oral genres such as proverb, libation text, song text and ritual text. These elements contribute a lot to the

understanding of the sociolinguistic and cultural knowledge of the speakers. Therefore, in the use of these genres, the skilful use of language is of great essence, either in formal or informal discourse situations. Oratory in discourse often affects face threats. As such, the study discusses various stylistic and rhetorical strategies which would not only avoid face threats but would also enrich the language. Again, the genres have their meanings tied to the context of performance. The study therefore, aims to document them in performance contexts for analysis.

### **1.1 A brief background to Farefari**

This sub-section gives a background to Farefari, its geographical context as well as the various major and minor dialects. Farefari is a cluster of people who are found predominantly in the Upper East Region of Ghana, and mainly within Bolgatanga and its environs. It is the group of people who have been anglicised as Frafra. However, in this work, I restrain myself to the native/indigenous terminology which is Farefari. It should be noted that earlier works such as Nsoh (1997, 2002, 2010, 2011) and Atintono (2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2013) use Farefari to refer to this language in which I associate myself with their position. Atintono (2013) following earlier proposals of Nsoh (2011) also asserts that Farefari should better be viewed as either a cover term for all the various dialects of the language or be seen as referring to the speakers of the language. While I do align with this proposal, it may also be pointed out that Farefari could even be used to refer to the people and also as a cover term to represent the five dialects of the language. I argue that the term Farefari is more encompassing than Gurene. Another important point to note is that, any stranger or visitor who travels to any part of Ghana and gets stranded or just wishes to go to the representative of the Farefari speaking people, would have to say he is looking for the



Farefari Chief's house but not Gurenɛ Chief's house. Again, if a meeting is scheduled for all Farefari people at a location, people would attend. On the contrary, no one would attend if the announcement is to the effect that Gurenɛ people are being invited to the meeting. However, it is important to note that when it comes to the sub-divisions of the language, Gurenɛ is the standardised dialect which is being used in school right from the pre-school to the tertiary levels of education in Ghana.

The language is spoken in four out of the nine districts and one Municipal Assembly area in the region. They are Bolegatana, Boono, Nankani area of the Kassena-Nankana East and West Districts in Navrongo, Bawku Central, Bawku West, Garu-Tempene, and Talensi and Nabdam districts. The speakers of Gurenɛ are located in the Upper East Region of Ghana, specifically, in Bolegatana (the regional capital) and its surrounding areas. We used the Gurenɛ dialect for the presentation of the data even though we have other dialects of Farefari as Boone, Nabt, Talen and Nankani because of the following: The unified orthography in use by the Farefari community is written in the dialect of Gurenɛ but it is flexible in accommodating other dialects like Boone. For scholarly studies, the dialect of Gurenɛ is the one being used as the medium of instruction for the study of the language in institutions such as the University of Education, Winneba, Colleges of Education, Senior High Secondary (SHS) and Basic Schools. In the case of the Colleges of Education, the study of Gurenɛ is not limited to Gbewaa and St. John Bosco's Colleges of Education in the Upper East Region alone, but it is used throughout all the Colleges in the country, especially, where students are enrolled there and are ready to offer it as a subject of study. These include Bagabaga, Gambaga, Tumu, Tamale and Bimbilla Colleges of Education, all in the northern part of Ghana, while those in the

southern sector includes Accra, Akrokeri, St. Louis, Wesley, St Monica, Mt Mary, Enchi, Akatsi and Atebubu Colleges of Education.

The ethno-linguistic context of the study area contributes to the need for the urgent documentation of the genres. Farefari has been argued to have five major dialects as claimed by Atintono (2013) and Ababila (2006) respectively. One linguistic feature of these dialects is that each dialect seems to be associated with a particular town though there are sub dialects within these major varieties that have been asserted in previous works. The major dialects and their geographical distributions are as follows: Gurene (Bolegatana), Talene (Tongo), Boone (Bongo), Nabt (Kongo), and Nankani (Kandiga) respectively. The differences that exist in these “major” dialects are mostly at the lexical level without any noticeable phonological or syntactic disparities.

There is an appreciable level of mutual intelligibility among speakers of the various dialects of Farefari. Notwithstanding the claim for these “major” dialects, various sub dialects surround these main varieties of the language. For instance, Boone is surrounded by other sub dialects including Vene (Vea), Yere (Yorego), Zagne (Zoko), Balune (Balugo), Namune (Namu), Saane (Soe) and Duane (Dua). Boone is bordered to the north by Burkina Faso, which is about fifteen kilometres apart. The language spoken in Burkina Faso is Moore (see Atintono 2013). There is greater influence of the neighbouring varieties on the speakers of Boone to the extent that more and more speakers are being assimilated to the other Farefari varieties. This pressure is because of constant interactions with their neighbours for social, political and economic purposes. As a result of these interactions, it is negatively impacting on the Boone dialect because of the influence of the other dialect varieties such as Gurene, Vene, Saane and Balune. Indeed, it is the Bolegatana dialect (Gurene) which is

heavily influencing the other dialects because it is the one that is standardized and reduced to writing at various academic institutions. Gurenɛ is also used by other institutions such as the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of the Ministry of Education, Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) and the Churches in view of enhancing their literacy and religious activities respectively.

## 1.2 Background to Farefari Oration

The relevance of oratory in the Farefari community cannot be over-emphasised. Therefore, it is imperative to point out that oratory plays a vital role in cultural, social and economic institutions among the Farefari speaking people. For instance, if a man marries a woman and her family is not in support of it, the man's family would have to persuade the woman's parents or family to consent to it. To accomplish such a daunting task, a *pɔgekigera*<sup>1</sup> is given that assignment to fulfil. He may visit the to-be in-laws several times to negotiate the marriage until there is absolute consent. In order to win the hearts of the to-be in-laws, the *pɔgekigera* must bring all his oratory skills to bear on the negotiations.

Another area where oratory impacts directly on the lives of the Farefari community is bereavement. When someone is bereaved and is to be consoled, usually, it is the eloquent person who leads the delegation. An individual can also mourn with a bereaved person, and therefore, would have to choose and use appropriate dictions and expressions to reflect the context in which they are being used. It is assumed that

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<sup>1</sup> *Pɔgekigera* is a person whose uncle's house is within the geographical location of the married woman. He is the negotiator of the marriage between the two families. Such a person must not only be linguistically competent and eloquent but who also knows the cultural norms of the society. His primary obligation is to persuade and makes sure that the marriage succeeds.

such an individual knows the cultural norms and can speak eloquently in order to console the bereaved. On the contrary, the pain the bereaved is going through could be aggravated if the speaker does not use decorous language.

The Chieftaincy institution is also one that cannot do without oration. The language at the Chief's palace is one that is formalised. Every utterance intended to be made by an aggrieved person over a disputed matter must be well measured. In other words, decorous language is highly expected at the chief's palace, hence, educative. When the youth get the opportunity to listen to such eloquent speeches at the chief's palace and also practice, they would improve upon their own oratorical skills. Among the Farefari, the spokespersons of chiefs are orators because they are eloquent when delivering speeches. They acquired this art through listening to elders and constant practising. We shall discuss the details in subsequent chapters.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to identify and document some linguistic and cultural aspects of the Farefari oral literature for posterity.

### **1.4 Statement of the Problem**

The study of Gurene has received some appreciable level of attention in the linguistic literature from both expatriates and native scholars. However, the quantum of literature that exists in the language has focused on the core linguistics of the language covering morphology and syntax (Atintono 2004a, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Nsoh 1997, 2002, 2010, 2011; Dakubu 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007, 2009), phonology (Adongo 2008), semantics (Atintono 2004b, 2013) and Grammar (Dakubu 1996, 2007a, 2007b). Accordingly, not much work has been done on the oral literature

aspect of the language and particularly within the domain of oratory. There is therefore, a need for an investigation into this area so as to add to the domains of study in the language and also the documentation efforts of the language. This position is supported by Finnegan (2012, p. 432) who asserts that, “for all the passing references to the significance of oratory, there seems to be little detailed documentation on the actual practice of public speaking as a skill in its own right.”

Oratory permeates all aspects of the Farefari oral genres. These genres constitute rich verbal art and linguistic resources of the Gurene speakers in particular, and Africa as a whole. In the past, these genres were cherished and held in high esteem among the speakers. During activities such as folktales, libation prayer, divination, dispute/conflict resolution, bargaining, asking for mitigation against a crime and even the skill to create humour, oratory was of great importance to the community. Unfortunately, some of these verbal art forms are fast disappearing because of the adaptation of foreign values. Therefore, the skilful use of language is gradually dwindling. Children no longer have the opportunity to sit around elders in order to listen to wisdom and how discourses are rendered in various situations and contexts. This is evidently clear in the area of conflict resolution in the speech community. For example, in Ghana, and the Farefari community in particular, the use of the traditional law courts in which chiefs preside over to resolve disputes is on the decline. These days, many litigants resort to the modern law courts for dispute resolutions. This situation does not lend itself to free expression of Gurene. The youth are not even interested in some of these art forms such as folktales, riddles, rituals and divination activities. Besides, due to the technological world, children are always on the numerous social media handles such as Facebook and YouTube to access any information they need, including movies. This even aggravates the situation.

Atintono (2013) made similar observations in his documentation of some Gurene oral genres and noted that only a few elders have knowledge in them. The implication is that these genres are at risk of extinction and must be properly documented. His documentation of some of the Gurene folktales as part of his Ph. D fieldwork is the only work on some of the genres which is archived at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) in 2012 at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London.

However, given the fact that Atintono's work was oriented towards a grammatical analysis of the semantics of the language, he was constrained in providing a detailed literary analysis of these genres in which real eloquent display of language would have been felt. It is also argued that the development effort of every community anchors on the effective use of their mother tongue. It is however sad to note that there is a high rate of code-mixing of Gurene and English vocabulary and code-switching in speeches of both Farefari youth and adults. Some take pride in such a fashion to the detriment of their own indigenous language. Again, the emphasis on Ghanaian Language oral skills in the school curriculum is de-emphasised and therefore, affecting the development of oral skills in children. As language teachers, the development of children's oral skills, must be of great concern to them and therefore must be taught. Parents do not have constant interactions with their children at home nowadays. Almost every time we find parents very busy at work; (some may return home exhausted or even find their children asleep). Storytelling is one of the surest ways of rekindling in the children the value of their own indigenous language. To that extent, there is the need for children to listen to folktales.

Therefore, the study would serve as one of the relevant source materials in the area of oral literature which students and scholars would find useful in their scholarly work.

### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

The research objectives are to:

1. identify the types of oratory found in Farefari culture.
2. analyse how language is structured in oratory in Farefari culture.
3. identify some of the literary devices used in Farefari oration.
4. examine how oratory is delivered in Farefari culture.

### **1.6 Research Questions**

Some of the basic issues the study intends to address include the following:

1. What types of oratory are found in Farefari culture?
2. How is language structured in oratory in Farefari culture?
3. What are some of the literary devices used in Farefari oration?
4. How is oratory delivered in Farefari culture?

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The findings of this thesis would be significant in several ways. In the first place, it is to be admitted that there has been relatively little literature that is devoted to this aspect of Gurene and in the Gur literature in general. It would therefore, fulfil a crucial research gap that has been left untapped not just within the study of Gurene but also within the Gur languages.

Besides, language documentation is a crucial aspect of the study of languages. Since this work is one of the first of its kind in Gurene, it is predictive that it is laying a

foundation for the documentation of the oral genre of the language. Language is argued to be embedded in culture. Preserving this aspect of the oral literature of Gurene therefore, implies documenting the culture, ideologies and philosophies of Gurene for posterity especially in the face of threats from modernization. When researchers fail to document this oral literature, it means the communities would be losing their cultural heritage and linguistic resources and values.

In addition, the *kana*, 'the chief's spokesperson', of the Bongo paramount chief indicated that oratory is borne out of oral tradition which is transmitted through oral sources from generation to generation. He says;

Ya san zamesera solemiisi yela ya po zamesera tu yaabeduma yela pa'asera bini 'because' Mam isege, Mam ka nye Asigekulega la tu yaabeduma. Tu baduma pugum ka nye ba dee togum ma'a ti ba toge ti la tara tara wa pae zina beere wa, beni zuo gono yuum pugum ka bona. Buuri yela la san viise suna suna gulese ga, la wan dena tibesum bo'ora buuri la. La dagi la pakere ti solemia la tugum pa'ase tu ti tumam buuri yela la bota dee ti bamam bunu la tugum nyeta na'are. La le inje la njwana ti solemia la dige tumam peema tia la base dee nyaa tara bugundoro nmi'ira kuura taaba? Ya san nyaŋe lagese yela la suna ki'ise gono puusin, la wan dena nyiino la ya'ane bo'ora buuri la za'a.

### **English rendition:**

If you're studying the literature of the Whiteman, you must also know your traditional values. This is because when I was growing up I only heard of the names of our great ancestors through oral transmission because there were no written documentations. When this oral genre is studied and well documented, it would serve as part of the community's traditional knowledge bank. Rhetorically, he asks; "why is it that the Whiteman deceived us to abandon our culture while theirs is promoted? For example, is it not ridiculous that the Whiteman deceived us to abandon the use of our bow and arrow, but rather engage in the production and use of more sophisticated ammunitions for mass destruction of lives and property? Therefore, the



documentation would also be a source of pride for the upcoming generation.

A storyteller on his part, also shared similar opinions that the use of oratory would serve as a source of inspiration for the youth to be interested in their own linguistic resources that abound in their culture. For instance, the youth would be motivated to want to listen to their elders tell stories to them instead of always gluing themselves to the television sets watching and listening to foreign movies. As they listen to storytelling, they learn a lot of moral lessons which could shape their lives appropriately as society expects them to uphold because any society that does not abhor evil does not deserve to exist. Again, one of the clan heads asserts that:

fu san mina togum n gumeseri se'em suņa suņa, la zekeri la fu zuo zama zi'an. La me yeti la dena la ya'ane bo'ora fu buuri. Sosega san ana kankaji bona zi'an, see ba ee fu zi'an yesera la fu nuure ko'om n za'asum la zuo.

### **English translation**

if you know conversation embellishment very well, it raises your head in public. It would also be a pride to your family. Conversation if it is somewhere unless they look for you because your mouth water is sweet.

This means the use of oratory tends to elevate the status of the individual and by extension, the family. It shows how eloquent the individual is when it comes to speech delivery. Such an individual who is highly acknowledged to have good command of the language is always given space among the elderly or dignitaries. Usually, he is assigned the responsibility of dialoguing with important visitors to the family and community. The use of, *fu nuure ko'om n za'asum la zuo* which is literally translated to mean, 'because your mouth water is sweet' is in fact, an indication of eloquence.

It was further pointed out by the respondents that, since good oratory involves persuasion, it may soothe the hearts of the worried and depressed. It calms down nerves and changes lives. For example, a Gurene speaker who is bereaved and going through difficult times can be consoled through oratory. Sorrowful persons are usually persuaded and made to understand that they would not be the first or the last to experience such misfortunes. But when misfortunes happen one has no choice but to accept them as realities and move on with life. Words of encouragement are usually offered such as *saa ka ηmi'iri pogeɣiηa bia muen*, which literally means, 'rain does not beat a single woman's child in the bush'. In other words, every person is a potential victim of one circumstance or the other. Such consoling utterances go a long way to strengthen the affected person to be resolute in life. Apart from that, some of the respondents observed that through oratory the youth build self-confidence in themselves when given the opportunity. They alluded to the fact that, speaking in public is a difficult thing to do as one of them indicated:

### **Gurene**

Dagi nera woo n wan ta'am ze'ele zama zi'an sɔse  
sɔsega. seba ni zɔta la valum ti seba me zɔta vi ti ba  
wan sɔse tue.

### **English**

It is not everyone who can speak in public  
Some feel shy while others don't want to speak for the fear of making  
mistakes.

He underscores the fact that, not everyone is comfortable speaking in public for the simple reason of shyness or being afraid of making mistakes. He however, indicates that it is only when such flaws are made and corrected that the individuals can build the self-confidence that they yearn for. Again, they indicated that as constant practice enhances self-confidence of practitioners, so also would their communication skills

get improved. It is also noted that oratory improves the cultural and linguistic knowledge base of the individual. Though acknowledging the fact that addressing people in public is quite a difficult task to carry out, it also serves as a good platform for speakers to do in-depth study of the subject-matter that they want to discuss.

In addition, the findings of this work become crucial in the teaching and learning of the language in the various stages of our educational institutions. Oral literature constitutes a crucial aspect of the curriculum of Ghana, yet in a language like Gurene, there are virtually no materials for the teaching of this aspect of the language. The work, therefore, is a relevant piece of information for the teaching and learning of the language. Consequently, it helps ease the burden of students having to struggle around for relevant literature in this domain of the language.

### **1.8 Delimitation of the Study**

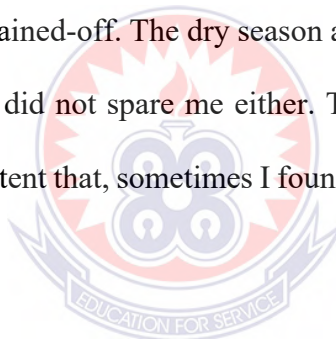
The study did not embrace all the aspects of the Farefari oral literature. Oratory as an aspect of oral literature was the focus of this present study. However, other aspects such as folktales, riddles, songs, proverbs and libation, were considered to enrich the discussion.

### **1.9 Limitations of the Study**

No matter how good the intention a researcher would have for conducting one research or the other, the chances of facing unanticipated challenges or weaknesses abound, and these may be beyond the control of the researcher. Owu-Ewie (2017, p.80) points out that limitations identify potential weaknesses of a study. Wiersma (2000, p.211) also postulates that, “because qualitative research occurs in the natural setting it is extremely difficult to replicate studies.” When certain methodologies and designs,

for phenomenology are selected, they come with limitations over which the researcher may have little or no control. Therefore, I encountered a number of challenges during my research.

Often times, I had disappointments from my respondents because some of them would not turn up for the agreed-scheduled meeting times, either they were in their farms or at the markets transacting their trading businesses. I had no options but to revisit them on a number of occasions till I interacted with all of them. The vagaries of the weather were also a very big challenge that I faced as I went about collecting my data. This is because sometimes, it was either in the rainy season or the dry season that I went around collecting the data. Several times I cancelled my schedules and rescheduled because it rained-off. The dry season also associated with its north-east trade winds (harmattan) did not spare me either. The intensity of the cold weather was unbearable to the extent that, sometimes I found it difficult to go out and interact with my respondents.



### **1.10 Organisation of the Thesis**

This thesis is structured into six (6) chapters. Chapter one is devoted to the general introduction to the study. It highlights such issues as the background to the language and its speakers, the statement of the problem and the objectives of the study. Also discussed in this chapter are the research questions, significance of the study as well as the delimitations of the study. In chapter two, I present a survey of review of relevant literature on the topic under consideration. I reviewed literature on such issues as oratory, the place of oratory in oral literature, the threat of oratory in the midst of modernization and classical features of oratory. Also reviewed under this chapter are issues on the style of oratory delivery and the structure of oratory in

Farefari. There is also a discussion on five types of Rhetorical Canons (Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory, and Delivery). I do not also lose sight of such issues as content of oratory, (i.e., integrating old expressions and new ideas into oratory, the use of formulaic expressions, proverbs, metaphors, similes, humour and entertainment). The relevance of text and performance and the role of persuasive language in the art of oratory are also discussed. Chapter three is devoted solely to the methodology of the research. In this section, I discussed the following: methods and techniques employed for data collection, tools (i.e., audio and video recorders) used for data collection and fieldwork setting (indicating place and time- frame for collecting the data). Further in this chapter, I presented the type of data collected from the fieldwork for discussion. In Chapter four I discussed the analysis of the research data. The various parametric variables of oratory within the Gurene context are given a systematic attention. There is also a discussion on social differentiation and hierarchy parameters such as status, age and sex, while Chapter five focuses on the discussion on occasions for oratory, functions/roles of Farefari oratory, qualifying participants of Farefari oratory, branches of oratory, skills required of an orator and the future of Farefari oratory in the midst of modernization. Chapter six is the summary of findings, contribution to knowledge, conclusion and recommendations.

### **1.11 Summary**

In this chapter, the study has been structured into six chapters, each of which highlights the main issues culminating into the study of oratory among the Farefari people. We began a discussion to the background of the study of oratory. It was discovered that for audience to listen to a speaker and appreciate him/her better, he must deliver a message that is convincing. Therefore, the orator is expected to be

eloquent and persuasive in his/her language use. Again, the speaker must also be able to observe the cultural norms of their society and using the most appropriate diction when communicating.

It was established that the use of genres such as song text, libation, proverbs and other ritual texts is not being practised as it was done before. It was recognised that despite the proliferation of foreign religious bodies such as Christianity and Islam the African traditional religion still thrives in which the indigenous people continue to worship God through their gods, ancestors and deities. Therefore, this study is aimed at documenting some of these genres for posterity.

Furthermore, we have also established that the work would be an added advantage to the teaching and learning of the language as far as oratory is concerned because students, teachers and researchers would now conveniently have access to the material. Even though some substantial amount of work has been done in the area of core linguistics of Morphology, Syntax, Phonetics and Phonology as noted in 1.7 above, little attention has been accorded the study of oral literature largely, and oratory in particular. Therefore, it is the reason the study of oral literature in the domain of oratory must find space and given the prominence it deserves towards the developmental effort of the language.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

In chapter two, I present a review of relevant literature on the topic under consideration. I reviewed literature on such issues as concept of oratory and rhetoric, style of delivery, and structure of oratory. I also discussed two theoretical frameworks of the study. The chapter also discusses text and performance in oral literature.

#### 2.1 Theoretical Framework

The research is situated within the context of Classical Rhetoric Theory (CRT) which defined the direction of the entire research work. This provided the structure and support base for the rationale for the study; objectives, significance, problem statement, research questions, and relevant literature review. The study also considered Dell Hymes' communication model which gave a boost to the work. Indeed, a theoretical framework is the blueprint of the study. To that extent, Grant and Osanloo (2014) cites Lysaght (2011) which states that:

A researcher's choice of framework is not arbitrary but reflects important personal beliefs and understandings about the nature of knowledge, how it exists (in the metaphysical sense) in relation to the observer, and the possible roles to be adopted, and tools to be employed consequently, by the researcher in his/her work.

#### 2.2 Classical Rhetoric

The study of Classical Rhetoric (CR) or speechmaking provides richer preparation for the analysis of modern communication. In the classical period Plato and Aristotle were among other prominent figures as far as rhetoric was concerned. Even though these

two Greek philosophers had opposing sentiments about what rhetoric was, they had some fundamentals that were common. Their point of departure as far as rhetoric is concerned was about the functions of rhetoric. On the basis of that Olmsted (2006) explains that whereas Plato's *Gorgias* (c. 387-385 BCE) exposes the dangers and deceptiveness of rhetoric, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (c. 350 BCE) rather engages with those dangers in order to improve people's abilities to make wise decisions regarding matters that affect their interests. In other words, Plato perceives rhetoric as an abstract entity, full of some dangers and as a tool for manipulating individuals. Aristotle on the other hand views rhetoric as a way in which the orator can fruitfully engage with his audience in order that their lives could be enhanced. In contributing to the discussion of rhetoric, Quintilian also defines it "as the science of speaking well" (Condor, Tileagă, & Billig, 2013). To speak well means being able to deliver a speech persuasively to achieve the purpose for which the speech was meant for.

Furthermore, Aristotle's contribution of ideas to rhetoric cannot be overemphasised. To that extent, Jarratt (1991, p. xxii) posits that "Aristotle's major contribution to rhetoric, the systematisation of informal logic, takes shape alongside the more stable structure of his formal logic." In the opinion of Cockcroft & Cockcroft (1992), the Greek philosopher (Aristotle) might be said to be the key player who debated the ability of persuading when he labelled his distinct rhetoric between 384-322 BC. Also, Herrick (2008, p. 87) quotes Aristotle as saying that "Rhetoric is the faculty of discovering the available means of persuasion in any setting." Similarly, Crowley et al (2004) assert that Aristotle's work on rhetoric encompasses several concepts namely; enthymemes, examples, commonplaces, maxims and signs as well as ethical and pathetic proofs. In fact, Crowley et al appraise Aristotle as "the first to combine [all of these concepts] into a systematic treatment of available argumentative



strategies.” This points to the fact that in any given circumstances the orator ought to be able to explore all the persuasive tools at their disposal in order to satisfy the audience with the needed content that they deserve.

During my research, it was clear that the use of language was not limited to particular group(s) in society. People such as traditional rulers and their spokespersons, traditional healers, herbalists, soothsayers, advertisers, family and clan heads and politicians all use persuasive language in their routine endeavours. It is for this reason that the concept of oration sits well in this framework. Bizzell and Herzberg (1990, p. 2), for instance explain that Classical Rhetorical Theory (CRT) is a sensitive and complex theory of language which, from its inception, sought to demarcate and describe the operation of language in human affairs but at no point did it claim to include within its scope ‘virtually all forms of discourse and symbolic communication’. Again, Bizzell (2001) indicates that during the classical period the term ‘rhetoric’ was the art of persuasive speaking. Therefore, certain specific circumstances necessitated the use of rhetoric to address specific audience. Kenney and Scott (2003, p. 19) posit that rhetoric was “traditionally considered the ‘exclusive province of verbal language’ where presentation of an argument was manipulated so as to be most impacting.” Orators needed to situate their speeches within certain contexts and also know who the targeted audiences were.

Furthermore, Cohen (2006, p. 24) noted that the concept of CR was for an aural and oral setting and developed from the oral tradition of the Greek society of the ancient world approximately 4000 BCE-600 BCE ago (cf. Schaeffer, 2006; Thomas & Webb, 1994; Ehninger, 1992). The philosophy behind this concept was hinged on the art of persuasion and practical application and therefore, regarded as having aesthetic and pragmatic dimensions (Ehninger, 1992). Indeed, it dwells more on persuasion because most of its presentations are

from the orator to his audience.

Perloff (2003, p. 8) defines persuasion to be “a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice.” Similarly, Daiton and Zelle (2018) indicate that the essence of human communication is being able to persuade the audience to change their beliefs, values or attitudes. Gordon (2021) also points out that persuasion is about convincing people to change their minds to buy into the speaker’s proposition and go along with his arguments without any form of coercion. What is obvious from the above expositions is that in persuasion, motivating or influencing listeners through the presentation of cogent arguments is key. On the other hand, if those elements are compromised then the audience may not be persuaded to go along with the speaker.

Besides, Larson (1998, p. 9), observes that the rhetorical approach to communication is linked to the classical tradition of rhetoric. (see Benoit, 1990; King, 1989). To them, the most prominent advocator for this tradition is the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BC). Therefore, Yack (2006) tries to examine how Aristotle uses rhetoric within the public space. He discusses how needful it is for the citizenry to have public discourse and public reasoning that would have benefit for all. He reiterates what Aristotle espouses, that is, believing in deliberative rhetoric in which communities engage themselves in persuasiveness so that whatever course of action that is taken would serve the best interest of the entire community. It is therefore, imperative to state that deliberations that tend to serve the common interest of the populace is the ultimate option for the growth and development of society. In appreciating the nuances of Greek rhetoric, Aristotle’s theory forms the fundamental tenets of all aspects of Greek rhetoric. This observation was amply stated by Young

et al (1970, p. 3) that:

Thus, Greek rhetoric was not a single, homogeneous theory. Aristotle's formulation of the art, however, became the nucleus of the theory that dominated the tradition of rhetoric. The influence of his theory is no doubt attributable, at least in part, to its being the most fully developed of all theories of rhetoric; but its influence may also be the result of its ability to reconcile the apparently rival claims of truth and eloquence.

The above statement regarding Aristotle's opinion about rhetoric concerning truth and eloquence actually influenced how rhetoric was considered during the classical period. To that extent, De Wet (2010) indicates that Aristotle observes that the classical tradition operated principally on five principles, thus;

1. Invention,
2. Arrangement,
3. Style,
4. Memory,
5. Delivery.



An orator uses these unique principles to plan his/her speeches so that speech delivery would be appreciated. In fact, De Wet (ibid) considers persuasive communication to be vital to the efficient and sustainable functioning of modern democracy.

First, is the principle of **Invention**. As an effective communicator, the speaker has to think about what the audiences want to hear; how to present the message; whether or not they need the information; and how they would embrace the information. Here, the speaker has to be tactical in conceiving all these ideas in mind and making sure that they work. Invention is the most important principle upon which all the other principles are built. In other words, the principle of invention forms the framework for the entire discourse.

Second, is the principle of **Arrangement**. In rhetoric, arrangement refers to how a discourse is structured or organised in a sequential manner in order that the speech could be delivered well. The ultimate object of ordering a speech in a logical manner is to make it understandable and persuasive. Arrangement in rhetoric is also about a speaker/orator organising what s/he wants to say to their audiences. Apart from that, the speaker is expected to set out his introduction, content and conclusion in an orderly manner. In delivering speeches, speakers are always mindful of areas they want to place emphasis on in order to make a point.

**Style** is the third canon that orators apply when it comes to speech delivery. It refers to how an orator delivers a speech or message to an audience expressively. The orator makes use of appropriate diction (words) and sentence structure in order to compose meaningful messages to the audience (cf. Agyekum 2013). The use of style reveals the fun, humour, excitement and artistic aspects of communication. The orator uses style to make his speech interesting and engaging. The orator also employs style to be able to trigger emotions in the audience during speech delivery. In addition, this canon is useful to this current study because the audience is always eager and ready to listen to the right message in the right context. Similarly, France (1965) points out that the general aim of style is to empower the speaker to speak correctly and agreeably, which is more likely to influence the audience in the way they think and evaluate issues.

The fourth canon usually used by speakers when delivering their speeches is **Memory**. For any effective communication to be successful, the speaker must commit all salient points to memory because s/he is expected to speak and flow smoothly without being impeded. In other words, the orator is supposed to deliver

his speech naturally. This would be an indication that he has grasp of the subject-matter he is talking about. Memory takes into consideration the methods and devices, for example, figures of speech. These tools are what would help the orator to improve his ability to commit to memory his speech.

The fifth canon of rhetoric is **Delivery** which basically is about how effective the orator makes use of the non-verbal form of communication. Some of the non-verbal forms of communication are facial expressions, gestures, voice intonation and posture of the orator. The delivery of the message eventually determines the success of the entire process of communication. It is this canon that would also determine whether or not the audience is excited, glued to their seats and listening keenly without being bored and dejected. Therefore, it is important to note that it is only when the orator practises these non-verbal communication attributes continuously that he would be effective and productive. If the orator uses these non-verbal communication tools judiciously, he is likely to win the confidence of the audience, convince and even persuade them to do his bidding.

The rhetorical canons as discussed above, are relevant to the current study because before the orator delivers his message to his audience, he organizes the subject-matter well in advance and also exhibits enough evidence of depth of knowledge in the content of the message. This is seen throughout the entire work. We also notice how the various respondents in the study organized their thoughts and presented their speeches in logical and sequential manner. Apart from that each orator delivers his message to the audience in a different style, making sure that the message captivates them; his choice of words, how he structures his message and even the tone of his voice. As discussed earlier, memory is also important in the scheme of speech

delivery. The orator may not be able to succeed in making a good mark in his speech delivery, and therefore, would have to make conscious efforts to commit parts of the speech to memory. It is also on notice that delivery of speech is also crucial to the current study. We find in the study how effective orators have combined verbal and non-verbal forms of communication during interactions with their audience.

For effective use of oratory, Kennedy (1991) mentions that Aristotle identified three modes of persuasion which public speakers are obliged to apply while addressing audience. These are ethos, logos and pathos. Ethos refers to the character of a speaker which reveals everything about them such his background, credentials and experiences. Aristotle underscores the fact that character defines who the speaker is and whether or not the listeners have trust and confidence in the speaker. It is only when the character of the speaker is not tainted that the audience will be convinced that the speaker has credibility and can deliver. Another mode of persuasion is the logos which deals with a clear, logical and sequential presentation of facts, figures statistics to back a claim the speaker might be making. The speaker's presentation must be devoid of ambiguity and everything that is said must be convincing and persuading to the audience. Pathos also plays important role in oration. It is the situation in which the orator persuades his audience by appealing to their emotions. Since individuals have their own beliefs, feelings and emotions, the speaker must be strategic in communicating with them in order not to create unnecessary anxiety, discomfort, displeasure, disbelieve and suspicion. Since the purpose of oration is to address audience with conviction, passion and persuade them so as to win them to your side, the application of the modes of persuasion cannot be overemphasised. It is for this reason that the current study finds space in the theory. Some of the participants indicated that some professionals such as soothsayers who lack good

ethos, logos and pathos usually lose their patrons to other counterparts whose personalities are not questionable.

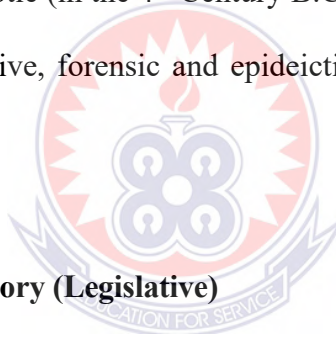
Public communication has been integral to the effective functioning of democratic governance since antiquity, where citizens often had to present their own cases in court proceedings (Cohen, 2006; Becker, 1989). The subsequent significance of public speechmaking in classical democratic societies introduced a pedagogic imperative to the skill of speechmaking to enable citizens to participate in the democratic processes of their society and it formed part of the classical university curriculum. As a result, rhetoric was (and still is considered to be a highly important skill closely entwined with the ideas of democracy and citizenship (Stark, 1986).

From the above, it is evident therefore, that, the use of the functional perspective method which consists of two ethnographic approaches, namely the naturalism and the phenomenological approaches are appropriate. These approaches are associated with qualitative methods as far as data collection is concerned. The Naturalism proposes that, as far as possible, a social world should be studied in its natural state. It also claims that in order to understand a people's behaviour it is better to use an approach that gives us access to the meanings that guide that behaviour (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995). The naturalist approach, therefore considers ethnography as its central and legitimate social research field (Duranti 1985, p.199). The study was conducted in a natural setting and the descriptive approach was used to analyse the data which indeed, agrees with Owu-Ewie (2017, p. 3) who states that, "ordinarily, qualitative research involves detailed verbal description of characteristic case, and settings by using interviews, observations and documents as the data collection procedures" (cf. Kumar, 2011; Yin, 2011; Creswell, 2003, 2007; Sarah, 2013).

Therefore, the framework considered the context in which skilful use of language manifests. The phenomenologist is concerned with understanding human behaviour from the performer's own frame of reference. The phenomenologist views human behaviour, thus what people say, what they do as a product of how people view and interpret their world. The qualitative method yields descriptive data which enables the phenomenologist to see the world as the subject sees it (Bodgan & Taylor, 1975).

### **2.3 Types of Oratory**

Oratory constitutes a part of human communication and is used for different purposes. Therefore, these arms of oratory essentially cover a lot of what we talk about daily which Aristotle (in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C) identified and classified into three, namely: deliberative, forensic and epideictic (see Kennedy 1991, Freese 2020).



#### **2.3.1 Deliberative Oratory (Legislative)**

Aristotle (ibid) explains deliberative oratory to mean the communication or speech that is meant to either persuade or dissuade someone to behave or act in a certain manner. The object of deliberative oratory is to advance convincing arguments or thoughts in order to persuade someone that if they take an action or decision now based on their conviction, the things may either benefit or disadvantage them. In other words, the speaker either advises the audience to do something or warns against doing something. Therefore, the audience will have to judge the things that are going to happen in the future and then take a decisive decision. This type of oratory manifests in almost every occasion in the life of the Farefari people.



To further support the claim of deliberative oratory, a typical example that immediately comes to mind is the September 11, 2001 episode in which terrorists flew planes into the World Trade Centre (WTC) and the Pentagon which claimed several lives. These terrorists' attack constituted an exigence because the populace was in a state of turmoil and psychological trauma. This situation compelled the then President of the United States of America (USA), Mr. George W. Bush to respond promptly by delivering a public speech to the nation. In his speech, the President reassured the entire citizenry of America that he was highly committed to ensuring that the interest, security and safety of Americans were protected. Largely, his consolatory speech lessened their traumatic plight. (see excerpt of the speech below):

Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of [airplanes flying into buildings](#), fires burning, huge, huge structures collapsing have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed. Our country is strong.

<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbush911addressthenation.htm>

### **2.3.2 Judicial Oratory (Forensic)**

Communication that has its focus aimed at accusing or defending someone is termed Judicial rhetoric. This form of rhetoric discusses the past, that is, what someone did or said in the past. In life, there is always a cause of action or inaction of a person. To that extent, judicial rhetoric always tries to delve into the reasons for persons behaving the way they did, whether justifiable or not under the given circumstances. The intriguing part of this type of rhetoric is the fact that, one may take an action that is unpopular but could justify it by convincing their audience or the judges, in the case of a court. Instances of such nature also manifest in the traditional law courts where the

chief sits with his council of elders as arbitrators. Among the Farefari when litigants appear before the jury (the chief and his council of elders), both the plaintiff and defendant are given equal opportunities to present their cases for hearing. After crossed examinations are done on both litigants the constituted jury then passes a verdict and the victor declared. As alluded to earlier, the verdict is usually based on how eloquent, persuasive and convincing a litigant or contestant forcefully pushes his argument.

### **2.3.3 Epideictic Oratory (Ceremonial)**

This is a type of speech designed purposely to eulogise or condemn someone. Largely, epideictic rhetoric is ceremonial and seeks to praise an individual when it is deserving. It is the circumstance that would determine the appropriate action to take. Ceremonies such as marriage, festivals, initiation rites, installation of chiefs/queen mothers and land priests call for epideictic oration. Among the Farefari, epideictic speech can appropriately be described as a tribute in relation to death. When a person passes this type of oration is delivered soon before burial takes place. It should be noted however that this type of oration is delivered to the elderly in society especially the male. When an individual does positive things, he is given praise, honour and adoration. On the contrary, a wicked or evil person is condemned, humiliated and disgraced. In fact, in attacking the character of the personality involved the orator would unveil all the alleged evil deeds for the general public to know. Clearly, we may conclude by reiterating the point that epideictic rhetoric puts checks and balances on the lives of individuals in the society. Details of discussions on this type of oratory would be done in chapter four.

## **2.4 Dell Hymes' Communication Model**

In an ethnographic study, Hymes' (1974) acronym of SPEAKING in data collection becomes so vital. It is a linguistic model in which it is stated that, in order to speak a language correctly, one needs not only learn its vocabulary and grammar, but also the context in which words are used. Therefore, the acronym is discussed below:

### **2.4.1 Setting and Scene**

Hymes (1974, p. 55) posits that Scene and Setting refer to "the time and place of a speech act and, in general, to the physical circumstances". To that extent, we found in the study that, at certain times speakers spoke eloquently at the shrines when community members gathered to make sacrifices to their gods and ancestors. Also, there was absolute display of language competences during child naming ceremonies, settling disputes and marriage ceremonies. Hymes further adds that, 'scene' is the "psychological setting or cultural definition of a scene, including characteristics such as range of formality and sense of play or seriousness". Therefore, depending on the context or the situation, the choice of the speaker's use of language at an occasion may be humorous, harsh or sympathetic towards the audience. For instance, during my research I witnessed a naming ceremony and dedication of a child to God and ancestors, in which the officiant embellished his speech with several proverbs and anecdotes. The tone of his language was full of joy. I shall discuss this in more detail in the next chapter.

### **2.4.2 Participants**

Every society has a social group. The study identified the groups that we interviewed and observed as addressees. Gender (sex), age, education and social class were all

taken into consideration. It is established by Hymes that participants involve the orator and the audience. Here, the audience not only refer to those that the orator directly interacts with, but also those who are not part of the discourse but may have the opportunity to listen to the conversation anyway. This is true to several occasions such as settling disputes, marriage ceremonies and offering libation prayer to ancestors. It is further stressed that, when considering participants in any speech event, specific ground rules must be established to guide them. That is, who the participants are, their roles as well as their expectations. The issue of cultural norms of the society is something worth noting because participants would have to demonstrate a high level of both linguistic and communicative competences as far as the discourse is concerned; for example, how subjects must communicate with their chiefs, how women must speak in the company of men and how subordinates should interact with their superiors. During my participation in the various events that took place, I noticed that every participant that was involved acted appropriately within the ambit of the set-up norms.

### **2.4.3 Ends**

Ends refer to the purposes, goals and outcomes of communication. Orators on various occasions tried to communicate effectively to their audience either to persuade, inform, educate or entertain them depending on the subject-matter. A speaker who wants to persuade his audience would have to eloquently deliver a speech that would change their beliefs, attitudes and behaviours towards a specific thing. Sometimes public speakers make use of some anecdotes and other emotional appeals to psyche the audience up in order to convince or woo them to take certain actions. For instance, the episode of the alleged bewitchment of a young lady by an

elderly woman, the chief employed diplomatic language in order to sway the angry youth from carrying out instant justice against the accused. Similarly, in situations where the officiants used simple but succinct language in addressing their ancestors is an indication of precarious situations which needed immediate attention. The speakers could also use speeches to pass on information to their audience which otherwise might not be known to them. Such informative speeches are to help clear off doubts in the minds of the audience.

#### **2.4.4 Acts Sequence**

Acts sequence deals with the form and order of a speech event which is the structure. The speech event generally depends on how the speech acts are arranged. In other words, the initial speech act sets the tone of the discourse, which may differ from speaker to speaker. The tone may be cordial or otherwise. It is further said that the act sequence for any event orients participants to social cues.

#### **2.4.5 Key**

This refers to the cues that establish the tone, manner, or spirit of the speech act (Hymes 1974, p. 57). The tone of the speech act may be harsh or polite, solemn, friendly or hostile. (see Agyekum 1996, p. 24). By and large, it is all about the entire speech delivery process which would culminate into good communication.

#### **2.4.6 Instrumentality**

This is a communication tool which refers to the forms and styles of speech which otherwise also means the channels through which speech acts are accomplished. It could be a face-to-face communication between the speaker and participants.

#### **2.4.7 Norms**

These are the social rules that govern an event and participants' actions and reactions in the Gurene language and culture. It must be noted that language and culture are inextricably linked. Therefore, to be an effective orator one must know the language and the cultural norms of the society. I observed that on several occasions during formal gatherings, women and children were usually absent or were not allowed to contribute to discussions. What I deduced from most instances was that children spoke less during conversation especially when they were with adult males. There is the notion that children are to be seen and not heard. Adults frown on children who imitate their language. Adults see children who try to speak and behave like them as threats to their authority. Indeed, the language of elders (adults) is seen to be sophisticated. They usually use figurative language, and then embellish their discourses with proverbs and other literary devices. I also observed that any time elders or adults spoke no young person interrupted them.

#### **2.4.8 Genre**

This refers to a speech act or event. Conversation is one of the genres. As alluded to in previous discussions, adults' language is complex and full of linguistic resources such as the proverb, metaphor, simile and personification. It is the skilful use of these resources that make their language special. Most of these are encountered during social interactions, be it formal or informal.

### **2.5 The Concept of Oration and Rhetoric**

Oratory as a concept in oral literature has been expressed variously by different authors. Shurter (1909, p. 2) cites Aristotle (384-322 BC) as saying that the term

oratory refers to "the faculty of finding all the means of persuasion on any subject", and further asserts that oratory is "the art of speaking well or the art of persuasion". But it may be argued strongly that Aristotle's definition is clearly inadequate in contemporary times since it relates mainly to a single branch of rhetoric. And to accept the definition of oratory as "the art of speaking well", is not definite because the notion of speaking well is quite relative. Therefore, there must be measurable standards or parameters to be able to ascertain what exactly is meant by "speaking well". Indeed, a speaker addressing people in public may have any one of these four objectives to be achieved: to entertain, to inform, to convince, and to persuade. However, in Aristotle's opinion, merely entertaining and imparting information to audience is irrelevant and therefore, must be discounted because a speech that is to entertain and to give out information does not constitute what we recognize as oratory. This position is contestable. It may be argued that entertainment and information play vital roles in helping the orator in realising his oratorical goals. For instance, an orator may use humour to entertain his audience during important ceremonies such as marriage ceremonies, folktale sessions and libation prayers. Closely related to this, Salifu (2008) as cited in Plockey and Salifu (2018, p. 163) postulate that,

The *baansi* are the primary musicians of Dagbon. They provide music at various social functions such as: naming ceremonies, weddings, and other social functions. The tune of the praise names that are sung or beaten on the drum are the basis of the social dances that are performed at community gatherings.

In this respect, the advantages that the orator may derive are in two folds: first, convincing his audience to realise that his reason is sound. Second, appealing to those emotions which relate to his subject matter which may eventually lead his

audience to act as he wishes. Again, it is important to note that in oratory, two elements are key, thus, conviction and persuasion which must be present in every speech. In oration, the speaker must be able to please and excite the listeners and at the same time inform and convince them to respond appropriately to his wishes.

Furthermore, oratory which is the art of swaying audience through eloquent speech, started in ancient Greece and later, in Rome. It was put under the term “rhetoric”, that is, the art of composition and speech delivery. According to Shurter (1909), rhetoric is derived from the Greek word “rhetorike”, which means “the art of speaking.” He noted that in ancient Rome, speaking in public was a professional competence mainly practiced by politicians and lawyers. He added that Greeks were noted to be masters of oratory, and therefore, prominent Roman families often sent their sons to Greece to study oratory. As the Romans later adopted and modified the Greek art of public speaking, they developed a different style, which was regarded by some as a loss of content. The focus was the ability of the orator to speak fluently without having due regard for the real substance of the speech. However, this is all about eloquent speech. Therefore, there is a close-knitted relationship between oratory and rhetoric. As noted earlier, rhetoric is concerned with the effectiveness of language use. In other words, it is a mode of practical reasoning in which the form of rhetoric is an argument and its function is to persuade. It deals with discourse. Discourse is any communication of thought by words, either oral or written which hitherto, was referred to the oral form only. (Shurter, 1909 *ibid*). Richards (1965) also adds to our conception of rhetoric to mean that rhetoric is a mode of human understanding in which persuasion occurs when understanding takes place. Therefore, our conception of rhetoric has increased and broadened throughout the ages so that rhetoric is now seen as part of our humanity. It can therefore, be noted that rhetoric is characteristically unique to only humankind,



something that cannot be taken away from us.

Similarly, Carroll, 2003; Cothran, 2004; Frederick, 2004; Lynch, 2004 all share the opinion that rhetoric is the art of persuasion, that is, using language to convince or sway audience. It prescribes how to combine concepts into a logical composition so that they would communicate most effectively. Biesecker (2004, p. 10) and Burton (2004, p. 6) share similar sentiments that rhetorical impact has to do with the total bundle of semantics and pragmatics as it functions ultimately to produce certain intended meaning or effect. Therefore, if at the end of a discourse, there is no change in behaviour or value addition in the audience, then that becomes a big challenge.

Horner (1988) also notes that a speech that is carefully and eloquently delivered by the orator carries the greatest power in the emotional appeal he makes on his audience. Critically is the fact that oration and rhetoric are used to convince the audience.

Oratory may further be referred to as public speaking which appeals to the emotions and reasoning of people. An oration is a formally prepared and relatively elaborate discourse, wherein persuasion is the ultimate object and effect (Shurter, 1909, p.5; Knowles, 1916, p.245). They contend that oration is far from being an ordinary speech because it is a specialized form of public speaking. It is the reason the orator does not speak for the sake of it but rather speaks for a special purpose, in a special way and at a special time. Buehler and Johannesen (1965) explain oration as a memorized, original, persuasive speech and demonstrating qualities of logic, organization, language, delivery, and producing an effect of eloquence which is far above the ordinary. In a similar vein, Jay (1971) postulates that, for a speech to be qualified as oration, then it must be original, persuasive and well prepared. A speech

that falls short of these basic qualities therefore, can best be described as street speech. In fact, an original oratory should of necessity reflect maturity, intelligence, wit, and hopefulness. It is for this and other reasons that Ashley (2013, p. viii) points out that, “public speaking has long been recognized as one of the hardest and most terrifying forms of communication”. This is to emphasise the fact that one needs to build and possess self-confidence to be able to stand before an audience and deliver one’s speech. Therefore, oratory requires a lot of effort in creativity, passion, calculation and logical reasoning.

Yankah (1995, p. 45) also posits that, oratory is the “skilful control of words, yet there is no formal training in the art, since it comes naturally with constant exposure to traditional speaking situations.” Speech is indispensable to every human being, and one’s ability to communicate eloquently to his/her audience is a mark of good speaking. Among the Farefari, a child who communicates well is often regarded as a well-groomed child. The child’s eloquence may be described as, *bia nuure n zake*, meaning, ‘the child is eloquent’. However, the literal translation is that ‘*the child’s mouth is sharp*’. Sometimes, other speakers label him/her as, *buranya’ambia*, meaning ‘a grandfather’s child’. To them, the child is assumed to be able to pick this trait from his grandfather. A child being referred to as a grandfather’s child therefore, suggests that that child might have been close to the grandfather and so has been able to pick up this feature of him. One way of analysing this metaphorical statement is to consider the place of elderly men in the cultural context of wisdom among the Farefari. The elderly is generally considered the embodiment of wisdom and for that matter any child associated with them implies that the child’s eloquence may have been passed on to him by his elders over a period of time through regular interactions. (see Ababila 2006). Finnegan (2012, p. 431) observes that:

at the public palavers each linguist [official spokesman] stands up in turn and pours forth a flood of speech, the readiness and exuberance of which strikes the stranger with amusement and accompanies his words with gestures so various, graceful, and appropriate that it is a pleasure to look on, though the matter of oration cannot be understood.

Finnegan (p. 431) further points out that, “Every African native is a born orator and a connoisseur of oratory.” Therefore, the claim made by Finnegan could find space in oral tradition which also suggests that the art of oratory in oral genres is not the sole preserve of some special people such as the chiefs’ spokespersons or the elderly but of every native of African descent. Same can entirely be said of the Farefari tradition because every child is born with language.

According to the chief’s spokesperson, among the Farefari, not everyone is an orator but the argument is that individuals have qualities of delivering good speech. The constant exposure of the child to its mother tongue and encouragement to speak it could boost the child’s ability to be eloquent in speech and this is what is referred to as oratory, and the one who practices oratory or speaks in public is an orator. It should, however, be noted that it is not everyone who speaks in public is an orator but critically, the speaker who is able to address the subject matter in question and also being able to persuade their audience. For this reason, Quintilian pointed out that the orator is a man of “not only with exceptional powers of speech, but all the virtues of character as well and are often obliged to speak of justice, right courage, temperance and the like.” (Russell, 2001, p. 57).

Sanka (2010, p. 89), indicates that every native of the Sisaala land, that is, man, woman, adult or adolescent is expected to participate in the rendering of dirges during funeral occasions. When they involve in such communal events, they learn the art of

singing dirges at funerals. He however makes the point that mourners at funerals do not sing the entire dirges but rather sing the choruses. Similarly, Saanchi (2002) posits that Dagaaba also perform dirges to mourn their loved ones who pass to eternity. Therefore, as mourners sing the choruses, they acquire the skills in dirge performance through learning (see Fuentes 2017, Pear 2014). It is then obvious that, among the Sisaala and the Dagaaba, everyone is a potential orator as indicated by Finnegan (2012).

Closely linked to learning is imitation, a process through which one may acquire oratory skills. The learner thus, observes and replicates the behaviour of an experienced person in order to position him/herself well in the field of oratory. Imitation is also the transfer of information such as behaviours and customs between individuals and their future generations without the need for genetic inheritance (Zentall 2006). Human beings are capable of imitating the behaviours of their peers and elders. Therefore, one may learn to orate by imitating experts around us.

Furthermore, Yankah (1991) is of the view that, like wisdom, speech is accessible to both men and women and the skilful control of words is highly valued among the Akan of Ghana. However, he indicated that there is no formal training of individuals to become orators. Finnegan (2012, p. 439) also indicates that the Limba people of northern Sierra Leone do not have a formalised system of training people as community orators. Thus, she says:

the Limba do not provide any specialist training in rhetoric. It is true that chiefs are said to be instructed how to ‘speak well’ when, as in the case of a few of their number, they go into several weeks’ seclusion as part of their installation ceremonies. But this represents more the explicit significance attached to oratorical ability than any real attempt at training (Finnegan, *ibid*).

Finnegan further reiterates that as the young men listen to their elders and practice how to speak would gradually get to understand the tenets of public speaking. Eventually, “they may become, informally but unmistakably, accepted as respected elders, responsible for speaking at the most important gatherings.” The skill is acquired naturally through frequent exposure to traditional language use. The phenomenon is similar among the Farefari since everyone in the community picks language through constant observation, listening, imitation and practice.

Similarly, Qutbuddin (2019, p. 166) reveals that acquisition of Arabic oration was informal. Individuals who showed interest needed to learn the skill from a professional orator, through imitation and constant practice. He asserts that all leaders are obliged to orate and that marks a show of leadership. Therefore, leaders who lack oratory skills are bound to encounter a lot of challenges during their reign and that is why the symbiotic relationship between leadership (authority) and oratory becomes imperative. Qutbuddin goes further to quote a portion of the text of the concession speech of the third Sunni caliph, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān as:

The first ride [i.e., giving a speech for the first time] is difficult. But after today, there will be the other days of import. I have not been an orator, but if I continue in your service, orations will come as they should, God willing.

To further give credence to the informality of the acquisition of the Arabic oratory, the caliph reiterated his commitment to learning how to orate on the job after discovering his own shortcomings in formal speech delivery.

Gunn (2010) posits that masculine speech is the standard one which is culturally accepted. Again, he makes the point that the low pitch and assertive demeanour that characterise the adult male voice is an indication of reason, control and authority

suitable for the public domain. In contrast, he explains that women's voices are higher pitched like those of immature boys, and their characteristic speech patterns have a distinctive cadence that exhibits a wider range of emotional expression. The arguments espoused by Gunn make sense because they corroborate the Farefari belief that deep voice is associated with the adult male.

In fact, oratory is an effective tool of persuasion. Therefore, to be an effective orator as in the case of ancient Greece and Rome, individuals had to consciously undergo an extensive training to boost their skills in this art. However, it must be reiterated that oratory in the context of the Akan tradition is highly informal as alluded to by Yankah (1991). Sharing similar thoughts, the participants in the study indicated that there is no formal training of orators among the Farefari. Also, Gagarin (2001, p. 385) points out that:

neither male nor female orators in our context studied oratory formally. In addition to on-the-job practice, passive learning by participating in the audience was the chief method by which most male speakers in the early Islamic society also learned the art of public speaking.

There is no formal training for practitioners of the art among the Farefari community. Speeches were neither written down nor prepared in advance and delivered. This is because the orators were illiterates and could not read or write. Speakers deliver their speeches usually on the spur of the moment but adhering to consistency and factuality before an audience (cf. Yankah 1995). Similarly, Clements (2002) cites Gustafson (2000, p. xxii) as saying that an orator who performs before an audience without recourse to an already prepared text, notes or outline exhibits greater authenticity than the one who performs using printed material. Clements (ibid, p.16) further extrapolates that one of the significant sources of Native North American

oratory being positive and successful was because of its orality. In other words, they did not deliver their speeches from prepared, written texts. Same is realised in the context of the Farefari.

A typical example is the case of the current *kana* (the chief's spokesperson) who is currently serving under the current *Boonaba* (Paramount chief of Boonjo). He is linguistically and culturally competent in the language and highly knowledgeable in the traditions of the Farefari people. Apart from his role as the chief's spokesperson, the *kana* is a multi-purpose *Boonjo* persona acting as the chief's consultant and advisor. Indeed, the *kana* is the confidant and even the living encyclopedia of the chief. He has served under all the paramount chiefs of the traditional area because of his wide array of rich knowledge in traditions and history of the people. It is for this reason that the chief cannot take critical decisions without recourse to the *kana* since he works in tandem with him. Similarly, this phenomenon manifests among the people of Dagbon in the case of the *baansi* who, Plockey and Salifu (2018, p.154) described as "the living libraries" because of the critical role they play in the preservation and sustainability of the "culture and history of the people of Dagbon in the northern region of Ghana". In describing them as living libraries in society, Plockey and Salifu (ibid) cite Kah (2012) as saying, "traditional intellectuals like elders, clan heads, chiefs, historians, storytellers and musicians constitute libraries, or are librarians in their own right." In fact, they have even been described as "recorders and articulators of historical and present events". In other words, the *baansi* and for that matter the orators (oral artistes) keep stock of the community's recent events, revisit the past and replay/re-tell them as and when deemed fit. To further strengthen the position of orality of oration as espoused by previous authorities above, Ibn Qutaybah et al (2017, p. 185) point out that:



The speech of the Arabians is all extemporaneity and spontaneity, as though it is simply inspiration. There is no struggle, no suffering, no running things through the mind, no seeking help...[The speaker] would simply turn his imagination to the whole of the art...and meanings and words would come rushing to him on the spot. Then, he would not bind them to himself, nor teach them to one of his sons. They were unlettered-they did not write. Their words were natural, not forced...They did not memorize except that which attached itself to their hearts...without forcedness or intention, repetition or study.

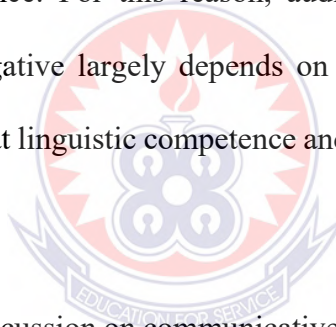
The point to note here is that the acquisition of Arabian oratory was highly informal and for this reason, practitioners did not have prepared scripts to read from as was the case with the Farefari oratory. Wamukoya (1982) is of the view that, the ability to manipulate and employ language effectively is a phenomenon highly regarded and acclaimed in a community. Therefore, to be seen as competent in the language and acknowledged as such means being abreast of the cultural knowledge and traditions of the people. Therefore, in the Farefari speaking community, both the young and the old have a feeling for language well used. To effectively accomplish this then requires the cultural knowledge of the people as well as the skilful use of language. It is against this background that Salzman, et al (2012, p.185) also remark that:

if societies are to function smoothly, their members must have not only linguistic competence (the knowledge of the grammatical rules of their mother tongue, acquired well before their adulthood) but also their communicative competence the knowledge of what is and what is not appropriate to say in any specific cultural context.

Similarly, Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) also point out that communicative competence is a synthesis of an underlying system of knowledge and skill needed for communication. They are of the view that knowledge is expressed



in three different ways: knowledge of underlying grammatical principles, knowledge of how to use language in a social context in order to fulfil communicative functions and knowledge of how to combine utterances and communicative functions with respect to discourse principles. Savignon (1972, p. 8) described communicative competence as “the ability to function in a truly communicative setting-that is, in a dynamic exchange in which linguistic competence must adapt itself to the total informational input, both linguistic and paralinguistic, of one or more interlocutors.” It is worth noting that context is key in the scheme of things. Again, Savignon reiterates that communicative competence is dynamic and it is relative, and an individual’s competence can be “observed, developed, maintained and evaluated only through performance. For this reason, audiences’ assessment of an orator whether positive or negative largely depends on the performance on stage, thus, underscoring the fact that linguistic competence and communicative competence are distinct phenomena.



In contributing to the discussion on communicative competence Okuma (1996) cites Saville-troike (1985, p. 24) as saying that:

Since communication competence refers to knowledge and skills for contextually appropriate use and interpretation of language in a community, it refers to the communicative knowledge and skills shared by the group, although these (like all aspects of culture) reside variably in its individual members.

The inspiration we get from Saville-Troike’s definition is the fact that individuals are different in their own capacities as orators and therefore, tolerance must be key. Again, it re-echoes the point that what is deemed appropriate and acceptable as communicative competence rests with the community. Public speakers are thus

minded to apply themselves to the rules of engagement (i.e., linguistic and communicative competences) with their audiences at all levels.

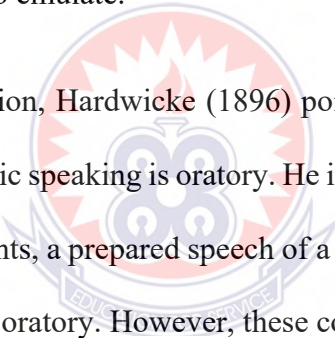
It is further noted that, to adequately interact and meet the aspirations of the audience, the speaker must have knowledge of his own character, that is, self-introspection. If he lacks this experience as a person, then, dealing with another person becomes problematic. To that extent, Hallen (2000, p. 43) states that:

The importance Yoruba discourse attaches to the personal element experience means that the knowledge I have of my own character (*iwà*) as arising from my conscious self, is privileged. When it comes to others, I may have to rely upon verbal and non-verbal behaviour. But for the self that I am, consciousness privileges me with introspective awareness. My behaviour follows upon thought, and my thought originates in my conscious self, my 'inside' or '*inú*.'

Again, since rhetoric is the ability to speak fluently, Phillips (2004) observes that in Athens, it was so critical for students of rhetoric to pick any argument regardless of the facts presented and speak to it. Essentially, the Gurene speaker, when engaged in any discourse or dispute, for instance, at the traditional law court, would always try to put forth a superior argument against his opponent whether or not his facts are right. What is intriguing is the fact that the art of rhetoric functions on the basis of probability. With this, listeners are left to make their own conclusions based on what is probable.

Further, it is also indisputable that effective oratory is a useful tool in law, politics, ceremonies, and religion among other social situations. However, oratory can be dangerous if it is not exercised well. It should not be used to satisfy an individual's or group of people's parochial interest. For example, people who are eloquent in the

language sometimes take advantage of vulnerable situations to cause uproar among citizens to rise against authority (in the case of traditional chiefs) who they may perceive as ineffective in the performance of their duties. Instead, it should rather be used to benefit an entire society. It is for this reason that the institution of a chief's spokesperson cannot be overlooked. For example, a subject is obliged by cultural norms to speak to the chief through the chief's spokesperson so that, if unfortunately, he makes unsavoury remarks before the chief, the liaison officer (the chief's spokesperson) would refine the thoughts nicely before delivering to the chief even though the chief would have heard everything. This is aimed at trying to avert the wrath of the chief. It is the reason skilled orators are expected to exhibit exemplary lives for their audience to emulate.



In the discussion of oration, Hardwicke (1896) points out that all oratory is public speaking, but not all public speaking is oratory. He indicates that a lecturer delivering a lecture to his/her students, a prepared speech of a politician and an award winner's speech cannot constitute oratory. However, these could be graduated to the status of oratory because the written speeches or lectures are eventually being delivered orally anyway. He further argues that oratory is a speech that appeals to our sentiments, stirs passions and emotions and encourages positive decisions in our lives. Indeed, the power of oratory is deeply felt when one is in deep grief, agony, pain, fear and anxiety invariably suggesting that all is lost and there is no hope. But in all of these challenging situations, oratory takes the centre stage and then becomes the ultimate source of hope for those who cannot bear the brunt of the situation.

Apart from that oratory exists above the ordinary because it is prepared and delivered with passion, infused with creativity and eventually crafted to offer a sublime

experience. For instance, what oratory seeks to do is to convince the individual of something, whether to accept a certain definition of freedom, or even an orientation of whether or not a recently deceased was a person worthy of mourning. It is important to recognise that the power of the spoken word cannot be underestimated. Oratory, therefore, permeates all facets of the life of the individual. It is on the basis of this that Hardwicke (ibid) observes that great speeches have influenced citizens to fight against societal injustice, throwing off tyranny and laying down their lives for worthy causes. Those who mourn, or are in agony can take solace in the art of oratory.

As said by the elders:

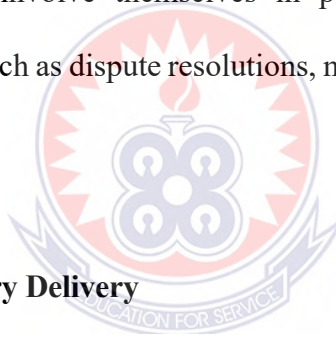
*Ko'om san burege dee gee yoore, fu wan maan ãke*  
water if pours and leaves pot 2SG would again fetch

‘If water pours and the pot is empty, it can be refilled.’

Literally, the pot represents the woman while the water represents the baby. Therefore, if the water pours while the pot is not shattered, the opportunity is there for the pot to be refilled with water. In other words, the woman can still conceive and give birth insofar as she is alive. The proverb is sometimes used to console women who get caught up in misfortunes of miscarriage during pregnancy. Indeed, considering that the human being by nature is so complex and unpredictable just as contexts are also complex, persuasion can sometimes be challenging. Therefore, the orator must consider them seriously to be able to persuade the audience successfully.

To be able to understand and fully appreciate the complex situations where we try to persuade others, Bitzer (1968) points out that opportunities for persuasion exist when there is an exigence or imperfection in social and political contexts that must be responded to. A good reference can be made to the September 11, 2001 episode in which terrorists flew planes into the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon.

According to Steel (2006, p.1) oratory, as a spoken phenomenon, is closely related to politics and government in Rome. She further indicates that the practicing orator concentrates on oratory as a “vehicle and focus for sustained critique of behaviour and values in Rome in general and of the elite in particular”. Steel discusses the preeminent status of oratory as an aristocratic skill and a means for the elite to become visible in public. Yet, rather than uttering fundamentally opposing views, orators competed with one another to appear the most likely champions of the world of the people. However, there is a sharp contrast between the status of oratory in Rome and that of the Farefari community. To the latter, oratory, as noted earlier, is informal. People who have control over the indigenous language (Gurene) and culture always try to involve themselves in performing leading roles during important ceremonies such as dispute resolutions, marriage ceremonies, funerals and chieftaincy installations.



## **2.6 The Style of Oratory Delivery**

In linguistic studies, style plays critical roles to the success or otherwise of any literary piece. If the performer’s style is apt then it would meet the high expectations of the audience. Therefore, the choice of style for any literary piece is determined by the performer. However, the performer could be influenced by the audience to alter his style during the performance, especially if the audience is not excited with the performance. It is also important to mention that context also plays a critical role in the success of a discourse or a literary piece of work. Thus, style is a unique way of using language in the manner that is inherently specific to an individual. This style is evident in speeches on political and social problems and also in the speeches of adjudicators of law, especially, in the traditional set-up. In all forms of orations

orators use vocatives when addressing their audiences, deities or gods. These vocatives are meant to draw the attention of the audience to the speaker or even to show a sign of respect to the audience. In discussing the Islamic oration, Gagarin (2001, p. 106), points out that “the vocative address was not confined to the opening of the speech, and the speaker typically inserted it at appropriate points within the text.” In addition, the vocatives serve as prompters to the audience that they are part of the speech performance and therefore need to pay attention. From the perspectives of the Farefari we shall discuss later in the subsequent chapters reflecting on the orators’ use of vocatives to execute their various speech performances.

On his part, Agyekum (2013, p. 39) posits that, “Style refers to the imagery, diction, i.e. choice of words.” He adds that an effective style makes use of literary devices including, metaphor, simile, personification, irony and paradox. Therefore, the dexterity of the orator largely depends on the style s/he adopts. Indeed, no two or more individuals can carry out a performance on the same genre the same way and realising the same effect; there would obviously be variations. For that reason, an individual may choose to use harsh, polite, or sarcastic language in a discourse in order to achieve the desired effect. This choice is usually determined in considering variables such as the genre, the mood of the performer, the audience as well as the setting.

Attempts at reconciling linguistics with literary studies, Halliday (1985, p. 70) states:

Linguistics is not and would never be the whole of literary analysis, and only the literary analyst-not the linguist-can determine the place of linguistics in literary studies. But if a text is to be described at all, then it should be described properly; and this means by the theories and methods developed in linguistics, the subject whose task is precisely to show how language

works.

It is clear from the statements above that there is no demarcation between the two disciplines; instead, the nature of their interaction is essentially complementary. In purely abstract terms, the concept of style is easy to define. The reason goes to the fact that such a term has become a catchy and inclusive word and, a widespread fashion in all aspects of our life. It is so broad that it defines many activities: we speak of style in architecture, literature, behaviour, linguistics, and lifestyle: the way we eat, drink, dress, talk, dance, walk, drive, and work, and other fields of human activity. In other words, style is a way of doing things which practically applies to all domains of human existence.

In addition, Classical rhetoricians believed that style was not just about ornamental, but rather, an appropriate use of language. Style was and still is as important to persuasion as the quality of the thought that the language expresses. Therefore, if the speaker orates before his target audience but the message so delivered lacks content knowledge, then it is much ado about nothing.

## **2.7 The Structure of Oratory**

The performance of a successful oral piece not only depends on the choice of style as noted above, but also the structure. Ordinarily, carrying out any task demands proper arrangement of things. Therefore, Agyekum (2013, p. 259) refers to structure, “as the general planned framework of outline of a piece of work; the logical division of a literary piece of work whether fiction, poetry or drama.” To that extent, the logical or sequential presentation of any speech, be it formal or informal, yields good results. Note that, in most speech situations there is usually turn-taking regarding who speaks first and who follows. For instance, among the Gurene speakers, when

there is adjudication of cases at the traditional chief's palace, the structure is laid down for speech turn-taking; the chief's spokesperson speaks first by welcoming the feuding parties and audience, stating the purpose of the gathering before handing over to the chief for his welcome address. When the actual adjudication starts, spokespersons for all participating parties take turns to speak on the issues without interruptions. Indeed, they have no locus to engage the chief directly in any form of the discourse but it is rather exhibited through the chief's spokesperson. This shows that there is protocol arrangement in the traditional set-up. It is interesting to note that, although participants adopt appropriate patterns of speech determined by the context, it is something of a mystery about how they know about what to say, and when and how to say it. It is the basis of this that makes Edwards and Westgate (1994) submission relevant. They observed that 'in many societies, children learn through imitating more experienced members of the group rather than being told how to do things.' It must be added that effective combination of style and structure by the performer makes the language rich which is a mark of good oratory skills. In addition, the oratory structure comprises three parts. It has an introduction, the body and the conclusion. In the performance of Farefari oral genres, there are established formulae as to how they begin and end. However, due to the flexibility of the art individual performers have the opportunity and privilege to apply their own skills when performing. The same person may deliver the same speech differently at another occasion. Before the orator addresses his audience, he has to introduce the topic to them. First, he welcomes his audience and asks for their attention so his message could be delivered. Depending on the target audience different address systems are used. Entities the orator may address include humans, deities and ancestors. Here, he reveals to them the topic(s) to be discussed. For instance, the



topic could be on marriage, funerals, epidemics, libation prayer and settling of disputes. The next to consider is the body of the discourse from which all detailed content would be discussed. Finally, the speaker concludes his speech by way of summarising the main points including reiterating the purpose of the speech. If the topic is about challenges in a marriage, it must involve the audience to be part of the solution to deal with the marital issues. In fact, the conclusion must be very good to have an impression on the audience.

Whereas the Farefari oration has three structures, Qutbuddin (2019, p. 64), posits that, “Arabic oration generally follows a five-part structure” which includes:

- (1) introduction-a formulaic praise-of-God (*tahmīd*);
- (2) a transition phrase, usually using the words “here is what comes after” (*ammāba ‘d*);
- (3) a phrase of direct address to the audience, such as “O people” (*ayyuh āl-nās*), occasionally followed by instructions to the audience to listen and pay heed, and/or a brief personal introduction;
- (4) the main body of the oration, with diverse themes; and
- (5) a concluding formula of prayer beseeching God’s pardon for the speaker and his audience, prefaced by a set declaratory phrase, “I say these words, and seek forgiveness for myself and for you” (*aqūlu qawlī hādhā wa-astaghfiru llāhā lī wa-lakum*).

Even though Qutbuddin (ibid) makes the claim that Arabic has a five-structured form of oration, it seems to the current researcher that they are three stages based on the above exposition. Rather than stating (2) and (3) as separate structures, they could be subsumed under the introductory phase because they seem to be detailing the sort of

expressions that could be used in the introductory stage of an Arabic oration.

Similarly, Clements (2002) cites Gustafson (2000, p. xxii) as saying that an orator who performs before an audience without recourse to an already prepared text, notes or outline exhibits greater authenticity than the one who performs using printed material. Clements (ibid, p.16) further extrapolates that one of the significant sources of Native North American oratory being positive and successful was because of its orality. In other words, they did not deliver their speeches from prepared, written texts. Same is realised in the context of the Farefari.

## 2.8 Marriage Issues

The African believes that life without marriage is not complete. It is like sleeping in a leaking room, and marriage without procreation is even worse. It is the very existence of humankind, without which a family lineage may go into extinction. A family that procreates leading to a big Farefari family in the community would always say, *dɔgum ani suŋa*, 'procreation is good.' A similar expression is found in Akan, *Awoɔ ye!* (Procreation is good) (see Opoku 1978, p.124). Various opinions have been shared on the greatness of marriage but the opinion that strikes me most is that of Mbiti's.

Mbiti (1970, pp.25-26) vividly captures marriage as saying that:

For African people, marriage is the focus of existence. It is the point where all the members of a given community meet; the departed, the living and those yet to be born. All the dimensions of time meet here, and the whole drama of history is repeated, renewed and revitalized. Marriage is a drama in which everyone becomes an actor or actress and not just a spectator. Therefore, marriage is a duty, a requirement from the corporate society, and a rhythm of life in which everyone must

participate. Otherwise, he who does not participate in it is a curse to the community, he is a rebel and a law-breaker, he is not only abnormal but under-human. Failure to get married under normal circumstances means that the person concerned has rejected society and society has rejected him in return.

As noted, marriage is a union between two families where a man and a woman fall in love with each other and get married to become wife and husband. They usually promise to stay together as a couple for the rest of their lives. When the man brings the woman intended to be his wife to his house, certain initial processes would have to take place because of the importance that is attached to marriage. As a result of the reverence accorded marriage, due diligence must be done before any couple begin to tie the knot. Both families (bride and bridegroom) usually carry out the ‘behind the scenes’ investigations to satisfy themselves that there are no impediments that are likely to stand in the way of the to-be couples.

Among the Farefari, marriage can be contracted through formal or informal means. In the case of the former, a suitor consciously pays a visit(s) to his lover at home to court her. Several visits could be made till there is consent and an appointed date is set for the marriage. If the girl’s parents give approval of a particular suitor and with the consent of the girl, a special date is set for the marriage. A few traditional items such as bowls, calabashes, and ingredients (such as, smoked guinea fowls, *dawadawa*, dry okro, pepper, salt, millet flour and sheabutter would be organised. When all is set, a grandmother, referred to as *pogeyabega* in the company of one or two women and the bride’s brothers would send the lady to her suitor for marriage. However, in the case of the informal marriage, the parents may not have the least idea of their daughter’s marriage plans. Here, the marriage arrangement is just between

the two lovers alone. The suitor may or may not pay an initial visit (*limesego*) to the girl's parents before the marriage is contracted. Sometimes, the girl attends an occasion such as a festival or funeral and gets married. The marriage may take several forms. The lady may be lured or forced into the marriage. She may also, on her own accord plan with her suitor, pack her personal effects and go and get married. When that happens, the *pɔgekigera* 'the marriage negotiator' would have to go to the yet to-be in-laws to inform them of the marriage. The negotiation for consent to the marriage may go on for some time till consensus is reached or otherwise.

Proper negotiations are also done to ensure the smooth sailing into the holy matrimony. In that regard, there is need to get someone who is endowed with the necessary oratory skills to take up that responsibility, who the Farefari refer to as *pɔgekigera*, 'marriage negotiator'.

## **2.9 Personalities who qualify to orate**

In discussing this, we have to avert our minds to how this is related to knowledge, status and genealogy. It is also relevant to consider the setting as a factor that determines who speaks, the content to deal with before assigning the roles to speakers. All these factors are considered in a bid to ensuring that the integrity of the speaking class is maintained, which is mainly male dominance. Of course, this does not happen in the Farefari culture alone but it happens elsewhere as well. Therefore, Eley (1992) indicates that:

In England and Germany, women were excluded from the liberal public sphere and from the associational life that had sprung up in the form of clubs and voluntary organizations. He further explains that the associations that were formed were restricted to the middle-class men and seen as a sphere where they could cultivate themselves as a

distinct class separate from the former aristocracy and from the lower classes.

It was also observed that the construction of the public space for the middle-class was just deliberate. In addition, participation in the public space was treated as a mark of class distinction in Bourdieu's sense (Fraser 1990, p. 60). Therefore, since women do not belong to this group, they are automatically not part of them. The implication is that the women are disadvantaged and would not have the opportunity to engage in public discourse or their participation would be limited.

Similarly, Gagarin (2001) observes that in ancient Greek society the women folk were underprivileged. Thus, he states that:

Of the thousands of speeches and sermons recorded by the sources, the vast majority in our period are by men. Given that orations were delivered by individuals in authority, and since leadership roles were held for the most part by men, it is to be expected that the men typically had the lion's share of the public voice.

While acknowledging the fact that women in ancient Greek society did not orate in public because of the established social structure, Gagarin (ibid) however intimated that a few orations were attributed to women but not without a course. He posits that:

women orators' authority derives from kinship, and their orations are grounded in trauma. Against the grain of the culture's mores, we find that a handful of high-born women in our period delivered public speeches at moments of societal rupture.

To buttress his claim Gagarin cites the following examples:

- That the Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', in the assembly of Abū Bakr and other Companions in an oration (three versions) argues for

her right to inherit the lands of Fadak and the right of her husband, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, to succeed the Prophet;

- That there were eulogy orations by daughters of the first three Sunni caliphs (the first two also wives of the Prophet), 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr, Ḥafṣah bint 'Umar, and 'Ā'ishah bint 'Uthmān, at the death of their fathers; a fourth by 'Uthmān's wife Nā'ilah bint al-Farāfiṣah, for her husband; and a fifth by an Iraqi Tamīmī tribeswoman named Ṣafīyyah bint Hishām al-Minqariyyah, for her cousin Aḥnaf (ibn Qays).
- That there was an oration by 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr urging her supporters to fight against 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel.
- Orations by the Iraqi tribeswomen Zarqā' bint al-'Adī al-Hamdāniyyah, Umm al-Khayr bint al-Ḥarīsh al-Bāriqiyyah, and 'Ikrishah bint al-Aṭash, urging their tribesmen to fight for 'Alī against Mu'āwiyah in the Battle of Ṣiffīn.
- That further orations in captivity by the Prophet's granddaughters Umm Kulthūm bint 'Alī and Zaynab bint 'Alī, after the Umayyads' killing of their brother Ḥusayn and other male kin at Karbala, chastising the Kufans who had betrayed their pledge to him and challenging the Umayyad leadership.

The above illustrations therefore point to the fact that even though society did not recognise women in the public space, they nonetheless did not hesitate to forcefully state their sentiments on pertinent issues affecting their well-being.

The participants expressed similar opinions that in mourning a beloved spouse who passes, the Farefari woman usually eulogises to show love and compassion to her departed spouse. She does this skilfully to express how she is pained during the

period of the passing of her husband.

In response to the question as to who has the right to orate, majority of the respondents observed that there are three main qualifications that must be met to qualify for ceremonial or public speech. The first consideration of the speaker was maleness; the second was maturity and the third, status. They contended that people who can speak at ceremonies are men who, by virtue of their qualifications and position in the community, have assumed leadership positions. However, an exception to the norm was made. It was generally observed that, when host families receive visitors of high profile as guests, it is prudent to equally present high-ranking speakers to engage them instead of those of low status. On the other hand, if the guests comprise only young people, then presenting equally young host speakers would not be out of place. Spokespersons from either side of the discourse ought to have equal linguistic pedigree. In fact, it is an honour to be given the opportunity to speak on issues at occasions. The respondents further argue that a person speaks not only for himself but on behalf of others. At the moment of speaking, the speaker assumes the position of a spokesman and therefore, must raise the standard of his performance, otherwise, he would disappoint the group he represents. Strategically, some speakers would refuse to speak rather than perform poorly that would bring dishonour and disgrace to themselves and that of their family members or the group they represent.

In addition, it was observed that renowned storytellers qualify to join the group of orators. It is rightly so because through constant storytelling, they are able to have command of Gurene and also be well-grounded in the knowledge of family history, custom, genealogies and protocols.

## 2.10 Qualities of an Orator

Public speaking is so important that standards are set for one to qualify as a public speaker. It is the reason Hardwick earlier espoused that all oratory is public speaking but not all public speaking is oratory. Therefore, one is deserving to possess some unique qualities before being able to orate. In this regard the study participants shared their opinions as to who really deserves to be an orator as far as the art is concerned. They were *yizukiima*, ‘clan head’, *pɔgekigera*, ‘marriage negotiator’, *solensɔlena*, ‘storyteller’, *kana*, ‘the chief’s spokesperson and *baga*, ‘soothsayer’. They had gained adequate knowledge and experience as far as formal speech or oratory is concerned because of their long-standing practice in the profession.

### 2.10.1 Yizukiima, ‘Head of Clan’

Interacting with a *yizukiima*, ‘head of a clan’, he explained that, in the olden days it was a general belief that the people were gifted speakers in their own language, and that the language was particularly well-suited to elegant, formal and ceremonial speech-making. This implies that the speaker must have acquired above average Gurene language proficiency and could speak beyond the everyday language. He however, indicated that as the years go by, the dynamics keep on changing, for he lamented, *fu san bisa, Atibirefareŋa buuri woo vuleseri Gurene suŋa suŋa me dee ba zo’e zo’e ka mi tɔgegunuma, yele yele wuu kɔmbipɔɔlɔ la. Bala me de la nimbaalega bɔ’ɔra tu*, meaning ‘even though many Farefari people speak Gurene fluently, very few people especially, the youth, are linguistically competent in oratory, and that does not augur well for us as a people.

Another respondent, *bayaa*, ‘a pallbearer’ makes a similar observation that people in the olden days were better speakers than speakers in these contemporary times. To him, the body



of knowledge and vocabulary that the previous speakers had is no longer the same in recent times. He went further to indicate that, previously, good speakers tended to possess a language bank specific to them. They also possessed the ability to articulate precisely what they wanted to communicate to their audience. He therefore, views the language of former speakers as classical and a prestigious one.

### **2.10.2 Baga, ‘Soothsayer/diviner’**

Soothsaying and divination are cultural practices among many ethnic groups in northern Ghana such as the Dagaaba, Dagbamba, Kasena, Bimoba, Gonja, Kusaasi and Farefari. Every spiritual life and well-being of these people is sought through divination (soothsaying). In this light, Azongo and Abubakari (2014, p. 999) stipulate that “divination and soothsaying are traditional mechanisms employed to gain vision or knowledge into a question or situation by using occultic methods, processes or rituals.” They contend that these practices are usually in a religious context used to find solutions to what appears to be disconnected and random facets of existence.

The soothsayer/diviner is the principal consultant in the whole business of prophesy and fortune telling in Farefari community. He is usually the first point of call when someone is in trouble and needs spiritual bail-out or direction. Therefore, spirituality cannot be discussed without the mention of the soothsayer. The *baga* indicated that some individuals are born with the gift of oratory. He cited the current *kana* of the Boongo traditional paramountcy, as one of such personalities. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, it is as a result of his distinctive linguistic competencies that he has held to this high office of royal officialdom over several decades to date. *Kana* was deemed to be blessed with the necessary skills to orate from childhood. He started life from

humble beginnings; he respected the elderly and was more or less an errand fellow for the elderly. He was always at the royal palace ready to execute any assignment given him. This humility offered him the great opportunity to get closer to the elders. As a result, he was privileged to have received traditional teachings. Note that it is stated earlier that, in former times, most elders did not want to share the traditional knowledge and culture to the upcoming generation. To some extent, the practice still exists, and that poses a difficulty. Therefore, many people were not privileged with the opportunity to receive the traditional teachings. But *kana* was blessed with more than sufficient grace and knowledge because the elders saw the potential or talent of becoming a great orator in him and therefore, did not hesitate to mentor him. In fact, it is highly possible that if an individual asks that he be taught by an elder how to orate, he would be disappointed. But an individual being aware of the norms associated with learning is something every Farefari indigene grows up with. However, the elders may occasionally rebuke you if you do not speak well within a certain context when you are expected to do better. To that extent, there would be certain innate qualities in you that elders would appreciate and encourage you to develop them. In fact, the *kana* himself has alluded to this fact in his own narration above. The elders do not actually teach you but would rather identify and place you in a situation where you absorb abundance of knowledge. As you observe and listen to words of wisdom, you may not notice that you are indirectly learning, but before long, you would find yourself on your feet orating too.

## **2.11 Summary of the Chapter**

In this chapter, I reviewed some scholarly works of authorities whose works were related to this current work. It has been established from the literature that the concept

of oration is grounded on persuasion. Whether a speaker wants to inform, educate or entertain his audience, first and foremost, he must be able to convince his audience to believing that accepting to give up their time and energy and listen to him is not a waste of time. We also found out that in oration, two elements are fundamental, thus, conviction and persuasion. Good voice projection also plays a critical role in language discourse. Oratory, be it formal or informal, manifests in occasions such as marriage ceremonies, funerals, dispute resolutions and chieftaincy installations. The issue of context also came to the fore as far as oral performances are concerned. In other words, contexts usually trigger performances (cf. Bauman, 1978; Finnegan, 1970; Okpewho, 1992; Agyekum, 2005; Yankah, 1989; Hagan, 1982; Nketiah, 1955; Teun A. van Dijk, 1998; Halliday and Hassan 1985).

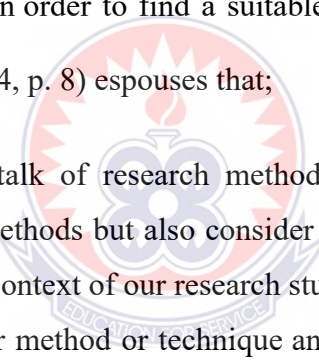
Oratory is classified into three main categories, namely; deliberative, forensic and epideictic. These are to address the challenges of the complex human being. It was also established that an orator can function effectively in society only if, he has acquired sufficient language competency and cultural knowledge of the people. In the discussion, we notice that style beautifies the performance of an orator. Style distinguishes the performance of one performer from the other. Apart from that, we have discussed the structure of oratory. It was established that for any oral piece to be effective, it must be well framed and laid out. The arrangement of the piece must be sequential and logical. Having discussed some of the relevant scholarly works in the study area, our next chapter discusses the methodology (the how) of the work.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the Methodology used in carrying out the research on the Farefari oratory. I chose the methodology that would lead to the yielding of good results for the study. Therefore, in discussing the methodology, I considered the following areas under the topic: research design, population, sample and sampling size, sampling technique, data collection instruments, data collection procedure and plans used to analyse the data. I also discuss data validity and reliability as well as some ethical considerations. Methodology is a systematic way of applying the various methods and techniques in order to find a suitable solution to a research problem. Therefore, Konthari (2004, p. 8) espouses that;



when we talk of research methodology, we not only talk of the research methods but also consider the logic behind the methods we use in the context of our research study and explain why we are using a particular method or technique and why we are not using others so that research results are capable of being evaluated either by the researcher himself or by others.

#### 3.1 Research Design

For successful execution of any research work, there was need for a carefully planned data collection procedure. As explained by Konthari (2004, p. 31):

A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. It is also the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data.

Konthari (ibid, p. 32) further posits out that, “it is imperative that an efficient appropriate design be prepared before starting research operations.” Kumar (2011) is also of the view that a research design is a plan, structure, strategy of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems. To that extent, the plan refers to the scheme and programme of the research. Kerlinger (1986, p. 279) also indicates that a research design of the sort includes “an outline of what the investigator would do from writing the hypotheses and their operational implications to the final analysis of data.” In other words, it is all the well-thought-out preparations that the researcher has to make in order that all the critical issues surrounding the research problem being investigated are resolved right from the beginning to the end of the research. It should therefore, be noted that, if the research design is not right, then one can be sure that the results and conclusions to be realised thereafter would be flawed because a good research design forms the backbone of a successful research work. Therefore, the research design chosen for this study is ethnography. This design was chosen because Creswell and Creswell (2018) rightly put it that, the individual’s behaviour is determined by the experience gained out of one’s direct interaction with the phenomena and attempt to understand the meaning of an experience from the perspective of the participant.

Yankah (1989, p. 64) posits that the most appropriate way of collecting an ethnographic data is to adopt the natural context situations (cf. Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Similarly, Salifu (2008, p. 15) agrees with this position when he indicated that, “material that would help us write about culture as an evolving way of life about a group, needs to be collected over a long period.” This is exactly so

because ethnographic study calls for in-depth study of the community and that surely cannot be done within a very short period. It therefore, means that, the researcher must live and interact with the community and collect the data. As a result, I spent about one and a half years with the community, interacted with them in order to collect the data. The interactions were both formal and informal. All the formal discourses such as dispute settlements, marriage ceremonies and libation prayers, were captured on digital tape recorders. Also, I recorded informal interactions such as chats or general conversations with colleagues. In addition to the digital tape recorder, I used a field notebook to document my data because ethnography also refers to the written product of the research process. As pointed out by (Flick 2009), a major concern of ethnography is the writing and reporting of experiences from the field. While gathering the data and considering critical issues within the discussion sessions, I was so mindful that I did not play out my personal biases, prejudices and philosophies into it as these would have marred the very essence which this research sought to achieve.

After each session, I interviewed the participants individually on different days to validate the data that I collected. My interest was also to find out how they are able to use language skilfully during conversations. For example, the speakers interwove their expressions with proverbs and other literary devices so beautifully to the admiration of their audience. It is worth mentioning that I collected my data mainly from a primary source.

### **3.1.1 Research Approach**

The researcher employed a qualitative approach which involves a field-based study lengthy enough to surface people's everyday norms, rituals, and routines in

detail (Wolcott 1999; Anderson-Levitt, 2006). Collecting data for qualitative research usually implies interacting with real-world situations and the people in them. Indeed, the approach was used to help investigate specific phenomena or situations in their natural setting arising out of the participants' experiences, thoughts, expressions and everything that surrounds them in their specific natural environment as espoused by Leavy, 2017; Chamberlain, 2016. This approach offered me the opportunity to appreciate and understand the import that individuals, respondents or participants in the study assigned to the phenomenon or problem that was being investigated (Creswell and Creswell 2018). Qualitative research does not deal with statistics. Rather, it is concerned with the analysis of a social phenomenon. In this regard, Creswell (2009) and Patton (2002) respectively, share similar opinions to the effect that qualitative approach describes events or persons scientifically without the use of numerical data. The instruments I used in collecting the data were interviews, observation and participant observation and my native speaker intuition. In this study, the number of participants selected for the study was small and on purpose which supports the argument by Gay and Airsian (2000) that, participants are selected on purpose mainly because they provide rich data concerning a research topic.

### **3.1.2 Population**

In a study, the entire group of individuals who are of interest to the investigator is the population (cf. Gravitter and Forzano 2006). Owu-Ewie (2017) cites Best and Kahn (2006), as explaining that, a population is a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common and of interest to the researcher. The Ghana Statistical Service (2021, p. 71) report indicates that the total population of the Bongo

District stands at 120, 254 per the 2021 Population and Housing Census (PHC). This figure represents 56, 920 males and 63, 334 females respectively.

### **3.1.3 Sample and Sampling Technique**

A sample is a set of individuals selected from a population and usually intended to represent the population in a research study (Gravitter & Forzano, 2006). According to Malhotra and Birks (2007), the most fundamental basis of any research is sampling, since from the sampling, generalisations applicable to the population from which the sample was obtained are reached. Therefore, the processes employed in selecting the research participants is called the sampling. All the selected participants such as the chiefs and their spokespersons, pallbearers, soothsayers, singers and storytellers constitute the sample of the study. One major benefit a researcher gets in choosing a sample is that the size is often small to deal with. It is also efficient, cost effective and less time-consuming as compared to an entire population of the area being studied. However, Bouma and Atkinson (1995, p. 122) posit that, “the more accurately we expect the data to reflect the total population, the larger would be the sample size and the more reliable and valid the results based on it would become.” Even though the position expressed by Bouma and Atkinson is true, I argue that sight should not, however, be lost on the fact that a population with an overly large sample size would not necessarily yield the desired results because of its tedious nature.

Furthermore, I used the purposive sampling method because I needed participants who were professionals in their various fields of endeavour and were indeed practising the professions for many years and therefore had gained enough experiences overtime. Kumar (2011, p. 213) affirms this position by stating that “the primary consideration in purposive sampling is your judgement as to who can provide the best information



to achieve the objectives of your study. You as a researcher only go to those people who in your opinion are likely to have the required information and be willing to share it with you.” The participants therefore, included; *naduma*, ‘chiefs’, *kanduma*, ‘spokespersons of chiefs’, *tindaanduma*, ‘land-priests’, *bayaasi*, ‘pallbearers’, *bageba*, ‘soothsayers/diviners’, *solensoleneba*, ‘storytellers’, and *pɔgebaambaanduma*, ‘female praise singers.’ Even though the rest of the community members who were not selected met the age-criterion of 60 years and above, they were not practitioners of the above professions and as such did not qualify to be selected.

In selecting the sample, I used two research assistants who did the background checks to locate the professionals at their various localities. As an indigene of the area and having lived there for almost all my life, I was also able to identify a number of the participants. Subsequently, I booked appointments with them and later met every individual participant at the time agreed upon. I explained the reasons for the research to all the participants and they accepted it as a worthy course and voluntarily agreed to participate in it. In selecting the sample, I used two research assistants who did the background checks to locate the professionals at their various localities. As an indigene of the area and having lived there for almost all my life, I was also able to identify a number of the participants. Anytime there were functions in their localities and these participants were invited to go and perform, I availed myself of the opportunity to collect the data as they performed. I conducted the research in five communities namely; *Akunduɔ*, *Apaataŋa*, *Bɔgereɔ*, *Biiɔ*, and *Dua*. In all these communities we could sample only twenty-five (25) participants comprising twenty (20) males and five (5) females. The disparity in the numbers between the male and the female is due to the fact that many of the professions such as pallbearership, chieftaincy, land ownership, and soothsaying/divination are typical occupations of

the male. For instance, as a native of the Farefari community, I have never seen or heard of women being in such professions. This observation was confirmed by my participants. The five (5) women identified were group song lead singers, representing the women folk. However, it is only in recent times that the chieftaincy institution instituted the enskinment of queen mothers in the study area to take up leadership roles which hitherto, was non-existent.

### **3.2 Data collection Instruments**

For this ethnographic study, I stayed in the community with the target group for a period of about one and a half years to collect the data for the study. I employed the services of informants from the study area to assist me in the collection of data necessary for the study. Primary data collection is a process which involves introspection and elicitation, interviews, recording, observation and participant observation within discussion sessions and focus groups and the recording of formal and informal discourses (Agyekum, 2013). To substantially achieve my objective under this data collection procedure I employed the following instruments: observation and participant observation and interviews. Indeed, the sources of my data were mostly oral and face-to-to-face. I interacted, observed and interviewed my participants. I transcribed the recorded data and then translated it into English for the benefit of non-speakers of Gurene.

#### **3.2.1 Observation and Participant Observation**

One of my methods in the data collection was observation and participant observation. Therefore, during the fieldwork I observed and, in some instances, participated in the ritual or social performances that were carried out in the research

sites. Some of these performances were marriage ceremonies, funeral rituals, child naming ceremonies, initiation rites for adolescents and adults, settlement of disputes and pouring of libation.

During these occasions I made recordings of the performances on audio tapes, transcribed and translated them into English. An illustration of one of such occasions was a marriage ceremony that was performed at a neighbour's house. As I observed and participated in the activity of the ceremony, I recorded the proceedings bearing in mind the orator's use of language. I participated fully in the ceremony because I wanted to observe and appreciate all the nuances of the ceremony to be able to establish data credibility. The elders of the family took their daughter through some cultural, social and psychological orientation before giving her out to the suitor. During this session, a lot of language expressions emerged. One of such expressions expressed by one of the elders was, *fu hale n wan pa'ale fu buuri tuusum n ani se'em*, which means, "your character shall obviously be a reflection of your family lineage". This piece of advice was to remind their daughter that she was not journeying into the world of holy matrimony as an individual, but carrying the face of the entire community along with her. In fact, that was a powerful message delivered to the young lady.

There was another occasion which necessitated the use of proverbs during a discourse. Madam 'A' lost a two-year old child. Sympathisers went to the bereaved to mourn with the family. In offering consolation words, the leader of the mourners said: *saa ka ηmi'iri pɔgeyiŋa bia muen*, which means 'every individual is susceptible to problems.' In other words, once the woman is alive, she can give birth again. This expression touched the bereaved and her temper was calmed down. All the while, I

was recording the discourse that was on-going but being very mindful of ethical considerations. Therefore, prior to my recording, I had informed them that the exercise was purely a scholarly work to help enrich our cultural information. I did that not oblivious of the fact that, in oral performance, when a performer realises that s/he is being observed s/he may tend to exaggerate events for impression. In addition, I used my field notebook to record some of the information. I had the opportunity of attending many of the community's social gatherings where I recorded lots of discourses. Such gatherings included funerals, weddings, story-telling sessions, drinking bars, durbar of chiefs, information centres and

### **3.2.2 Interviews**

Every now and then as we move about undertaking various activities, we may need one form of information or the other from people we may come into contact with. There are therefore several ways of gathering information from people and interviewing is one of them. It is regarded as the commonest method of getting information or data from people. Gall et al (1996) explain that an interview consists of oral questions framed by an interviewer with corresponding oral responses from an interviewee (research participant). Thus, the researcher asks the research participant series of questions and feedback is given. Similarly, Monette et al (1986, p. 156) posit that "an interview involves an interviewer reading questions to respondents and recording their answers" Burns (1997, p. 329) also observes that "an interview is a verbal interchange, often face to face, though the telephone may be used, in which an interviewer tries to elicit information, beliefs or opinions from another person." From the expositions of the scholars, what we can establish is the fact that there is interviewer-interviewee relationship and the mode of

communication is oral.

There are different types of methods of interviews that researchers may use to elicit data from respondents. These include; structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. First, with respect to the structured type of interview, it is a formalised one. All the questions are framed in such a way that they follow a certain order for the respondents to respond to. The window of opportunity for the respondent to feel comfortable, relaxed and free to express their views on issues under discussion is restricted. The questions are usually specific and thus require specific responses. Sometimes, optional responses are provided from which respondents are expected to choose. To that extent, Fontana and Frey (2005, p. 702) postulate that:

structured interviews generally use interview schedule-a list of questions that are repeated in the same order and in the same wording, like a theatrical script to be followed in a standardized and straightforward manner. Often times, the responses to the set of questions for the interviewees are limited (e.g., “I Agree, I don’t Agree, I Strongly Disagree”).

Second, is the unstructured method of interview. The questions are neither predetermined, standardised nor structured to follow a prescriptive order. In fact, the interview is highly flexible and informal. Both researcher and respondent feel comfortable and at ease to interact freely. It offers the opportunity to the respondent to be open-minded in order to express their views on topics under discussion. The researcher also seizes the opportunity to delve into detailed issues arising out of the respondent’s responses which he previously probably did not think about. In line with this assertion, Kumar (2011, p. 154) postulates that:

The strength of unstructured interviews is the almost complete freedom they provide in terms of content and structure. You are free to order these

in whatever sequence you wish. You also have complete freedom in terms of the wording you use and the way you explain questions to your respondents. You may formulate questions and raise issues on the spur of the moment, depending upon what occurs to you in the context of the discussion.

Third, we talk about the semi-structured method of interview. It is a composite of the two interview types-the structured and the unstructured. It is a method in which a portion of the questions set on the topic is predetermined while the rest of the questions are not. It is flexible, open-ended which gives the respondent some space to express their views freely concerning the issues under discussion. In case of doubts, the researcher is able to ask the respondent to give further details in order to give clarity to the issues that may arise. Again, since this method is an amalgamation of the structured and unstructured interviews, the resultant data could be reliable and credible.

Having discussed the different methods of interviews and having a clear understanding of the nuances of each of them, I employed the unstructured method of interview for the data collection. The choice is appropriate due to the fact that my research participants have not had formal education and as such could neither read nor write.

Challenged with the paucity of written material available, I opted for oral interviews because they are the most effective ways of eliciting quality information for my work. I conducted 35 interviews which spanned from 2017-2018. Five (5) of the respondents decided to share their experiences and knowledge on the subject matter of oratory informally by way of 'loose interactions', rather than following the more standard 'question and response' format. Unfortunately, two of the respondents

passed just before I was about to interview them. In fact, this sad episode prompted me to re-strategise and prioritise my interview processes. The venues for the interviews were determined by the informants: the locations where they felt most comfortable were the places that they chose for the interviews. Therefore, some of the interactions took place in their own homes, my home, at the funeral grounds, or the drinking spots. Most of these people I chose and interviewed were renowned quality practitioners of oratory in the community and were recognized as such. These people included *naba* (a chief), *kana* (a chief's spokesperson), *tindaana* (earth/land priest), *pɔgekigera/pɔgesigera* (a marriage negotiator), *baga* (a soothsayer), *bayake'ema* (a chief pallbearer), *kuywɔta* (final funeral rites duty bearer), *baambaana* (a praise singer) and *koka'ara* (a traditional worshipper/officiant).

My initial contacts with the informants were via telephone to get them prepared in advance for the interviews. When I arrived, I asked them whether they would allow me have the interview tape-recorded. Two of them objected to the request I made while the rest responded in the affirmative. Being aware that oratory is a male-dominated enterprise in and around the community, most of the people I interviewed were males. However, I interviewed women and the approach used differed slightly from the former. The women chose any area of oratory to talk about and tried to be more informal as much as possible throughout the discourse. During the interaction I realised that two of the women were reluctant to engage actively in the discussion of oratory, just because oratory is widely perceived and accepted to belong to the male. In fact, there were others I did not approach but upon hearing that I was researching into oratory, they voluntarily joined the group and participated. Most informants agreed to divulge their knowledge with the assurance that I would safeguard it because they did not want to be seen and perceived as 'competing' with

the male. When I gave them the assurance, they felt relaxed and confidently responded well to the demands of the interviews. I recorded the interviews, transcribed, and analysed them.

### **3.3 Data Analysis Procedure**

Data collected from the field through various means must be analysed in order to make meaning of a particular phenomenon being investigated. In view of that, Bogdan et al (1982) explain that data analysis in qualitative research refers to the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, observation notes, or other non-textual materials that the researcher accumulates to increase the understanding of the phenomenon (see Lodico et al., 2010).

In this study, the analysis of the data was done in two chapters, thus, chapters four (4) and five (5). The data was analysed according to themes such as, marriage, funerals, disaster (health pandemic, drought) and disputes based on the research questions. The researcher set out four research questions for the study. Research questions 1 and 2 were analysed in chapter 4 while questions 3 and 4 were analysed in chapter 5.

Research question 1 looked at the types of oratory in Farefari culture while question 2 centred on how language is structured in oratory Farefari culture. Research question 3 also looked at some of the literary devices used in Farefari oration, whereas, question 4 discussed how oratory is delivered in Farefari culture. The data I collected from the participants were transcribed and translated into English for easy reading and understanding for the sake of scholars or researchers who may not be native speakers of Gurenɛ.



### **3.4 Ethical Considerations**

Ethical consideration in research work is a sensitive one and ought to be treated with the utmost care that it deserves. It is an issue that concerns people's privacy; it touches on individual's emotions as well as societal cultural norms. Bailey (2004) indicates that all educational research activities require some ethical considerations because it is all about data being collected from people and about people. He further points out that ethics is a set of moral principles widely accepted and may offer rules and behavioural expectations about the conduct of subjects and respondents (Saunders, et al 2007; Lodico, et al 2010). It is for this among other reasons that Bryman (2008) explains that researchers must of necessity respect the privacy of every participant in a research activity. The opinions expressed by the various scholars are aimed at protecting and safeguarding the confidentiality of respondents in a study. Therefore, the researcher revealed to participants, the full details of the research. I informed them that this piece of work was purely academic but not for any financial gains. Therefore, I made it clear to them that the study was meant to document some aspects of our culture for posterity. Further, they were told that the research exercise was voluntary and as such, they could opt out at will without any consequential effects. Besides, they were informed that, they were not obliged to answer every question that was posed to them. On confidentiality, every participant was assured of the full cooperation from me (the researcher). Their rights to confidentiality and anonymity were highly guaranteed. The participants reciprocated by giving me their maximum cooperation.

### 3.5 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, the discussion centred on two sections; the theoretical framework and the methodology. It was established that the study was situated within the context of Classical Rhetoric. From the discussions, it was clear that the theory embraces all category of practitioners including the chieftaincy, marriage and the institution of pallbearers. Also, the art of persuasion and practical application of language formed the philosophy of classical rhetoric.

In this chapter, we have also talked about the methodology of data collection. What emerged first and foremost in this section is that in ethnographic study, the natural method of collecting data from respondents is the better option. It was established that in order to obtain the best data which is neither refined nor adulterated, the researcher has to immerse himself in the community for a reasonable period of time to conduct the research. Therefore, we also noted that several data collections under the ethnographic techniques were employed. Some of them were interviews, introspection, audio recordings, observation and participant observation. Again, we observed that it was also helpful to use informants to help with the data collection. We also chose respondents who were experienced, responsible and knowledgeable in the language and culture of the Farefari since oratorical speeches are not just mere speeches that everyone can express. Apart from the researcher living and interacting with the speech community over a period to collect the data, it was also appreciated that the collection of secondary data was of essence to the study. Therefore, library materials such as journals, articles, magazines and internet materials were all sought to enrich the data for the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ORATORY AND HOW ORATORY IS STRUCTURED IN FAREFARI CULTURE

#### 4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the data that was collected. In discussing the data, I am guided by the four research questions that I formulated. I have discussed the four questions in two separate sections. Two of such questions are discussed in this chapter. Thus, research questions one and two. Research question one sought to find out the types of oratory that are found in Farefari culture while question two discussed how language is structured in oratory in Farefari culture. Question three dealt with some of the literary devices that manifested in Farefari oratory while question four centred on how oratory is delivered in Farefari culture.

In analysing the data in this chapter, Hymes (1974) SPEAKING model is reiterated as outlined in 2.4 above as:

**S**-Setting and scene; Hymes has considered that “the setting refers to the time and place while scene describes the environment of the situation.

**P**-Participants; this refers to who is involved in the speech including the speaker and the audience.

**E**-Ends; the purpose and goals of the speech or the expected outcomes of the speech.

**A**-Act Sequence; the order of events that took place during the speech.

**K**-key; the overall tone or manner of the speech.

**I**-Instruments; the form and style of the speech being given.

**N**-Norms; defines what is socially acceptable at the event.

**G**-Genre; type of speech that is being given.

#### **4.1 Research Question 1: What types of oratory are found in Farefari culture?**

Oratory constitutes a part of human communication and used for different purposes. Therefore, these arms of oratory essentially cover a lot of what we talk about daily which Aristotle (in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C) identified and classified into three, namely; deliberative, forensic and epideictic (see Kennedy 1991, Freese 2020). According to Hesk (2009, p. 145), Aristotle's vision of rhetoric was that, "it being a practical discourse; an important counterpart to philosophical dialectic in a real-world setting where a speaker is seeking the best available means of persuasion in the face of mass audiences." For this reason, the speaker is obliged to find out the best ways possible in addressing the audience so that they get the best out of the oration.

##### **4.1.1 Deliberative Oratory (Legislative)**

Deliberative oratory as we discussed in 2.3.1 above, it is a speech that a speaker delivers to an audience with the sole aim of allowing them make their own decision on a particular issue. After listening attentively to an addresser, the addressees may either be persuaded or otherwise with the arguments advanced by the speaker. In other words, the speaker does not have to compel the audience to agree to his point of thought. If they are convinced that whatever decision they are taking would be to their greater advantage, they go ahead and endorse it. It is against this backdrop that Agyekum (2004) points out that for an audience to buy into the principles and ideals of a speaker, then the speaker has to implore persuasive language. What is central to deliberative oratory is the fact that it gives room for people to make their own choices, as affirmed by Finnegan 2012. This proposition is what the classical rhetoric seeks to achieve, hence, relying on the use of persuasive language (Frederick, 2004). Relying on the data collected we have discussed the phenomenon further as can be

seen below for better appreciation and understanding.

#### 4.4.1.1 An alleged Bewitching of a young lady

##### Background

An elderly woman Aloobase (pseudo name) in the community was accused of being behind the many reported cases of deaths in the community in recent times. What finally broke the camel's back was a recent case that occurred when a 15-year-old girl was alleged to have been bewitched by the old woman. But for the timely intervention of one of the opinion leaders in the village who whisked the old woman away on his motorbike to the chief's palace, the youth in the community, in a mob action would have lynched her with their cudgels, clubs, cutlasses and machetes. In a furious mood, the youth massed-up at the chief's palace and demanded the chief to release the woman to them but the chief turned down their demand. The event took place on 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2017 at the chief's palace, Dua in the Upper East Region. The participants were the chief and his spokesperson, elders and the accused person while the audience included the Assemblyman and some community members.

Let us consider an example of data in **Appendix H** under the heading, “**An alleged bewitching of a young lady**”, in which we encounter a situation where the chief of Bɔgereɔ was addressing an angry youth group of the community who tried to lynch a woman they accused of having bewitched a young lady. Indeed, the chief admonished the youth for the action they were embarking on to address their concerns. For in **lines 1-4 of the Appendix**, the chief bemoans:

##### Gureɛ version

<b>Naba:</b>	<i>Selese yaa!, Selese yaa! Selese ya suŋa suŋa! Ya boi? Ya n</i>	1
	<i>gagera ŋwana sagesagi wa, zuo daana boi tiŋa wa puan? Ya ka</i>	2

*mi ti yaaba tingane wa kiseri ziim me? Asaala ziim ka takeri tingane 3*  
*wa zuo. Ziim san tɔke tiŋa, la wan iŋe mi 'isego. Bala, yele la n diŋe 4*  
*paɛ n nu'usin la, base ya di bo mam la n kima ti tu maale dee daaŋɔ 5*  
*kan bɔna. Zama woo n boi kalam wa, di ya sugeri dee bisera ya mam! 6*

### English version

**The Chief:** Listen! listen! and listen carefully! Are you there? All these grumbling and murmuring that you make around, do you acknowledge that there is a leader in this community? Don't you know that the land forbids blood? No human blood spills on this land! If blood ever spills, there would be disaster. So, once the issue is before me, there wouldn't be any further problems. All of you gathered here, I humbly plead with you to put your trust and confidence in me to deal with the issue.

He points out to the youth that the ancestral land forbids human blood, and the consequences of any violation of the custom would be dire. However, in order not to aggravate the anger of the youth, the chief used persuasiveness to appeal to them to rethink of what they intended doing. For, in **lines 4-6** of the text above, he says;

### Gurenɛ version

*Bala, yele la n diŋe paɛ n nu'usin la, base ya di bo mam la n kima 4*  
*ti tu maale dee daaŋɔ kan bɔna. Zama woo n boi kalam wa, 5*  
*di ya sugeri dee bisera ya mam! 6*

### English:

So, once the issue is before me, there wouldn't be any further problems. All of you gathered here, I humbly plead with you to put your trust and confidence in me to deal with the issue. The youth, being mindful of the repercussions and what would probably happen to their future if they did not listen to their chief and did something untoward, surrendered their clubs and cudgels and retreated.

Considering that the human being by nature is so complex and unpredictable just as contexts are also complex, persuasion can sometimes be challenging. As a result, the

chief considered that seriously and was thus able to successfully persuade the youth to calm down. This is in line with what Bitzer (1968) affirms that opportunities for persuasion exist when there is an exigence or imperfection in social and political contexts that must be responded to. Therefore, the timely intervention of the chief by addressing the youth really cooled down nerves and saved the situation. Indeed, the repeated phrase in **Appendix H, line 1**, *Selese ya! Selese ya! Selese ya suna suna!* meaning, ‘Listen! Listen! and listen carefully’ as an opening speech of the chief is suggestive that the chief was overwhelmed with the mob. It also laid emphasis on his authority which could not be compromised. Note also that the chief disapproved the action of the mob, admonishing them to avoid using violence as a means of addressing critical issues when he said in **lines 2-4** that, *ya ka mi ti yaaba tingane wa kiseri ziim me? Asaala ziim ka takeri tingane wa zuo. Ziim san tɔke tiŋa, la wan iŋe mi’isego*, which means ‘don’t you know that the land forbids human blood?’ No human blood spills on this land! If blood ever spills, there would be disaster.

Another critical point of interest was the firm assurance from the chief to the audience that he would do everything possible to avert any mishaps in future when he pledged that, *Bia zuo pugum kan le iŋe waam so’olum wa puan*, (**Appendix H, lines 5-6**) to mean, ‘not even a child would experience headache in this community again!’ We can observe from the address of the chief to the mob that the tone of the language was initially harsh, stern, but ended up in a mild and persuasive manner.

From the above discussion, it is obvious that the application of the classical rhetoric theory fits well into the study. The speaker made use of the canons so identified by Aristotle as cited by De Wet (2010) in 2.2 above. The chief applied the first canon in his speech because he knew exactly what he had to address the angry youth on so

they could be pleased to rescind their decision on whatever they had planned carrying out. He also arranged and presented his content in such a logical and sequential order that the youth was persuaded. After the chief had spoken, the youth backed off back to their respective homes though not happy. In this instance, the youth's attack on the alleged witch (the old woman) amounted to an exigence and demanded a swift persuasive response from the chief. Therefore, the chief's speech was focused on addressing the immediate needs, problems and aspirations of the youth, thereby, assuring them that he would deal with the problem to avert similar occurrences in the future. In fact, the brief address of the chief was basically, persuasive in nature, which is an example of deliberative oratory. For example, **in line 6** of the text, the chief uses the phrase, *di ya sugeri dee bisera ya mam*, meaning 'have patience and put your trust in me.' Corbett and Connors (1999) therefore, state that, deliberative oratory concerns itself with the comparison between the worthy and the unworthy and seeks to persuade the audience to pursue a certain viewpoint. The chief did not only persuade his audience but he also persuaded them within a brief span of time. Since deliberative oratory is marked by time-constraints, the chief had to provoke a sense of urgency on the matter by calling the youth to order through persuasion. By so doing, he was able to win over the audience because he had predicted the outcome of the matter if he did not act promptly to curtail the intended actions of the mob. The end result of the chief's intervention supports Dell Hymes' SPEAKING model of communication.

The chief wanted to achieve peace and that was why he was persuading the angry youth, and eventually, that was achieved. This falls in tandem with the third canon, thus the style. His choice of diction, appropriate use of language expression as seen in the discussion as well as the urgency he attached to the problem yielded positive



results to the benefit of the community. He also addressed the youth eloquently which got them convinced.

From the speech event above, we gathered the following information:

The chief intervenes to save the life of an elderly woman who was alleged to have bewitched a girl in the community.

**Setting and scene:** The setting of this speech event was at the palace of the chief of Dua. It was in the morning.

**Participants:** The chief and his council of elders, the accused (the elderly woman), community youth.

**Ends:** The chief was upset about the intended action of the youth but he intervened timely and there was a resolution of the problem.

**Act sequence:** The youth arrived at the chief's palace with anger asking for the blood of the old woman. The chief received the angry youth with tact. He addressed the youth persuasively and clearly stated his position on the alleged accusation. He made the youth appreciate the consequences that might arise through their actions and inactions.

**Key:** Initially, the tone of the speech was stern and high. In other words, the address of the chief to the youth was quite serious and emotional. However, the conclusion of the address was a plea.

**Instrument:** The channel of the speech was totally oral and formal.

**Norms of interactions:** Due to the sensitive nature of the issue at stake the chief tried as much as possible to suppress his deep emotional feelings about the intended actions of the youth in order that he could calm down the youth.

**Genre:** Persuasive speech.

In language discourse, there is a feature called deixis which Crystal (1991) describes as a term in linguistic theory that subsumes those features of discourse in language which refer directly to the personal, temporal or locational characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place, whose meaning is thus relative to that situation: for example, *now/then, here/there, I/you, this/that* are all deictic expressions. This means that a speech may be delivered within the contemporary period of time or in the remote past. There is also a setting and participants as well. For example, if a speech is delivered several questions would have to be addressed; who delivered the speech, to whom was the speech addressed, when and why was the speech delivered? (Hymes 1974). Therefore, anything that a speaker intends to utter must be well packaged and situated within proper context because that forms part of the cultural values of the Farefari. The people believe in the narration of factual accuracies of events that can stand the test of time. In the context of the 9/11, the then President of United States of America exercised the classical rhetoric theory to publicly address the nation which was re-assuring to the citizenry (See Gunn, 2010). Indeed, addressing the nation meant that the participants were varied; adults, youth, children, married and unmarried.

#### **4.1.1.2 Dispute over a Parcel of Land**

##### **Excerpt from Appendix G**

##### **Background:**

Two people had a dispute that resulted into a serious brawl. The families of the two people could not resolve the issue amicably and therefore had to go to their traditional chief for settlement. Each of them tried to convince the jury (i.e., the chief and his elders) that the other started the fight. The participants were the chief, his

spokesperson, council of elders, community members and the two litigants. The two disputants wanted to remain anonymous. Therefore, ‘Asokɔ’ and ‘Aboko’ represent each of them respectively. The event took place on 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 2017 in the morning at the Biiɔ chief’s palace in the Bongo District of the Upper East Region of Ghana. The end result was to allow the two litigants to engage themselves in a healthy debate so that the chief and his council of elders as well as the general public to form their own opinions. Therefore, the use of Hymes’ SPEAKING model in the study cannot be overemphasised.

This type of oratory occurs when two or more people are involved in a dispute and are allowed to make their arguments and counter-arguments before a jury and or audience. Here, there is no judgement that is passed on the disputants because their arguments are based tactically on probability of their cases. Listeners or audience are then left to form their own opinions about the facts which have been presented to them. Let us consider the following excerpt in **Appendix G**.

**Mr. Asokɔ:**

*Naa, Mam n zeɪ wa, ya mi ti N de la gile. Dee biɛɛ ya eɲa n zeɪ la* 14  
*kinkasi se'em wa, a san zɛ mam a kan faɓɛ mam wuu kuyire bua?* 15  
*ɲwana wa, N yeti N iɲɛ la ɲwani ta'am tie nu'o lobe a peka wia?* 16  
*Naa, N nuure za'a n bala.* 17

**Mr. Aboko:**

*Naa, la siren de sira ti N tari paɲa gana e.* 34  
*Bala, nera woo wan ti'ise ti mam n ɲmɛ e wia dee la* 35  
*dagi sira. Bala ti tu yaabeduma make ti,* 36  
*Ba ka tari tu'a lasera yire la.”* 37  
*Naa, mam kɔa n bala.* 38

**Mr. Asokɔ:** Father, you can see that I am a weak person. Look at my opponent, he is a well-built person and therefore, stronger than me. If he gets hold of me, would not I even collapse before he messes me up? Therefore, how probable would it be that I slapped him first? Father, that is my message.

**Mr. Aboko:** It is really obvious that I am stronger than him. By logic, everyone would think that I hit him first, but it is not probable that I did. That is why our forefathers stated that ‘the baobab tree cannot be used as timber to put up a building.’

From the above incident, it could be realised that each speaker tries to win his case by persuading the audience to their side. Larson (1998) supports the claim that persuasive speech leads to success. On the face value of the narrations of each person, it would be difficult to make a sound judgment as to who is guilty or otherwise. Each person must be able to put up a superior argument in order to win his case. Therefore, the object of an orator is to make even the weakest argument, the strongest. Mr. Asokɔ’s claim that he is the weaker person and therefore, could not have hit Mr. Aboko first could be sound, but this argument on the contrary could be far-fetched. Being slim does not really mean being weak in strength, intelligence and skill. It is in an instance of this nature that the elders in Farefari say that, *dagi nuure n de paŋa*, which means, ‘being so vocal does not mean strength’. Similarly, it is logic that since Mr. Aboko is stronger than Mr. Asokɔ, he would have hit him first. However, it could also be that Mr. Asokɔ hit him first which could stir up controversies among the audience as to the validity of each argument. It is in this context that Mr. Aboko referenced the elders as using the Gurene proverb (**in line 37 of the text above**) that, *ba ka tari tu’a lasera yire*, which means, ‘they do not use the baobab tree as timber to put up a building’. Traditionally, the baobab tree seems to be

the biggest among all trees in the northern part of Ghana. The body of the tree is however, spongy and soft and therefore, cannot be used as timber to support construction in any form. Therefore, it would be illogical to conclude that being muscular equates to strength. Since rhetoric is the ability to speak fluently, Phillips (2004) then observes that in Athens, it was so critical for students of rhetoric to pick up any argument regardless of the facts presented and speak to it. Phillips' observation thus supports the fact that it was difficult to pass judgement as to who really speaks to the facts. Essentially, the Gurene speaker, when engaged in any discourse or dispute, for instance, at the traditional law court, would always try to put forth a superior argument against his opponent whether or not his facts are right. What is intriguing is the fact that the art of rhetoric functions on the basis of probability. With this, listeners are left to make their own conclusions based on what is probable. This therefore goes to affirm what deliberative oratory seeks to achieve, that is, not really passing judgement on who is guilty or innocent (Cohen, 2006). The discussions thus far fall in line with the classical rhetoric theory which is aimed at giving opportunity to orators to be able to convince their audience on pertinent issues. Both made use of the canons. They packaged their messages well and presented same before the chief and his council of elders and the audience. The two litigants used different styles, that is, choice of words and expressions. They also adopted their different presentation styles so they could sound convincing to the jury and the audience. As noted earlier, the ultimate goal of the theory is to offer opportunity to all manner of people in the public space to be able to present their cases to audience in a persuasive manner for specific purposes.

#### 4.1.1.3 Time with a Newly Married Bride

##### Background

A young man from Bɔgereɔ married a wife from Beo in the Boonɔ District of the Upper East Region. The bride was sent to the house of the head of family for grooming. She was welcomed into the household and she stayed there for a couple of days. During this period, family and neighbours entertained her with all forms of entertainment such as dance and folktales. In this context, the storytelling sessions dominated throughout the period of confinement. One of the stories that a renowned storyteller narrated to the bride and groom as well as the audience to listen and entertain themselves is found in **Appendix B(ii)**. In the analysis, Hymes (1974) SPEAKING model and the classical rhetoric theory continue to form the basis. In this speech event a newly married couple is welcomed into the house of the head of family of the bridegroom.

**Setting and scene:** The setting of this speech event was at the house of head of family in Bɔgereɔ. It was in the evening.

**Participants:** The head of family and spouse, storytellers, the couple, community members.

**Ends:** To groom the bride on womanhood and also for entertainment. It was also meant to foster unity and family bond among the bride and the community.

**Act sequence:** The bride was warmly welcomed by the household of the family head. The youth expressed joy for having a newly married couple in the family. The entertainers took turns to expressively exhibit resilience in their folktale delivery.

**Key:** Encouraging words and messages to the couple.

**Instrument:** The channel of interaction was totally oral and formal.

**Norms of interactions:** The warm reception the bride received from the head of family and the community was a clear indication that she was warmly welcomed.

**Genre:** The genre of the interaction was friendly.

Historically, the marriage institution was seen purely first, as a community property and second, a family one. Therefore, a newly married wife was the asset for all in the community. All the people in the community shared the joy in this holy matrimony. When a suitor married his wife, the woman was first sent to the head of family of the man to stay there for at least a week for marital orientation. The foster mother took her through daily tutorials on household chores such as sweeping, cooking, washing, how to receive and serve visitors/strangers, care for husband and care for both nuclear and extended family members. During this period, community members, both old and young gathered at the home of the Head of clan at night to entertain the bride. Storytellers entertained her with lots of folktales and other forms of entertainment. When all was done, the community members went back to their various homes while the bride and her spouse stayed. This usually continued each day throughout the days the bride would be staying at the head of family's house until she was handed over to the family of the groom. It is important to state that during the period the bride was staying with the foster parents, they taught her the things she needed to know while in her matrimonial home. They carried out this cultural obligation to the best of their abilities. They encouraged the bride to always see everyone in the community as one of their own and accord them all the protocols they deserved as and when necessary.

#### 4.1.1.4 Day 1 Visitation: At the In-law's House

##### Background

Mr X's son married a lady in a certain town during *Azambene* 'a seasonal Fire Festival' celebrated by the people of Boonjo called *Bɔɔsi*. A *pɔgekigera*, 'marriage negotiator' is usually chosen and is responsible for all negotiations between the bride's family and that of the groom's as far as marriage arrangements are concerned. Therefore, he was tasked to go and inform the lady's family that their daughter was married, and also to negotiate well with them for acceptance of the marriage. As such, he went and met with the family of the bride and interacted with them as seen in the previous visitation (see **Appendix F(i)**). We want to establish Hymes (1974) model for the discussion.

**Setting and scene:** The setting of this speech event was at the bride's family in Dua.

The visit was in the morning as custom demands.

**Participants:** The in-laws, *pɔgekigera* (the person negotiating the marriage), witnesses.

**Ends:** The *pɔgekigera* was negotiating with the in-laws for the ratification of the marriage but the request was turned down.

**Act sequence:** The in-laws warmly welcomed the *pɔgekigera* by the family head.

The *pɔgekigera* was asked to state his reason for the visit. He was asking for ratification of the marriage but the family head turned down his request and demanded that his daughter be brought back to him.

**Key:** While the tone of the family head was serious, that of the *pɔgekigera* was sober and persuasive.

**Instrument:** The channel of interaction was totally oral and formal.



**Norms of interactions:** The request and refusal were made indirectly for face-saving.

**Genre:** There was a lively interaction.

In addition, the rhetorical canons were at play in the discussion between the in-laws and the *pɔgekigera*. Both understood the content under discussion very well and each presented their arguments well in order to persuade the other. The interlocutors were mindful of their choices of language use as well as the cultural norms associated with their tradition. All these are reflected in the ensuing discussions below:

The *pɔgekigera* went and informed the family of the bride. When he entered the house, he informally greeted the in-laws and in response, they welcomed him. The mother-in-law offered him water to drink after which they sent for their Head of clan to come and receive the visitor since that had been the tradition over the years.

After the formal greetings and exchange of pleasantries, the *pɔgekigera* made known his mission for the visitation. His message was that, he was sent to formally inform the head of clan that they had married their daughter as a wife. He received the message in good faith but demanded that the girl be brought back home for spiritual cleansing before she could be properly married. The *pɔgekigera* thanked him but pleaded that they should be allowed to send the *nu'o nua*<sup>2</sup> to ratify the marriage before the rituals were performed.

The head of clan turned down the request and insisted on his demand to the point that, he remarked that;

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<sup>2</sup>*Nu'o nua* is the fowl (cock) that is usually presented to the family of a bride to ratify the marriage. When it is accepted, the bride then becomes the bona fide wife of the groom and under no circumstance would she allow herself to be courted by another man. If she sleeps with another man, it means she has breached the spiritual rule which goes with spiritual censors.

**Gurenɛ rendition**

*Mam n diɲe yele se'em la, tu dagi saama la taaba. Tu mi taaba suɲa suɲa mɛ 26*  
*dee fu me mi suɲa suɲa ti ki'in-yɛla ka de'eni. 27*

**English rendition**

As noted earlier, we aren't aliens to each other, but you're pretty aware that spiritual issues are not to be compromised.

The stance taken by the head of clan not to yield to the pressure from the *pɔgekigera* to compromise the cultural norms affirms the strong belief and strict adherence to the traditional and religious norms of the Farefari society. That explains why the head of clan told the *pɔgekigera* in **Appendix F(i), lines 26-27** above that, even though he recognized that they did not have bad relationship among the two families, things that matter must be adhered to. Any awkward thing which is to be done and is likely not to be of mutual benefit to the parties involved, must be avoided. These statements highlight the fact that, the decisions of the living can be negotiated but that of the living-dead is not negotiable.

In taking leave of the in-laws, the *dɛempɔka*, 'mother in-law' pleaded with the *pɔgekigera* to stay so that she could serve him some food. She said in **Line 41** that;

*Base ti N iɲɛ ko'om bo fu,* 'let me offer you water'. 41

The *pɔgekigera* acknowledged the kind gesture but declined and indicated that it should be deferred to another time. Thus,

*Dɛema, di sugeri dee ko'om nyua dabesere boi* 42  
 'In-law, no thank you; there would be another opportunity.'

Note that, *ko'om*, 'water' as used in the sentences above refers to food instead of the ordinary water. However, if a visitor pays a visit to a home, serving the visitor with

ordinary water is mandatory before exchange of greetings. On the contrary, cooking food for a visitor is optional. The point to make here is this, no Farefari traditional woman who wants to cook food for a visitor would ever wait for the said visitor to ask of leave of her before she begins to invite him or her to wait for food. If the woman does not intend to actually prepare food for that visitor, the latter would ask of leave before the host invites him/her to wait for a meal to be prepared. This is part of the cultural practices just to satisfy the norms of politeness.

On the other hand, if food is to be served the visitor, the landlady would evade exchanging pleasantries with the visitor until the food is served. In fact, she would do that diligently and with dispatch. Further, the use of *ko'om*, 'water' in the interaction also points out the fact that, the predominant occupation of the Farefari is farming. As a result, households have food to feed on. Therefore, it is so ordinary to invite someone to wait for food, hence, the metaphorical use of *ko'om* instead. However, mention must be made that, *zonko'om* 'flour water' is a substitute for "real solid food", such as *sagebo* (locally prepared meal made from millet flour). The invitation to offer the visitor with the *zonko'om* was to satisfy the cultural norm of the community.

Finally, the head of clan told the *pɔgekigera* that his decision was final, and if they wanted to legalise the marriage, then compliance with the demand was key. Without further pleas and arguments, the *pɔgekigera* thanked the head of clan and his elders for the opportunity and left for home to deliver the feedback to the elders. Both speakers used persuasive language to woo the other. Therefore, the theory is in tandem with every aspect of the life of an individual. The practical use of language was at play during the discussion, which of course is what the theory is hinged on (Frederick, 2004).

#### 4.1.1.5 Day 2 Visitation: At the in-law's house

##### Background

This visit is a follow-up of the Day 1 visitation. The *pɔgekigera* went to the lady's parents to inform them that she was married to them and needed their approval but this request was turned down. The parents demanded that their daughter be brought back for ritual performances before she could marry properly. The *pɔgekigera* persuaded the head of clan to consent to it but to no avail. Therefore, the elders of the groom's family had to send the *pɔgekigera* back for further interactions and persuasion. The *pɔgekigera* made a second visit to their to-be in-law's house to do further negotiations for the marriage rites to be performed so they could own the lady as a wife. After the usual formal greetings, the two parties were set for real business.

The head of clan of the lady asked the *pɔgekigera* of his mission, and he responded. He told the head of clan that his father (the landlord) has sent him back for further negotiations. The head of clan did not think there was going to be further negotiations since he had earlier demanded that his daughter be brought back to him for spiritual cleansing. For he said, *Soke e bisɛ, N poyua la bɛɛ? Sɔsega la za'a n bala*, meaning 'ask him, where is my daughter? That's all the message' (see **Appendix F(ii), line 17**). The head of clan reiterated his position in **line 20-21** that,

##### Gurenɛ version

<i>Sɔsega n boi bii? Mam yeti a tara n bia la na ti N ka'asɛ</i>	20
<i>N ko'om. Sɔsega la za'a n bala.</i>	21

##### English version

Is there an issue to deal with again? I've asked him to bring back my daughter so that I perform some rituals for her. That's all the message.

Indeed, bringing back his daughter was the crux of the matter and very important

and dear to the heart of the head of clan. Therefore, the repetition of the sentence, *sɔsega la za'a n bala* 'that's all the message' in both instances above, is suggestive of the head of clan's reaffirmation of the premium he has put on his consistent demand of his daughter to be brought back to him. Despite the fact that the head of clan insisted that their daughter be brought back, the *pɔgekigera* still pleaded and persuaded the head of clan to apply wisdom and give consent for the ratification of the marriage to take place before they could deal with the spiritual aspect of the marriage rites. Indeed, the justifications and counter justifications went on and on for a while until the head of clan accepted the plea of the *pɔgekigera* but not without conditions (Allen, 2007, 2008). In **lines 25-30**, he told the *pɔgekigera* that;

#### Gurenɛ version

<i>Tɔ, a san kelum zɛa la bala, N-wan yeti bo? Tu de la saama la</i>	25
<i>taaba ti tu tara taaba zaalena yuura yoi? Yi kɔ'ɛ bo e ti a san kule,</i>	26
<i>dabesa ata wa puan, a mina ti nu'o nua san kina na, N nii ita</i>	27
<i>(nagesara ayi la lɔlega) n boi bini. A kelum mina ti banaa la ka</i>	28
<i>kurelane la zuvaka. A san nyaŋɛ yeke-ana wa, a sɔi a pɔga mɛ.</i>	29
<i>Mam sɔsega la za'a za'a n bala.</i>	30

#### English version

that in the next three days, he should return with the marriage ratification cock, bride price of three cattle (a male and two females) and a set of smock wear (up and down) and a fez to match. He emphasised that if those items were fulfilled, then they could marry the lady.

With this satisfying declaration, the *pɔgekigera* in **Appendix F(ii), Line 33** responded that, "*fua ka ke'em la ka data,*" as espoused by the elders. This means, a subordinate does not challenge his/her superior. If we consider the words *fua*, 'a

visually impaired person’ and *data*, ‘a guide’, we realise that the latter has an advantage over the former in terms of movement from one place to the other. In other words, to be helped to advance in life by the experienced, it is prudent for one to be humble and accept to be mentored and guided.

Finally, the *pɔgekigera* expressed appreciation to the head of clan and family and pledged to convey the message back home for consideration and further action. With joy, he said, *diinduma make yeti*, “*adibuurɔ me ka zĩ naba yire*” (Line 34), which literally means, ‘if you are granted favour by adjudicators at the traditional court, you do not wait for even a second at the chief’s palace.’ The implication is that, if a case is judged in your favour at the traditional court, you have to leave immediately. Your continuous stay around the palace may lead you into trouble because it is believed that the chief or the adjudication body may change their mind and withdraw the verdict because your actions or inactions may unfortunately anger them while you still hang around the palace. *Adibuurɔ* is the name of an anonymous (imaginary) person made up of three parts:

<i>A</i>	+	<i>di</i>	+	<i>buurɔ</i>
3sg				V-eat
victory/favour				‘S/he
				has gained favour’

In essence, if one is accorded due respect and dignity, one does not disregard or abuse those courtesies. Three days after the *pɔgekigera* went to inform the in-laws-to-be about their daughter’s marriage, he made another visitation. Per the traditions and cultural values of marriage procedures and processes among the Farefari, an average of a three-day interval is usually marked as the ideal period for all negotiations, thus, from courtship to the payment of bride price. In other words, anytime a *pɔgekigera* goes to negotiate in any of the marriage processes and he is told

to go back home and return for feedback after which time the family would have met and concluded on a decision, it would be expected that the *ɔɔgekigera* would return on the third day. Therefore, the *ɔɔgekigera*'s second visitation to the in-laws-to-be is to pursue the path of persuasion in order that the marriage procedures could be followed and carried out successfully. To that extent, the speaker for the groom would have to combine his linguistic competence with the cultural knowledge of the society that he has acquired over the years. It is within this context that May (2002, p. 49) states that "the usual goal of any speaker who addresses a jury or an assembly of peers is persuasion; and persuasion is generally achieved only when an orator can relate closely to the customs, tastes, fears, and desires of his audience." Note that it is a tradition that even if the parents of the lady would grant the marriage, they would not approve of it during the initial visitation. The parents would always find reasonable grounds to persuade the *ɔɔgekigera* in order to dismiss him so he may return if he so desires, which they do all the time anyway. This position is important to the lady's family because they have an image to protect. They do not want to be seen as compromising on anything, for example, in a literal sense, as selling their daughter as a 'cheap commodity'. This, they believe, would bring glory and honour to the girl, her family and the entire community. That is, they have to portray to the outside world that they uphold and cherish high moral standards, else society may misconstrue them to have weak moral values in the family. Freese (2020) supports the aim of the theory which concerns the manipulation of language in order to persuade an audience. It is also a way of allowing the bride's parents to buy time in order to carry out some undercover investigations about the history of the groom's family. These may include whether there is a family history of congenital ailments, their moral values such as thievery, armed robbery, unsustained marriages,



witchcraft, to mention but a few. Since both parties share similar cultural values, they both understand the construct from the *dɛɛndɔɔ*, ‘father in-law’s’ position as he raised the rhetorical question, thus; *Sɔsega n boi bii? Mam yeti a tara N bia la na ti N ka’ase N ko’om*, (see **Appendix F(ii), Line 20-21**) ‘Is there anything else? I told him to bring back my daughter for some rituals’. This was followed by a response from the *pɔgekigera* as in **Lines 23-24** below:

### **Gurenɛ rendition**

*N wum ya dee sugeri n kelum bɔna nɛŋa. Tu san maale ba’ase,* 23

*tu wan kelum dike yeledine me base. Imma’asum la ti tu za’a ɛɛra.* 24

### **English rendition**

I’ve heard but still have patience. If we conceal the marriage, we can deal with the rest of the issues later. It is about good health that we are all seeking for.

Another point to note is that, negotiations are very necessary in matters concerning marriage. Therefore, the families of the bride and bridegroom try as much as possible to negotiate and get good deals for themselves but not oblivious of the laid down cultural norms and practices. From the interaction between the *yizukiima*, ‘head of clan’ and the *pɔgekigera*, ‘marriage negotiator’, we find out that there is some compromise between them. Whereas the *yizukiima* keeps demanding for her daughter to be brought back to him, the *pɔgekigera* on his part continues with the negotiations. They usually strike a fine balance, and in the end, none of the parties is short-changed but rather each gets satisfied with the deals they might have struck among themselves.



From the discussions thus far, we notice that the essentials of Hymes' SPEAKING model and the classical rhetoric theory which manifested in the **Day 1 visit** of the *pɔgekigera* are same in the **Day 2 visit**. However, what is different between the two engagements is the fact that, the family head of the bride has now sanctioned the ratification of the marriage to be made as against the initial decline of the head of family to agree to the request made by the *pɔgekigera*.

#### 4.1.1.5.1 Payment of Bride Price

##### Background

Akagerɛ's (pseudo name) daughter gets married and his in-laws come to pay the bride price and he invites family members to bear witness to the occasion. The data above reveal that the speaker did not exclude his audience from the speech. The use of the pronouns in the conversation is indicative of the fact that both the speaker and the audience are together as a family. Among the Farefari, one's daughter's bride-price is not received by him in secrecy. There must be witnesses because it is a communal society in which the people live. So, for instance, in **Appendix F(iii)**, **lines 8-10**, the Head of clan makes the statement;

##### Gurenɛ version

<i>Yele tu sɔbia la ti tu dɛenduma la pɔgeyua la n boi tu nu'usin la ka</i>	8
<i>ɲwɔnti tu tari la ba sane n bala? Bala ti mam nye nagesara ayi ti</i>	9
<i>ba wa'am wa bise. Bala inya ti mam wi'ira ti ya lagum wa nyɛ.</i>	10

##### English rendition

Inform our neighbour that once we asked the hand in marriage of our in-laws' daughter it means we're indebted to them. As a result, I've

gotten two cows and invite them to come and assess them for their acceptability or otherwise. It's on the basis of that I invited you to come and bear witness.

The *sobia*, in the scheme of things as far as cultural norms and traditions are concerned, cannot be left out. In most of the crucial matters and decision-making, the *sobia* must be present to bear witness. However, a representative comes in his stead when he is unable to honour an invitation. Indeed, this is a reflection of what the Farefari society cherishes, thus making sure that there is always a witness when two or more people gather to undertake a major project such as marriage. Therefore, the decision to invite the *sobia* and others during the paying of the bride price is most appropriate. As seen in the expressions, the speaker uses the pronouns *mam*, 'I' and *tu*, 'you' respectively to stress the point that no individual can claim ownership of a child as far as the Farefari community is concerned. Indeed, it is a crucial requirement for the successful execution of any marriage event as far as the Farefari culture is concerned. It is a sign of protecting the integrity and sanctity of the institution of marriage among the people.

#### **4.1.1.5.2 Pɔgekigera, 'Marriage Negotiator'**

A *pɔgekigera*, 'marriage negotiator' also observes that there are some identifiable characteristics that can distinguish good oratory from bad oratory. These include aesthetic, stylistic, linguistic and cultural factors. Therefore, the best orator must be the one that addresses the issue under discussion. In other words, the orator is highly expected to possess the skills that meet the requirements of the occasion. Therefore, the *pɔgekigera* intimates that, for a person to be called a great orator means being able to express their thoughts and to enhance their delivery by including proverbs in

their speeches. Thus, he says:

### **Gurene version**

*Daami sa la, nereba yuum ni sɔsera, tɔgebiɲemo n ni bɔna bini. Bala la, sɔsega la yuum ni kɔ'ɔm tara la kɔresi ti fu bɔta ti ba sɔsera wuu. Dee zina beere wa, bala ka le ba'am bɔna. Nera woo nyaa kɔ'ɔm tɔgera la iɲa n boti se'em. Bala la ka baseri ti yetɔgum la tara tibesum la magelum.*

### **English version:**

In the olden days, elders used to intersperse their speeches with proverbs and proverbial expressions which they were proud and fond of, which indeed made the Gurene language rich and admirable by their audience. On the contrary, that is being waned in these contemporary times because everyone communicates the way they like.

The *pɔgekigera* added that the orator also makes good use of eye contact and gestures to attract full attention of the audience. In doing that, he maintains that an orator must have the quality of integrating personal qualities and charisma with linguistic skills and cultural knowledge in order to express ideas that would provoke thinking in the listeners. In other words, a good orator must be one who is able to articulate his thoughts well enough and to persuade their audience through language use and cultural knowledge. It is in this respect that Hymes' SPEAKING model and classical rhetoric theory become relevant in this study. Both stress on speakers being able to identify the needs of the audience, appropriate use of language, sequential arrangement of thoughts as well as good delivery of content. Orators are personalities society reveres so much that the least opportunity given at any occasion they are called upon to perform one form of a task or the other. They possess the expertise of speech delivery. Again, they are even described as "walking encyclopaedias" (see Plockey and Salifu 2018). Of course, such personalities always think on their feet. In

this regard, people who are sluggish are not usually recognised and not called upon to perform a function that calls for the display of linguistic competence.

#### 4.1.1.5.3 Death and Mourning of a Spouse

##### Background

A 47-year-old woman Azãarema, (a pseudo name) lost her spouse in an accident when he fell from a baobab tree in a bid to pluck *tokara*<sup>3</sup>, ‘baobab tree leaves’ for her to sell. The sale of *tokara* is one of the businesses of women in the Apaataŋa community. The proceeds from the sale of these leaves are used to support the family budget. As custom demands, when the incident happened, mourners trooped in to mourn with the bereaved family. As noted in **Appendix D(i)**, bereavement is a moment of grief that an individual or family goes through during the moment of great loss of a loved one. Death has been culturally considered as a sad or unpleasant occasion, due to the termination of social and family bonds with the deceased or affection for the being that has passed on. Therefore, all mortals recognise the fact that death is a necessary evil of life.

When death does occur, the bereaved would grieve for a period of time in respect of their lost relative, which of course is a natural process. During this period, several mourners usually troop in to the bereaved family to mourn with them. Therefore, from the data gathered we find mourners interacting with the bereaved family to sympathise with them.

From the data in **Appendix D(ii)**, we found out that the greetings were not the regular daily ones such as *fu bulika*, ‘good morning’, *fu wunteɛɛŋa*, ‘good afternoon’, and *fu*

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<sup>3</sup> *Tokara* are leaves from the baobab tree used for preparing soup. *Tokara* soup is served and eaten with *tuozaafi* (TZ), a staple food of the Farefari people and northerners as a whole.

*zaanuure*, ‘good evening’. They were rather special greetings. For example, in **Line 3** of the text, the representative of the mourners greeted, *La tu bobeyine*, which literally means ‘and our one place’. This translates to mean, ‘we share the grief together’. This is an indication that the speaker has acquired both language and cultural knowledge competences. The word *bobeyine* as a component of the greeting is a compound word, comprising *bobere*, ‘place’ and *yine*, ‘one’. The word therefore, means a ‘gathering at one place’ which is not used ordinarily when there is no funeral. Also, the possessive pronoun *tu*, ‘our’ in *la tu bobeyine* underscores the fact that the loss of the deceased is the loss of everyone. In other words, the mourners did not exclude themselves from the equation. It is a notion of inclusivity in which the lead-speaker together with his entourage see themselves as belonging to the bereaved family and sharing the grief together. Being able to use the correct expression in greetings affirms the linguistic competency of the speaker. The data therefore affirm what the CRT talks about, that is, having the capacity of both linguistic and communicative competences in the context of public speech delivery whose principal aim is persuasion. Again, the mood of the mourners was also an expression of grief as they mourned with the bereaved family.

Another consoling expression used during the dialogue by the mourners is, “*Saa ka ŋmi’iri pɔge-yiŋa bia muen*” in **Line 17**, which literally means ‘rain does not beat only one woman’s child in the forest.’ The metaphorical use of the expression suggests that when people go to the forest to undertake various activities such as farming, hunting or harvesting of fuel, the rainfall does not discriminate as to who it should affect whether or not there is shelter. Significantly, it means, misfortune does not affect only one person. Therefore, there are several people who might have gone through similar situations and even sometimes, worse. Indeed, no one is insulated

from worldly troubles. In **Lines 18-20**, the *kima*, ‘the elders’ stated that:

<i>La kɔ'ɔm dɛna la sira.</i>	18
<i>Dee tu tari la di paɲa yoi? La de la Ndugema Naawine tuuma.</i>	19
<i>Iɲa n boti se'em ti A ita.</i>	20

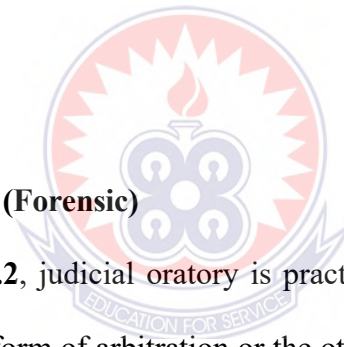
### **English**

It is really true

Do we have authority over God? It is the work of the Almighty God.

He does whatever pleases Him

In essence, no one has power over God. It is the Almighty God that superintends everything on earth. They also reassured the widow that she should take consolation in the fact that the Almighty God was with her late husband and that all his needs would be met.



### **4.1.2 Judicial Oratory (Forensic)**

As noted earlier in 2.3.2, judicial oratory is practiced mostly in areas of disputes among litigants in one form of arbitration or the other. It usually involves disputing factions, either individuals or communal. Judicial oration usually discusses what happens in the past. It gives opportunity for the determination of individual's actions or inactions, that is, determining the justice or injustice of an accusation or charge. Those practitioners who deal more with judicial rhetoric are lawyers and judges who usually determine the key values of justice. The following discussions would throw more light on the subject-matter.

#### **4.1.2.1 Reciprocity**

Reciprocity is a global phenomenon. No nation, group or individuals can be said to be self-sufficient in every aspect of human life. The needs could be economical,

social, cultural or spiritual. Therefore, at one time or the other, there would be compelling reasons that one has to reciprocate what others have offered or done. It strengthens good relationship among individuals or groups of people.

### **Background**

Two friends who had been together for quite some time, have had their relationship turned sour. Anytime they went outing or attended a function, only one of them sponsored the expenses while the other colleague played tricks and thought that he was playing a fast one on his colleague. The colleague who felt he was being cheated by his friend stopped going out with him which their parents were not pleased with. After finding out the reason for the sudden break in friendship their parents decided to intervene. Incidentally, the parents of the young men were also friends even from childhood.

The participants were Akukere and Agoofo (the two friends), family elders, and parents of the two friends. I used pseudo names for the two friends because they preferred to remain anonymous. The audience to witness the case were family members. The incident took place on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, 2018 at Akunduo in the Bofofo District of Upper East Region. The reason for the gathering was for mediation and reconciliation.

In **Appendix L** under the heading “**Reciprocity**”, we get into a dispute or disagreement or lack of trust between two close friends (Akukere and Agoofo). Their friendship initially seemed a living testimony of good faith between them but that was short-lived. Akukere was a generous person while Agoofo was a miser. Anytime they went outing, Akukere bore all the expenses in terms of food and drinks. However, unknown to Akukere, his colleague would sneak out to eat and drink and

return as if nothing has happened. When Akukere discovered what his friend was doing, he broke ties with him. (see excerpt from Appendix L, lines 15-19) below:

### Gurenɛ version

*Tu ka kɛ da'a bii kiŋɛ zi'an ti a tuna a funifuen ita sela. La san dena daam 15*  
*a ni li'ise mɛ ta iŋɛ kapi dee duuse nuurɛ lebe na zɛa wuu nɔa n di dee 16*  
*dike nuurɛ duuse tiŋa se'em la. Dee mam san da dia bii daam a wan po 17*  
*di dee nyu. Bala ti mam yeti, a tara a niyu'urɛ bɔna ti n me bɔna, bem zuo, 18*  
*tu nyaa ni kɛ da'a bii kiŋɛ la de'enseko, tu ta'am ni ɛ kom la bala ta kule. 19*

### English

When we travel to any occasion, he hardly spends money on anything. When he feels like having a drink, he excuses himself and goes alone to drink but would return looking innocent as if he hadn't taken in anything. However, anytime I buy drink or food, he enjoys without contributing to it. We could go for occasions and return to the house without eating. As a result, I decided that we separate.

In fact, it became a big issue and their parents had to intervene in order to resolve it. Asked whether or not Akukere was justified for the action that he took, Agɔɔŋɔ answered in the affirmative. (see excerpt from Appendix L, Lines 30-31).

### Gurenɛ version

*Migira, yelemiŋɛ, mam zɔ la n yeke se'em la, pumpɔreŋɔ ka bini. 30*  
*Mam daa siren iti la binya'ate. Tu n tɔsege taaba base daare, la kɔ'om 31*  
*dena la kumpiino bɔ'ɔra mam. Mam ka le tana ki'ira da'a bii bii kina 32*  
*de'ejo de'ejo bem zuo, mam funini la vusum la za'a. 33*

### English

Father, all that my friend has narrated is nothing but the truth. In fact, I acted childishly. Ever since we separated it has not been easy at all for me. Going to the market or attending any official occasion has been a daunting task because my pocket leaks.



Significantly, Agɔɔɔɔ's statements confirmed the action of his friend, and that he indeed, acted childishly. Indeed, Agɔɔɔɔ packaged and memorised all the bad deeds his friend had meted out to him and narrated same to their parents when he was asked to present his side of the story. This is what the classical rhetoric aims at. This is because, whereas his friend was open and magnanimous towards him, he did the opposite. Knowing the facts of the matter and justifiably so, the elders reprimanded Agɔɔɔɔ and reconciled the two friends. It was therefore, during the interaction that one of the parents used a proverb as seen below as a way of offering them a little piece of advice:

*“ημε μιηα κοηε kuunɔ”*

The proverb means one cannot complain when one inflicts pain on oneself (See **Appendix L, line 34**). The point to make here is that people must accept responsibility for their own mistakes or inadequacies rather than blaming others. What is intriguing is about the name *Agɔɔɔɔ*, ‘someone who is tagged a fool.’ He was the persona who rather cheated his friend *Akukere*, ‘a proud person.’ The lesson to learn here is this, one should never underrate the integrity of anyone because the behaviour of Agɔɔɔɔ does not portray him positively. That is why during the interaction in **Appendix L, Lines 13- 15**, we appreciate Akukere's lamentation as relevant. He says:

### **Gurene**

<i>Ba ni yeti</i>	13
<i>azagela yu'ure doli e me dee aai, mam zɔ yu'ure wa ka doli e.</i>	14
<i>Agɔɔɔɔ, ti a tugum nie gana nera woo</i>	15

### **English**

It is often said that one's name portrays his/her character but that of

my friend's is different. His name Agɔɔŋɔ, "Fool" rather portrays him as wise.

The attribution of the expression is that, often times, one's name portrays his/her character but that of Agɔɔŋɔ's is quite different. He was always taking advantage of the generosity of his friend to cheat him, be it food or drink. But in the end, he ended up paying a big price for his bad conduct.

Again, from the discussion, we find another display of appropriate use of language in context. Interrogating and trying to help resolve the rift between the two friends, one of the elders used the expression, "*zuɔ nu'o peeri gɔbega nu'o mɛ ti gɔbega nu'o mɛ pɛɛra zuɔ nu'o*" to advise them on life experiences. The import of the expression is about the principle of reciprocity. That is, one should never always be at the receiving end only, but also making a positive return gesture. In Farefari society and elsewhere, no one is self-sufficient in life. We rely on one another almost on daily basis. The proverb used above is a case of parallelism which Agyekum (1999, p. 52) refers to as chiasmus. He posits that:

chiasmus is a rhetorical term used to describe a construction involving the repetition of words or elements in reverse order. It is an inversion of word order that creates a counter balancing effect in the second of two linked phrases.

The subject position is occupied by *zuɔ nu'o*, 'right hand' while *gɔbega nu'o*, 'left hand' is the object. In the reverse order, *zuɔ nu'o* becomes the object while *gɔbega nu'o* takes the subject position. Identical words are repeated in the sentence, the noun phrase (NP) *zuɔ nu'o* in the subject position takes a verb (*peeri*) which has a form different from (*pɛɛra*) which is preceded by the second NP *gɔbega nu'o* in the object position. The proverb is coordinated by the conjunction *ti* 'and'. We realise that even

though the two clauses in the sentence are parallel, the forms of the two verbs are different. The underlying form of *peeri* and *pɛɛra* is *pee* ‘to wash’. When we have such constructions, the imperfective suffix–**ri** of the verb is used in the first clause while the suffix–**ra** is used in the second clause.

Therefore, it is appropriate to conclude that Akukerɛ’s reason for his action to stay away from his friend was apt. It is therefore important to note that, as far as judicial oratory is concerned, there is always a judgment in favour of one person or the other, or the case be nullified.

#### **4.1.2.2 Accusation**

##### **Background**

Amina, Asoke and Alepoore are all neighbours in the village. Amina accused Asoke of going out with Alepoore’s wife. The attention of the head of their clan was drawn so he summoned the accused to appear before him for interrogation. Both parties (the accused and the accuser) honoured the invitation with their families. Some elders of the clan were in attendance. The arbitration took place on 14<sup>th</sup> May, 2018, in the house of the head of clan at Biio in the Bongo District of Upper East region. The aim was to ascertain the truth and to resolve the problem amicably between the families. Eventually, this was achieved. All the two parties involved in the issue attended. It was a delicate matter that needed a display of mature language. The allegation was put before the accused (Asoke) and he denied it for having any amorous relationship with Alepoore’s wife. The arbitrator crossed examined Amina (the accuser) as to the veracity of the allegation. His response was that, it was just a joke that he was making. The head of clan was infuriated with the accuser’s response and had to say this as we find in the excerpt in **(Appendix O, lines 9-12)**.

Ya n biɛ wa, bama de la saari wa? Sɔsekana taaba gi'iri la yɛa	9
dee sa'ana buuri. Bala n po sɔna ti nera la ka suɔ ni lagum ki'ira	10
dee ka sɔsera la. Dee beni n sɔi ti tu du'use du'use tu yɛa wa zi'an	11
woo sai wa? La de la yele-ana taaba wa n sɔi bala.	12

### English

Just imagine this, is this a joke? This type of jokes can disintegrate families. It's also the reason you may find two siblings not in good talking terms with each other. Again, why is it that we find our individual houses dotted all over the place instead of living together as big families? It all boils down to some of these disparaging comments.

The head was unhappy with the psychological trauma and its associated problems that this has caused the family of Alepoore. He condemned it and warned Amina never again should such loose talks be repeated. However, he was able to persuade Alepoore and the family to forgive and forget since the accuser has accepted his guilt and shown remorse. As espoused by Carroll (2003), in times of crisis it is persuasive language that does the trick of resolving issues. In this context, style, being the third canon of the classical rhetoric theory, was most appropriate because the head of clan used appropriate diction, that is, words and expressions to be able to settle the issue amicably which was satisfactory to the two families. He also admonished everyone to be of good behaviour, bearing in mind, the proverbial Cat saying that, “the neck is so delicate to be played with” as seen in the excerpt below **(lines 22-25)**:

### Gureɛ version

Bala, N boti ti	23
azagela bia woo n boi kalam mina ti Adeebia yelesum la dagi yoo.	24
A yeti, “de'ɛŋo ka boi kunkɔan”. Bala, Mam ka le bɔta ti beere N le isege wum yele wa taaba.	25

## **English**

Therefore, I'm sounding a caution to everyone gathered here to remember that what the Cat said is not for the fun of it. For he said, "the neck is not to be played with." In the light of this, I do not want to hear of such similar incidents again.

Indeed, the Farefari community places high premium on marriage, and as such it is held and protected as a golden egg. It is on this score that the neck of the cat and marriage are metaphorically linked because they are both highly sensitive entities. Experience has shown that one can hold any part of the cat without its being aggressive, but if one dares touch its neck, it would strike.

### **4.1.3 Epideictic (Ceremonial) Oratory**

Epideictic oratory is meant to shower either praises or curses on an individual as they deserve. The praises are given to people in society who live good lives worthy of emulation. It is indeed an encouragement to them to continue to give up their best to humanity. On the contrary, condemnations and shaming remarks await those who live reckless and undeserving lives in society. As far as the cultural values of the Farefari are concerned, epideictic oratory manifests in all aspects of the lives of the people.

#### **4.1.3.1 Farewell Tribute to a Deceased`**

##### **Background**

The late Mr. Apika passed on and as part of the ceremony, the chief pallbearer paid tribute to him. The tribute is always in the form of chants. It is meant to share with the general public the lifestyle one lived on earth and the legacy left behind. This

ceremony was carried out in front of the *yana*, ‘the main gate to the house’. The event of the funeral oration took place on 4<sup>th</sup> February, 2018 at Bɔgereɔ (the residence of the deceased). The participants were the *Bayake’ema*, (the chief pallbearer) and pallbearers. Apart from these, mourners and sympathisers were also present. As the Farefari tradition demands, every aged person who passes on would have to receive traditional tributes by way of chants as the final funeral rite before burial. These chants are meant to showcase the life history of the deceased to the general public. Therefore, the chief pallbearer usually has a duty to unveil these attributes to the public.

After observing the incantation of farewell to the deceased, I followed-up to the Chief pallbearer to ask for clarification on the incantation, especially how he was able to deliver it skilfully, and he indicated that, to conclude that someone is indeed an orator, means such a person is a gem in that field. Thus, such a person should be able to stand before any audience and put forth his message clearly to them. In other words, he has the ability to impart knowledge and inform others, and of course, be able to entice his audience into thinking about all the critical issues he raises in his speech. This, he challenges his audience’s current position or stance on issues bothering their minds. Again, he is of the opinion that a good orator is an individual who has influential and persuasive agility over his audience. As a result, it enables his audience to be able to make critically informed decisions on their lives. He added that, as a pallbearer, anytime elderly or a revered person dies in the community *keeseɔ ka’a* (a final farewell tribute) has to be performed before they are sent to the cemetery for burial. It is his duty as the chief pallbearer to carry out this enormous task.

From the farewell rendition in **Appendix I**, the prayer is structured into four stanzas,

each one carrying a unique message. The first stanza is an invocation, letting the deceased know that his life on earth has come to an end and they needed to have a conversation. The chief pallbearer called him three times and was expecting him to move out of the house but there was a standstill. Indeed, the number three is very significant in the life of every Farefari male member of the community. If a male person attempts a task three times but fails to accomplish it, then it means the person is said to be at his dead-end and would have to cease pursuing it further. The officiant called the deceased (Apika) the second time outlining some conditions before him to respond. In **Lines 7-12**, he commanded;

### Gurenɛ rendition

<i>Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!</i>	7
<i>Fu daa san dena la putɔya</i>	8
<i>Ti fu puure nyɔ ana wilam</i>	9
<i>Wuu bugum la</i>	10
<i>Ti fu dena ηmelenja</i>	11
<i>Ka bɔta fu tadaana bia</i>	12
<i>Fu tole yese</i>	13

### English translation

Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!  
 If you were wicked  
 And if your stomach was hot  
 Like fire  
 And so cruel  
 That you hated your neighbour's child  
 Come out!

Again, the pallbearers remained still with the corpse. The question is, why were they refusing to move? Here, the answer would not be far-fetched. The expressions in **lines**

**8-12** are all social vices and no one wants to associate him/herself with. Therefore, if the corpse moved, then that would have meant that, indeed, the deceased was a wicked one during his lifetime though he probably was not. Note that only two pallbearers at a time, are allowed to carry a corpse and move for a very short distance and then, a replacement by another set. When the corpse refused to move, the officiant addressed it the third time as observed in **lines 19-24** below:

**Gurene**

<i>Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!</i>	19
<i>Fu yi daa san dena la pupɛɛla</i>	20
<i>Ti fu puure pelege ana fa'a</i>	21
<i>Wuu ηmarepeelego la</i>	22
<i>Ka bɔta azagela lɔkɔ</i>	23
<i>Dee bɔta la fu tadaana bia</i>	24
<i>Yi tole yese pae fu yaabeduma!</i>	25

**English**

Apika woooooi!', Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!'  
 If you were however, a peace-loving person  
 That your stomach looks  
 pure Like that of the  
 brighter moon  
 Did not envy a neighbour's property  
 But rather interested in the well-being of your neighbour's child  
 Then, come out and join your forebears

Interestingly, the corpse moved this time without hesitation. This is because as soon as the officiant literally likened the deceased's 'stomach' to that of the 'bright moonlight', and with all the positive accolades as we find in **lines 20-24** of the excerpt above, the corpse moved.



Similarly, Finnegan (2012, p.148) cites (Gbadamosi and Beier 1959, p. 50) as saying, “in Akan dirges the singer calls on the deceased by his praise names and lauds his great deeds and ancestry. Occasionally the personal reference or address to the deceased is deepened by more general allusions.” Therefore, the elderly deceased persons are usually duly acknowledged through the tributes before they go to join their ancestors in the ancestral world.

Furthermore, the reasons corpses do not move when negative attributes are associated with them but rather respond positively when virtues are showered on them still remains a mystery. This phenomenon is so with even the living because any negative address form is easily frowned upon. In fact, as a matter of fact, as a native of the Farefari community, I have witnessed several funeral occasions where similar performances are carried out, and on each occasion, the same trend is observed. I have never witnessed or been told that there had ever been a stall in burial because a particular corpse refused to move because an obscene language was used in addressing it. Some people posit that the pallbearers control the movement of the corpse. As such, when the chief pallbearer uses indecent language to address a corpse, the pallbearers carrying it would intentionally refuse to move. However, when decent language is used, the pallbearers would move with it. Further interaction with the chief pallbearer to get more insight into this mystery, he told me emphatically that the corpses usually dictate the movement of the pallbearers. He even said corpses literally punish stubborn pallbearers who sometimes refuse to promptly move and carry them to their resting places but rather want to behave the way they wish, perhaps as a result of youth exuberance. Thus, he says:

### **Gurene version**

*Bayapaaleseba n ni wakera ti 'ise ti bama pire pae me la, ba ni nye bamisi me ti la kana ita. Ba ta'am ni be burum pelege dɔŋe ti masim kana. Se'em zuo san kana suŋa ti a zɔ kalam pae bayake'enseka ti a fae e base, iŋa duma tebe bogete me n bala.*

### **English rendition**

Sometimes, some newly initiated pallbearers who think they're well-groomed and are powerful and as such misbehave with corpses usually pay heavy prices for their misconducts. They may fall sick, become anaemic and pale and if one isn't lucky to get a good chief pallbearer to save his life, that person would pass on.

The account given by the Chief pallbearer indicates that, sometimes it is true that some pallbearers may misconduct themselves or may become overzealous and decide to delay the burial processes, and as such would delay the movement. He emphasised that no pallbearer can thwart the movement of the corpse except the spirit of the corpse itself.

Another interesting revelation observed was about the number three (3). It was noted that the pallbearer called out the name of the corpse the third time, thus, *Apika woouoi! Apika woouoi!!, Apika woouoi!!!* before it moved. (See **Appendix I, lines 1, 7, 13 and 18**).

When I enquired further for explanation, the pallbearer said, *budaa pɛɛfo ka luti tiŋa buta; budaankale n bala*, 'a man's arrow does not fall to the ground three times.' In other words, a man does not miss a target three times, because the number three is a spiritual symbol of masculinity. Further explanation he gave was that, in antiquity when there were wars, the bows and poisoned arrows were the weapons used against their enemies. Therefore, any warrior who went to war, targeted his aggressor with his weapon (bow and arrow) and missed his target a third time, had to withdraw from

the battlefield. The reason he professed was that a battlefield was never a playground; one could easily be killed. What he alludes to significantly is that, every man is ever battle-ready and rarely gives up in times of extreme difficulties, no matter the situation. Any man who easily surrenders in the battlefield is usually given the tag *Ɔgeniindɔɔ*, “woman-like” which is one of the most disgraceful labels to be tagged with as a man. Therefore, from infancy, every male-born child starts undergoing several manhood fortification rites as part of the cultural values of the people.

Furthermore, the data revealed vowel lengthening in the text. The vowel ‘o’ in ‘woooooi’ as we find in **lines 1, 7, 13 and 18 of the excerpts**, thus, ‘*Apika woooooi!*, *Apika woooooi!!*, *Apika woooooi!!!*’ Again, the ‘woooooi’ is repeated in all four stanzas of the text showing intensification of the chants. In fact, the ‘woooooi’ gives a certain effect to the conversation the pallbearer was having with the deceased. The pallbearer was querying the deceased as why he was not answering his call. It is like asking, ‘*I’m calling you; can’t you hear me? why are you not answering me?*’

Additionally, we find an example in the same **Appendix I** to illustrate the point of epideictic rhetoric. In the instance of the farewell incantation for the deceased, the *bayake’ema*, ‘chief pallbearer, invoked the spirit of the deceased with negative pronouncements which the corpse did not budge and remained adamant with the pallbearers (**see lines 8-10**). However, when the *bayake’ema* called the deceased the second time with heart-warming expressions such as “peace-loving person”, “pure-hearted person” and “well-being of your neighbour’s child”, it paved way for the pallbearers to be able to move (**see lines 17-21**). Clearly, we may conclude by reiterating the point that epideictic rhetoric puts checks and balances on the lives of individuals in the society.

From the discussions thus far, we come to the conclusion that the two frameworks (the CRT and Hymes' communication model) for this study are apt based on several reasons. We may notice from the discussion that the chief pallbearer applied the rhetorical canons effectively in carrying out his socio-cultural obligation. He knew exactly what to say, how to proceed, choice of diction, committed every aspect of the oration to memory and above all, his delivery. The end-result of the oration as eloquently articulated by the officiant was to accord the deceased their last respect and to offer him a dignified burial.

#### **4.1.3.2 Severe Drought in the Community**

##### **Background**

Drought is a prolonged period of time within a rainy season in which rains sometimes cease abruptly thereby, affecting crops, plants, animals, and humans. In fact, the entire ecosystem is usually under serious threat. Available literature shows that the rainfall pattern in the Upper East Region (UER) is generally irregular, and therefore, the timing and quantity of rainfall are very critical for household livelihood sustainability.

The erratic nature of the rainfall distribution in the study communities is worrisome because it often leads to severe water shortages (including drought) and/or flooding, which sometimes lead to livelihood loss and food insecurity (Benneh 2009; Gyasi et al. 2006; Assan et al. 2006; Dietz et al. 2004; Millar et al. 2004). Rainy season had set in and farmers cultivated their crops, weeded and were waiting for the crops to yield. The rainfall pattern in the area is usually, quite erratic which eventually ceased abruptly for about a month, that is, from late June to end of July, 2018. The crops

were therefore withering and all water bodies within the catchment areas were drying up. It affected both humans and livestock. Domestic birds were not spared either. As a result, the phenomenon alarmed the *tindaana*, ‘the land priest’, and *naba*, ‘the chief’. Per the traditional protocol arrangements of the community, they invited the *sadaana*, ‘the chief priest in charge of the rain-god’ and formally petitioned him about the calamity that has hit the entire community. The entire community was summoned to *Ate’elegua*, ‘shrine of Bɔgereɔ.’ The object was to offer libation prayer to the Almighty God through their ancestors for immediate intervention (rainfall). This memorable event took place on 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 2018 at Bɔgereɔ, in the Upper East Region and the libation prayer was offered at the community shrine. The participants were the *Tindaana* (the land priest), *Sadaana* (the rain maker) and elders. The audience to witness the ceremony were the community members.

The officiant opens his conversation with the deities with anger. His choice of language use was harsh and disparaging. In other words, he is on a war mission.

For example, he starts the libation prayer in **Appendix E, Lines 1-3** as:

<i>Nyaaba Ate’elegua!</i>	‘Ate’elegua, the Great Ancestor!’	1
<i>Wi’a wa n wi’iri wa</i>	‘This call that is being called’	2
<i>Dagi pupeelum wi’a</i>	‘Is not a call of happiness’	3

The whole episode of the phenomenon was lamentation. The officiant’s use of language was well-chosen to suit the occasion. He expresses his strong emotion of dismay. He was able to address the rain-god directly, expressed his feelings of lamentation which eventually yielded fruits. This can be seen from how the officiant started the prayer by openly expressing his frustration before the gods. Of course, that is one of the protocols of beginning libation prayers of the Farefari. However, it should be stated that how a libation prayer should begin depends on the officiant and

largely, on the occasion. Among the Farefari, the initial stage of the performance is invitation, by invoking the divinities of the land and offering the ancestors with water. The performer is therefore, expected to drop quantities of *zonko 'om*, 'flour water' from the calabash onto the ground or the object representing the divinities. Significantly, water is first offered to visitors before any further engagements. But this, the officiant fails to do. Purposefully, the officiant denies the god *zonko 'om* but rather pours the flour on the god and asks it to search for its own water in order to mix the flour and make its own *zonko 'om* as stated in **Appendix E, lines 23 and 24:**

*Isege to 'e zompuko wa*            'Wake up and receive flour'            23

*Dee ko 'om kai n bo 'ori fu*        'Because there's no water for you'        24

These two statements are significant for two reasons: First, the community is dying of thirst and in what capacity would they be able to provide *zonko 'om* for the god? Second, the officiant throws a challenge to the rain-god to prove its powers and capabilities of conjuring a downpour. For he says in **lines 26 and 27.**

*Da base ti tu ne ke 'eja kule*        'Do not let us get home in dryness'        27

*Ti tu banɛ ti fu siren tari kinkasi!* 'So, we can attest that you're indeed great!' 28

It is only when it rains that the god can get water to make its *zonko 'om*. At last, the officiant concludes the prayer with the following powerful and sorrowful expressions in **lines 30 and 31** which were chorused by the audience present at the shrine as witnesses:

*Kom yee! kum yee!*                    'Oh! Hunger! Oh! death!'                    30

*Kom yee! kum yee!*                    'Oh! hunger! Oh! death!'                    31

The use of *kom*, 'hunger' and *kum*, 'death' respectively in the prayer has heightened the pressure that is being mounted on the god to produce rains for the community.

Also, the ideophone *yee*, a sound as used in the *kom yee* and *kum yee* respectively in **lines 30-and 31** above, is for the purpose of intensifying the state in which the community finds itself. As Agyekum (2013, p. 77) vividly puts it, an ideophone means, “idea-in-sound, in the sense that from the sound of the word one can get an idea of the nature of the event or the referred item.” The survival of the community is largely depended on the timely intervention of rainfall. No sooner had the community left the shrine than the clouds gathered and followed by torrential downpour. In fact, it rained continuously for three days until the *tindaana*, ‘land priest’ went to the *sadaana*, ‘owner of the rain god’ again to plead for moderation of the patterning of rainfall. Indeed, it was an exciting experience I had ever witnessed. I had always heard it but not experienced it, but thank God this research work has created the opportunity for me to experience it.

The tone of the language used by the officiant was not polite but rather harsh. Again, he did not follow rigidly the norms of offering the libation prayer neither did he show humility before the superiors. Agbedor (1996, p. 31) states that, to begin a libation prayer, the suppliant is to “invoke the Supreme Being, the minor deities and the ancestral spirits. This invocation is accompanied by adoration in the form of pronouncing the “praise appellations” of the gods and ancestral spirits.” (see Ababila 2009). With this, all the spirits would be excited and willing to respond to the call. While this invocation goes on, water is served them. After that, the reason for the invitation is given, followed by a request and finally, the concluding part but he ignored this procedure. However, it is significant to note that, situations and contexts change as espoused by Yankah (1989, p. 35) that, “tale teller, epic singer, appellation performer, etc. are guided by social contexts in their manipulation of verbal art material, but their assumption of responsibility for a display of competence lies in



communicating satisfactorily in a relatively predetermined temporal setting.” The time or occasion for the performance of several verbal art forms is culturally set, and lies outside the responsibility of the performer in his exhibition of communicative competence to a sensitive audience. However, the performer uses his/her own ingenuity and discretion to perform depending on the occasion without paying much attention to what has already been set. In support of this stance, Hagan (1982, p.12) says specific occasions call for performances thus, “a religious ceremony involving rituals provides the occasion for the performance of religious poetry such as libation texts.”

On account of the above, I argue that the officiant was right for not following the norm and doing what he did as spelt out above in **Appendix E, line 3**. In his opinion, the situation was dire and the community needed a swift intervention from the gods to bring rainfall, hence his choice of language. As stated earlier, the officiant and for that matter, the community, hold the view that sometimes spiritual beings are slow in responding to issues that need prompt responses. As a result, the key chosen by the officiant proved right. Rightly so because, the livelihood of the community depended largely on the rainfall for their crops to grow well so they could get bumper harvest. In other words, the choice of key to choose to deal with an issue is largely depended on the context.

The use of simile as literary device also featured in the prayer which is a skill a good orator possesses. This is seen in **lines 22 and 23** as follows”

*Fu san siren ke'em me kankaŋi* ‘If indeed, you’re as strong’ 2 2  
*Wuu nasaara kurego la* ‘As the Whiteman’s metal’ 23

The officiant throws a challenge to the rain-god to prove its worth as a powerful and



unfailing god. He compares the strength of the god to that of a metal. In other words, the officiant asks for nothing but rainfall. It is only when this yearning need of rainfall is fulfilled that the rain-god would seem to continue to enjoy its glory.



### 4.1.3.3 Health Pandemic

#### Background

There was an outbreak of measles at Bɔgereɔ in the Boonjo Diritrict of Upper East Region of Ghana. Abuto's house was the most badly hit; a woman losing her twin sons the same day. What a shock and misery that it sounded. The head of family consulted a soothsayer for divination and was to offer libation to his ancestors for intervention against further calamities. Those in attendance during the libation prayer included the head of family and his household members. The event took place on March 10, 2018 at Abuto's house, Bɔgereɔ. Let us begin our discussion with the data from **Appendix J** below:

Gurene	English	
<i>Nyaaba Akazuuri, isege!</i>	'Akazuuri, my ancestor, wake up!'	1
<i>Isege!, isege!!</i>	'Wake up!, wake up!!'	2
<i>Isege saazuo la fu to'e ko'om wa</i>	'Wake up and receive this water'	3
<i>La dagi zonko'om</i>	'It is not flour water'	4
<i>La me dagi kozoŋa</i>	'It is not also ordinary water'	5
<i>La de la <b>nanzu'a</b> ko'om</i>	'It's pepper solution'	6
<i>Nanzu'a ko'om n siren de bu</i>	'It's real pepper solution'	7
<i>Yire wa n taε ana wilam wa</i>	'This house that is plagued with calamities'	8
<i>Ai!, mam ka mi</i>	'Ah!, I do not know why'	9
<i>Mam zeɪ la n sagebɔ puure ma'a</i>	'I have a clean 'stomach'	10
<i>N ka tari nera nera taale</i>	'I do not have malice against anyone'	11
<i>Ti mina san yeti a sɔgelum goone wa</i>	'And if someone wants to destroy this house'	12
<i>Wire a nini la <b>nanzu'a</b> ko'om wa</i>	'Wash their eyes with the pepper solution'	13
<i>Ti wi'inq wa tulege e</i>	'To reverse the spell'	14
<i>Ti N baŋε ti fu siren ani kankaŋi</i>	'To prove that you are really strong'	15
<i>To'e, to'e.</i>	'Receive it, receive it'	16

The family head offers libation prayer to the gods and ancestors to intervene and calm down the tides. Apart from placing emphasis on the points raised, it will also afford the opportunity for the audience to follow what the speaker presents. From the data, the repetition of *isege!*, ‘wake up!’ in **Appendix J, lines 1-3** is not out of the ordinary to command a superior in such a manner to wake up from sleep. It may seem quite weird, impolite and disrespectful to the ancestor but the officiant explained that it was meant to indicate that the situation was dire and needed urgent attention. Therefore, this is an exception to the norm, where elders are revered in society to the extent that everything is always done to accord them the honour. However, it is prudent to mention that the choice of terms or expressions to use is depended largely on the context in which the event occurs as pointed out by Hymes (1974) model of SPEAKING and also the oration situated within the CRT. As noted earlier in **2.2** above, orators perform effectively on the five canons identified by Aristotle as cited in De Wet (2010). From the data, the officiant applied each of the canons appropriately as and when necessary. Again, the repetition of *nanzu’a ko’om* ‘pepper solution’ in **Appendix J, lines 6 and 13** suggests that the situation in which the speaker finds himself is critical. Traditionally, the use of pepper for libation prayer is rare. Pepper does cause pain when dropped in one’s eyes or applied to any part of the body. Therefore, pepper solution is used in traditional prayers to invoke one form of curse or the other to someone suspected to have committed a serious crime but fails to own up. This is corroborated by Finnegan (2012, p. 443) that:

the occasion that gives rise to them is when some unknown criminal is believed to have engaged, undetected, in any of the three crimes the Limba class together as ‘theft’ (actual physical theft, adultery, and witchcraft). Laying the curse is thought to stir up the object known as the ‘swear’ which pursues and punishes the unknown offender by its mystical power.

This observation by Finnegan about the Limba people is apt because any Farefari curse that would be invoked against any victim would largely depend on the gravity of the crime. The curse may range from mild to intense sickness and even death. In some serious circumstances, the result of the curse is instant. Another reason for the use of pepper solution in traditional prayer is to spiritually blindfold someone from carrying out mischievous activities against his/her enemies. This suspicion is amply expressed in the second stanza of **Appendix J, lines 13-14**.

*Wire a nini la nanzu'a ko'om wa* 'Wash their eyes with the pepper solution' 13  
*Ti wi'ijɔ wa tulege e* 'To reverse the spell' 14

To the family head, he does not harbour any malice against his neighbour and as such does not understand why enemies should be going after him. Even though the family head knows that natural occurrences do happen, nonetheless has a strong conviction that evil forces are also always at work against humankind.

Note that the African and for that matter the Farefari, believes that nothing bad happens without the hand of an enemy. Therefore, whether a misfortune is natural or otherwise, the belief is still that there must be a remote cause being perpetrated by an evil force. The ancestors, gods and deities understand this phenomenon. So, any time they are called upon and offered pepper water, they know that there is indeed a serious matter to deal with. It is for this reason that, the officiant tells his father that the water that was offered was not just flour water or ordinary water but rather, pepper solution. The officiant suspected that there could have been a foul play, hence, the reason for the *ailments* in the family. In fact, that is their belief system and that is what they practice even though they acknowledge the powers of God.

#### 4.1.3.4 Bereavement: Discussion with a Widow and Pallbearer

Death is a fact of life, and it is usually drastic and grievous. Everyone would experience it at one point or the other because it is a transitional period in our lives. What we do not know for a fact is, when and how the death shall occur. As Opoku (1978, p.133) puts it;

Death is the inevitable end of man, but the attitude towards it is everywhere ambivalent. In general, West Africans regard death not as the end of life, but as a transition from this present earthly life to another life in the land of the spirits. It is a journey which man must make in order to reach the life beyond and continue to live as an ancestor. The dead, therefore, do not remain in the grave, but become spirits and proceed to the spirit world, called *asamando* by the Akan.

The Farefari call the spirit world, *ki'intiŋan* which comprises two lexical items, thus, *ki'ima* (the dead) and *tiŋan* (town/village). We may either experience it ourselves or the loss of a loved one through death. Grief comes after death and grieving over a loved one is a natural process by which the bereaved must relinquish the attachment to the lost person. In fact, during this period of grieving, one goes through physical, emotional and spiritual feeling. According to Stroebe & Stroebe (1987, p. 7), “bereavement is the objective situation of an individual who has recently experienced the loss of someone significant through that person’s death”. A typical example would be spousal death which seems to be the most painful and stressful one.

During the discussion with my respondents in **Appendix D(i)** the *pokuure*, ‘widow’ and the *bayaa*, ‘pallbearer’, they both expressed their individual opinions about bereavement. The *pokuure* expresses sorrow and indicates that bereavement sets in when an individual loses a partner or any relation. When that happens, one has no choice but to live with it. Her lamentations reveal that she has pent up tension in her

and even finds it difficult to express her feelings. For example, in **Appendix D(i)**, **lines 9-11**, she laments,

### Gurene version

Hmm! La ka tã ita. Mam zeì wa, n nyaa de la N ma'a la koma wa.	9
Beere la zina, tu kan le nyε taaba. Dabesa wa puan, guum ka boi n ninin.	10
N ni piga la bala ti beere yilegera	11

### English

Hmm! It's not easy at all. I'm now lonely with these kids.  
 From now on we won't see ourselves anymore.  
 These days, I'm not able to sleep. I always stay awake till daybreak.

As she sighs *Hmm!* in **line 9**, she goes on to voice out how she feels about life under her present circumstances. She uses the phrase, *la ka tã ita*, 'it's terrible', to make us appreciate her emotional feelings. As if that is not enough, she goes further to say in **lines 10-11** that she has sleepless nights. That tells us how bad the widow's situation is. Among the Farefari, if a matter is being discussed and an adult gives a deep sigh, then it shows how terrible and hopeless the situation may be, and probably beyond control. Metaphorically, the *bayaa*, 'pallbearer' compares two entities *tingɔɔ* 'world' and *da'a*, 'market' as saying in **lines 16-17** that:

### Gurene version

<i>Tingɔɔ wa zuo de la da'a ti tu ki'ira. Fu san ke ta di fu da'a</i>	16
<i>ba'ase ti la pae kulega, fu yɔɔri la fu yire sore.</i>	17

### English

The earth is a market place, and if you go and finish with your transactions, you have to leave for home.'

This observation is true in our real-life situation. A market is a place where different shades of people congregate to transact one form of a business or the other and when

one is done, the person leaves because he/she has accomplished his/her task. It is in the same vein that one departs back to his/her Maker after accomplishing the task here on earth. Therefore, the inference one may draw from this is that the two entities are not permanent places for the human race.

#### 4.1.3.5 Bereavement and the Bonds of Lineage

In the case of funerals, the issue of family lineages comes to mind. Among the Gurene speaking people, it is not everyone who is designated to speak during funeral occasions. Therefore, special attention is given to establish the ancestral relationship between the potential speaker and the deceased.

#### Background

A family lost a 73-year-old male relative. The deceased had several daughters, some of who being biological and others, associated daughters. Note that among the Farefari people, any daughter, whether biological or not, belongs to all parents in the family. When these daughters get married to a community and a parent or a relation dies, all the in-laws would be expected to be in attendance to mourn with their in-laws. Therefore, when the man passed on, the in-laws attended the funeral to mourn their father-in-law and it was the *sobia* who received them. Indeed, he is solely charged with the responsibility of exchanging pleasantries and relaying all official correspondences to the in-laws (see **Appendix D(iii) lines 8, 10 and 12**) below:

Thus, he says;

#### Gurene

<i>Guum boi, dee nyama me?</i>	8
<i>Aai, ya n kɔ'ɔm wum bu se'em la, la siren iŋe la bala.</i>	10
<i>Aatɔ, ya san wum ŋwana dee pae na ti ya nyɛ, tu lagum bo taaba fara.</i>	12

## English

All is well. And how about you?

Well, what you have heard is exactly the case.

Well, if you've heard and have come to mourn with us, then, we're in it together.

A member of the bereaved family may exchange pleasantries with mourners but that would be unofficial. Rather, it is the *sobia* whose interactions with mourners would be official. The *sobia* then relays the information to the head of family so that official recognition and appreciation could be made to the mourners, especially, in the case of in-laws. This is because, the mourners (in-laws) would offer such presents as mats, kola, tobacco, drinks, white calico cloth and *fugɔbega*, 'burial cloth' to be used in burying their in-law. If the *sobia* does not notice your presence at the funeral grounds it may be concluded that you did not attend.

It should be added that, usually, when in-laws get to the funeral ground and are to exchange greetings with the bereaved family, an elderly person who has the pedigree of oration is often chosen to be the spokesperson for the group. Bloch (1975) explains that because the speaker is the representative for his group, he is afforded a great deal of responsibility and status within that role. The position is synonymous with expertise in oration and, therefore, what he says and how he says it tend to be formal rather than colloquial. This is why the theory of CR and Hymes SPEAKING model take centre stage. The speaker is able to demonstrate deep wealth of knowledge in the language and culture of the people as it manifests throughout the discussions. Therefore, the spokesperson of the in-laws exchanged greetings with the bereaved family, represented by the *sobia*. The representative of the in-laws told the *sobia* that they were informed of the passing of their in-law and as such they had no option other than responding to the call to ascertain whether it was true that their in-law had



indeed passed on. The *sobia* then confirmed the incident to them. After consoling them the in-laws offered kola nuts, tobacco and drinks to the bereaved family. Traditionally, the person who officially receives mourners at the first point of call on behalf of the bereaved family is referred to as *sobia*, (father's child but not biological), 'a person sharing the same clan but from a different ancestor'. These mourners could be in-laws, external families, neighbours, friends and sympathisers who visit the bereaved to mourn with them. The person chosen to represent the group is usually eloquent and has deep-seated knowledge about the culture and the ancestral lineages. It is the *sobia* who gives the final approval to major decisions by way of convention as far as the funeral activities are concerned. However, he does that in consultation with the head of the bereaved family or clan. Sometimes, when critical decisions are taken which seem controversial, he chronicles historical events to prove the point and through persuasion, eventually settles matters. The convention generally is that very close relations of the deceased are refrained from speaking. In support of this, Ababila (2013) cites Nwoye (1985) which states that, "the Igbos of Nigeria observe silence during bereavement. Mourners are not expected to interact and try to find out about the cause of the death. One's physical presence before the bereaved family without verbal interaction is enough." This position of Nwoye does not wholly apply to the Farefari culture. One's physical presence is good but if the exchange of pleasantries is not made, you are not regarded as having attended the funeral even though everyone would have seen you at the ceremonial ground anyway. The philosophy behind the supposedly silent posture of a bereaved family is that the bereaved is grieving the loss of their beloved and therefore, naturally cannot be in the best frame of mind to receive visitors (personal conversation with the *sobia*). Apart from that, the *sobia* serves as a consoler to the bereaved and therefore, would

have to assume the role of the affected bereaved family. The *sobia* and the bereaved family are more or less neighbours and thus, support each other in times of difficulties. All the formal exchanges, especially with *deenduma*, 'in-laws', would have to be done between them and the *sobia*. One such case in which a *sobia* received a section of mourners and interacted with them without the involvement of the bereaved family was on the 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 2018 at Apaataŋa. From the information I gathered from the elders of the community thus far, three cardinal benchmarks are imbued in the position of the orator.

First is the issue of blood relations. Some orators might have had the opportunity or right to orate because it was passed down to them through blood lineages. Families cherish the profession so much that they usually do not want it to move out of their space to another. Therefore, an individual would have to be spotted within the family and groomed sufficiently to succeed whoever was in charge and representing the family on important gatherings and issues.

The second consideration for someone to be conferred with the authority to orate is the fact that that individual might have religiously served the people he previously worked for. As the person served his 'master', he would consciously or unconsciously learn a lot about the traditions of the people. So, having been pleased, happy and satisfied with the service rendered through an apprenticeship, the 'master' could compensate him by bestowing upon him the authority to orate.

The third is self-determination by the orators themselves as a result of what they might have strived and achieved through oration. In all of these, credence is given to the individual in establishing his right to orate. However, it must be pointed out that the opportunity does not end there because the individuals would have to justify their worthiness as beneficiaries of such

great opportunities. As the chief's spokesperson puts it, *Gurene togereba zo'e me dee seba n mi togum gumesegɔ tari nɔɔ me*, which means, 'Speakers of Gurene are uncountable, but eloquent speakers are scarce.' What this implies is that orators must live above waters but not merely being fluent in Gurene because oratory goes beyond language fluency. Also, let us consider the following extract from **Appendix D(i), lines 22-25**:

### Gurene version

*Wuu Mam n diɛ yele se'em ti ki'ima la ki'iri nyuura ko'om me la,* 22  
*ba san ka iɛ ki'ima kuure, a kan ta'am ke deon nyu ko'om. A yeti* 23  
*a ɛera la yiɲa lalesera. Nera san pugum ka bɔna ti daama ka bɔna ti ba* 24  
*wan iɛ kuure, ba ni bugɛ la bɔgerɔ ti atana ki'ira deon nyuura ko'om.* 25

### English version

As I indicated earlier on, the spirit of the deceased returns home daily to feed, but when the rites are not performed the spirit cannot return home to feed. It would be wandering in the wilderness. Even if the funeral rites of a deceased person cannot be performed immediately, *bɔgerɔ* 'divination' rites would be performed so that it can return home spiritually to feed.

*Ko'om* as it appears in the extract above does not refer to just 'water' but it has its extended meaning to be *dia*, 'food'. The mention of *ko'om* instead of *dia* is quite significant. It is important to note that in the Farefari culture, food is common which portrays the occupation of the people. Therefore, to invite someone for a meal, the name 'food' is usually avoided because it could cause face threat; indeed, the Farefari culture frowns on it especially, in formal contexts because it does not show any sign of respect to the invitee. *Ko'om*, 'water' is rather mentioned when being invited to wait for a meal. Here, the 'Norm' as part of Hymes' SPEAKING model fits appropriately because it touches on the cultural values of the Farefari. However, in informal situations, the mention of food is accepted. In the Farefari culture, food is freely given to anyone who wishes to eat, to the extent that, anytime food is prepared

and served in the traditional home for the family, same is served the ancestors. The ancestors visit home to eat the food which is always served them. This is done to keep close ties between the living and the living-dead because it is the belief system of the Farefari that their ancestors are part of the family.

Furthermore, the repetition of ‘*yee*’ in the following expressions under the ‘severe drought’ in **Appendix E, lines 29-30**, goes to heighten the devastating effects of the drought on the community. The use of ‘*yee*’ makes the listeners feel moved; it indicates intensity. According to Agyekum (2013, p. 77), an “ideophone is a stylistic technique that relies on sound just like the tonal devices.” (cf. Nsoh et al 2010, p. 81). They were quick to add that, an ideophone becomes handy when there is no appropriate word to fill a verse. To them, the ideophone “is intended to sustain the musicality of the song line” (p. 82). It is uncommon to hear the expression *kom yee! kum yee!!* among the Farefari unless the situation seems unsurmountable, hence, the expressions below:

<i>Kom yee! Kum yee!!</i>	‘Oh! Hunger!, Oh! Death!’	29
<i>Kom yee! Kum yee!!</i>	‘Oh! Hunger!, Oh! Death!’	30

We also find *zigi zigi* as expressed in the second stanza of **Appendix E, line 11** in the sentence:

<i>N taε zi’an woo ηmabera zigi zigi la</i>	11
‘that there is wailing everywhere’	

These expressions imply that the entire community is overwhelmed with a severe calamity which is a hopeless situation for them. *Zigi zigi* as a duplicated form of *zigi*, usually goes with the verb *ηmabe*, ‘to wail’. The perfective form of the verb is *ηmabera*, ‘wailing’ which is rightly seen in the expression above. As a native speaker as well as consultation with native experts of Gurenε, we find that *zigi zigi* does not

collocate with any other verb form. Its use here is so critical and fundamental because, it heightens the intensity of the situation in which the community finds itself; water sources drying up, starvation setting in, animal pasture non-existent and the inhabitants deserting their places of abode. In fact, the phrase *ɲmabera zigi zigi*, is a chorus form of wailing which is usually associated with death. The data showed that in events or situations which were precarious, orators used poetic language. The use of the poetic language is appropriate because the orators usually want to be snappy and precise in the presentation of their petitions to catch the attention of their gods or ancestors. On the other hand, if a situation is not dire especially when it is not about life and death issue and needed urgent attention or response, orators may resort to prose. When that happens, they tend to explain things in detail because time is usually not of much essence to them. Note that we may have situations in which the oration may not be poetic but in a prose-like form. Events such as marriage, disputes and storytelling sessions are usually in a dialogue form which allows various speakers take their time to explain issues into much more detail. Considering an excerpt of a marriage episode in **Appendix F(iii)** where we experience an encounter of marriage negotiator and head of a clan in a lively dialogue:

<b>Yizukiima:</b>	Sɔsega n boi bii? Mam yeti a tara n bia la na ti	20
	ka'ase N ko'om. Sɔsega la za'a n bala.	21
	Fu ka le wum?	22
<b>Pɔgekigera:</b>	N wum ya dee sugeri n kelum bɔna neɲa. Tu san maale	23
	ba'ase, tu wan kelum dike yeledine me base.	24
	Imma'asum la ti tu za'a eera.	25
	Tɔ, a san kelum zɛa la bala, N wan yeti bo? Tu de la saama	26
<b>Yizukiima:</b>		
	la taaba ti tu tara taaba zaalena yuura yoi? Yi kɔ'ε bo e ti a	27
	san kule, dabesa ata wa puan, a mina ti nu'o nua san kina na,	28
	N nii ita (nagesara ayi la lolega) n boi bini. A kelum mina ti	29

banaa la ka kurelane la zuvaka. A san nyaŋe yele-ana wa, a 30  
soi a pɔga mɛ. Mam sɔsega za'a za'a n bala. 31

**Head of Clan:** Is there any argument? I asked him to bring my daughter to me to perform some rituals. That's all the message. Again, have you heard?

**Marriage Negotiator:** I've heard but there's still the need for reconsideration. When we're done with the ratification of the marriage, we'll deal with all the other issues deemed so necessary. All what we desire is good health.

**Head of Clan:** Okay, if he's still pleading, what would I have to say? Are we aliens to each other that would warrant us to be making Things difficult for ourselves? So, inform him of the following conditions: when he goes home, the next three days, he must return with the ratification cock and three cattle (two female and a male). In addition, he must include a smock, its trousers and a fez. He must also remember that there would be a wedding. If he's able to accomplish these conditions, then he can officially have her as his wife. That's all that I've for him.

From the data, we noticed that the dialogue was about negotiation between two speakers. The parents of the bride wanted her back while the groom's side persuaded the bride's parents for acceptance. This negotiation went on and on till an amicable agreement was reached. Therefore, the situation of the event under consideration usually determines the structure of the oration as espoused by Yankah, 1989; Agyekum, 2013; Asiamah, 1999; Finnegan, 2012.

#### **4.2 How is Language Structured in Oratory in Farefari Culture?**

To begin studying any particular language, words take the centre stage. In other words, the study of language revolves around words. The arrangement and patterning of words, phrases, clauses into complete sentences is what we call the structure of a

language. According to Finegan (2008, p. 33), to study language structure, one has to consider the following:

- the meaningful parts of words.
- the sounds and syllables that make up words.
- the principles that organize words into phrases and sentences.
- the semantic relationships that link words in sets.

Dakubu (1996, p. 42) notes that, in Gurene sentence structure:

the nucleus of a sentence is its Principal Statement, which is also its only statement if it has only one clause. The margins are the Subordinate Statements, and may occur before or after the nucleus. A sentence may have subordinate statements both before or after its principal statement.

She further explains that there are two types of clauses; free clause and bound clause.

A free clause is referring to the principal statement which can stand alone whereas the bound clause otherwise referred to as subordinate clause is unable to stand on its own. The example from **Appendix E, line 11** explains how the principal or the subordinate clauses differ:

<i>Nyaaba Ate'elegua!</i>	‘Ate’elegua, the great ancestor!’	10
<i>Isege dee fu kɔma</i>	‘Wake up because your kids’	11
<i>N taɛ zi'an woo ηmabera zigi zigi la</i>	‘Are wailing everywhere’	12

In **line 11** of the excerpt, the structure can be interpreted in two ways;

1. the free clause and the bound clause: Here, the free clause is *isege*, ‘wake up’ which is a complete statement or command while the bound or subordinate clause is *dee fu kɔma*, ‘because your children’ which does not make a complete sentence.



2. subordinate or bound clause: *isege dee fu kɔma*, ‘wake up because your kids’.

The whole structure is a bound one and thus, cannot stand on its own, thereby carries no meaning. In the same way in **line 12**, *N tae zi’an woo ηmabera zigi zigi la*, ‘Are wailing everywhere’ is a bound clause. Therefore, **lines 11 and 12** would have to join together in order to have a complete thought.

The basic sentence structure of Gurenɛ is Subject-Verb-Object agreement (SVO). These sentence types include the simple, compound or complex sentences. Using the data available, let’s consider the various sentence types:

First, is the simple sentence. It is the type of sentence that contains one independent clause. In other words, a simple sentence has a subject and a predicate and has one complete thought; that is, it carries meaning. Drawing data from **Appendix J**, we realise that the oration is a simple sentence structure. The excerpts show that in each line, there is only one thought that is expressed. Consider the following excerpt in **lines 1 and 2** below:

<i>Yaaba Akazuuri, isege!</i>	‘Akazuuri, my ancestor, wake up’	1
<i>Isege!, isege!!</i>	‘Wake up!, wake up!!	2
<i>Isege saazuo la fu to’e ko’om wa</i>	‘Wake up and receive this water’	3

For instance, in **lines 1-3**, the message is about the invocation of the ancestor to wake up and receive water. These are imperative sentences. The officiant has commanded the ancestor to wake up for the water. In **line 1**, we have *Akazuuri* ‘Subject’ and *isege* verb whereas in **line 2**, there is no subject in the sentence but only a verb. This sentence without a subject, underscores the fact that urgent issues do not need long-winding narration as pointed out earlier. The entire oration is carved in a succinct manner



because the officiant considers the situation as being so critical that it needed an express attention from the ancestor.

Similarly, the excerpt in **Appendix E** about the severe drought situation in Bɔgereɔ is in the form of a simple sentence structure with a few compound sentences. The entire oration is poetic and structured in stanzas (**see lines 1-31**). If we take the first stanza (**lines 1-9**) as shown below, one would appreciate how poetic and rhythmic the oration is.

Apart from the emphasis placed on the severity of the drought, the nature of the oration also adds an aesthetic value to it.

<i>Nyaaba Ate'elegua!</i>	Ate'elegua, the Great Ancestor	1
<i>Wi'a wa n wi'iri wa</i>	This call that is being called	2
<i>Dagi pupeelum wi'a</i>	Not a call of happiness	3
<i>La de la nimbaalega wi'a!</i>	It is a sorrowful call!	4
<i>Dena kumpiinɔ wi'a!</i>	A call of pity!	5
<i>Dena nɔyalegere wi'a!</i>	A call of nausea!	6
<i>Dena bugum!</i>	A call of fire!	7
<i>Dena kum!</i>	A call of death!	8
<i>Dena kabega wi'a!</i>	A call of doom!	9

From the data, we observe that most of the sentences do not strictly follow the Gurene sentence structure of SVO. This is because such sentences do not have subjects. For example, in **lines 5-9**, *dena*, the copula verb “is”, begins each of the sentences. However, each of the sentences is supposed to begin with the subject pronoun, “it”, but that is missing even though, it is covertly expressed.

The second type of sentence is the compound sentence. It is a sentence which contains two independent clauses joined by a conjunction such as *la* ‘and’, *bii* ‘or’, and *dee*

‘but/and’. Let me indicate that *la* as a conjunction also stands for a definite article ‘the’ depending on the context (Dakubu, 1996). Each of the independent clauses can stand on their own as separate meaningful sentences. Brown et al (2005, p. 356) agree with this explanation and state that, “conjunctions connect sentences or components (i.e., parts) of sentences to make complex sentences. The simplest case is that of conjoining two independent sentences that could stand alone as they are.” The sentence from the excerpt of **Appendix G** (about land dispute) is illustrated below:

*Bala nera woo wan ti'ise ti mam n ηmε e wia dee la dagi yelemiηere* 35  
 ‘So everyone will think that I beat him first but that is not true.’

Therefore, the sentence in **lines 35** above shows two independent clauses and joined by the conjunction *dee* ‘but’. The first sentence is:

*Bala nera woo wan ti'ise ti mam n ηmε e wia*  
 ‘So everyone will think that I beat him first’

This is a complete meaningful sentence. The second clause which is:

*la dagi yelemiηere*, meaning, ‘that is not true’, is also a complete, independent statement that carries a meaningful thought.

Another example of a compound sentence is extracted from **Appendix L** (about reciprocity) as shown below:

*La kɔ'ɔm dena la bala dee waafɔ ga'a ti tu tara kinkate makera?*  
 ‘That is what it really is and we cannot be measuring with a stalk while the snake is lying there.’

We notice that the sentence is made up of two independent clauses and conjuncted by *dee*, ‘and’.

Apart from the simple and compound sentences, we also have complex sentences. A complex sentence is a sentence that has one independent clause with one or more

subordinate clauses. Complex sentences make use of subordinate conjunctions to join the clauses together. Some of such conjunctions are *ti*, ‘so’; *la* ‘and’; *bii* ‘or’; and *dee* ‘but/and’ (Dakubu 1996).

In constructing a complex sentence, if the subordinate clause comes before the independent clause, a comma is used. On the other hand, if the subordinate clause comes after the independent clause, then a comma is not needed.

Let us consider some excerpts of the data in **Appendix B(ii)**:

### Gurenɛ

<i>Dabesa ata n daa tole la ti Asaseɲa isege sunsua li'ise Asɔ'ɔɲa base</i>	37
<i>dee doose a bia kiɲe ti ba ta ma'e bamiɲa suɲa suɲa</i>	38
<i>Ba n daa ta pae la ti kinkito la daa yese tole la eere.</i>	39

### English

Three days later, at midnight, Mr. Wolf went to where the cakes were with his son to feast without informing his friend, Mr. Rabbit. When they arrived, the dwarfs had gone out.

We notice that **line 37** is a complex sentence; it has a subordinate clause and an independent clause. That is, *dabesa ata n daa tole la*, ‘three days later’ is a subordinate clause because it cannot stand on its own as a complete sentence while *Asaseɲa isege sunsua li'ise Asɔ'ɔɲa base*, ‘At midnight Mr. Wolf dodged Mr. Rabbit’ constitute an independent clause because it can stand on its own as a complete sentence. The word ‘*ti*’ serves as a conjunction connecting the two clauses together. Also, in **line 38**, *dee doose a bia kiɲe* ‘and went with his child’, is a subordinate clause, and *ba ta ma'e bamiɲa suɲa suɲa* ‘they would satisfy themselves’ being an independent clause. the coordinating conjunction is ‘*ti*’. We also find out that in **line 39**, the sentence is in two parts. That is, *Ba n daa ta pae la*, ‘When they arrived’ (subordinate clause) and *kinkito la daa yese tole la eere*. ‘the dwarfs had gone out’

(independent clause). So, the two clauses were linked by the conjunction *'ti'*. The data indicate that all the sentences began with subordinate clauses and have been connected with the coordinating conjunction, *'ti'*.

Further, in **Appendix H, (An alleged bewitching of a young lady)**, we also find an example that illustrates a complex sentence with the conjunction *dee* 'and' which brings the independent and the subordinate clauses together. Let us consider the sentence in **line 14** below:

Bala ti N wi ya na ti N tebege ti ya wum <b>dee</b> ti N ka'ε ko'om	14
bo tingana mia ti a isege saazuo ε a nayiga.	15

In the example above, the independent clause begins the sentence, that is,

- *Bala ti N wi ya na ti N tebege ti ya wum*, 'that is why I summoned you here to inform you';
- *ti N ka'ε ko'om bo tingana mia ti a isege saazuo ε a nayiga*, 'so that I offer libation prayer to the god to search for the thief', as the subordinate clause, and
- *ti* as the conjunction.

From the above we can establish that in Gurene, the complex sentence has more than one conjunction to coordinate the independent and the subordinate clauses (Dakubu 1996).

In addition, the data showed that the language used is poetic and rhythmic. Simple sentences were used because much of the data collected portrayed precarious situations and therefore, needed immediate attention. For instance, the epidemic of measles that plagued the community in which an officiant's house was the worst hit, lost two twin sons the same day. (See **Appendix J: Health Pandemic**). So, in an

instance of such nature, the officiant had to speak in a simple and clear language to the ancestors so they could act with speed in order to curtail future deaths. This is because, death related issues do not require the officiant to speak in complex and ambiguous language.

Apart from the above, the data revealed that Farefari folktales have a structure just like any other African folktale (Finnegan (2012)). From the narrations in this work, the storyteller structured his folktale into three stages; the beginning, middle and the conclusion to conform to how Farefari folktales are structured. There are several ways or options available to folktale bearers for beginning folktales based on the ingenuity of the narrator (s). They may begin a story as;

- a. *N solene n boi*, (I have a story)
- b. *Nereba bata n yuum boi* (There were three men)
- c. *Ya nuu mi sela n sɔi ti ɲwana la ɲwana yuum bɔna* (Do you know why this and that were there?)
- d. Etc.

In the context of the folktale in **Appendix B(ii)**, the narrator used the first option in **line 1**, that is, *N solene n boi* ‘I have a story’, to begin his story. Beginning the story with the *N*, First Person Pronoun in the phrase is significant. Here, the narrator was communicating to the audience that he owned the story. In other words, it meant that the audience did not have a clue about the story even though, in context, they all knew the story because folktales are a community resource made available for everyone. But at that material moment of narration, no one owned it except the narrator. The argument to make here is this, it is assumed that the narrator thinks the audience did not know the folktale, otherwise, what then would have been the purpose of narrating

what the audience already knew? It is common knowledge that in oral literature performance, a narration can never be the same as the original even if it is the same performer. In the context of this, Okpewho (1992, p.16) has this to say:

a community where two or more storytellers tell the same stories, one version of the tale is bound to differ from another version, depending not only on the narrator's personal skill and experience but also on the Context (e.g., type of audience) within which the tale is told.

Similarly, as far as oral literature involves composition and performances, Finnegan (2012, p.375) postulates that:

The narrator of a story is likely to introduce his own favourite tricks of verbal style and presentation and to be influenced in his wording by the audience and occasion; thus, he would produce linguistic variations on the basic theme different from those of his fellows or even from his own on a different occasion.

The next stage of the folktale is the content in which details of the folktale are made. Everything about the folktale is expressed here. In this section, we noticed how skilfully, the narrator exposed the characters of two personas in the folktale; *Asaseŋa*, 'Mr Wolf' and *Asɔ'ɔŋa*, 'Mr. Rabbit'. These two characters formed two different worlds; the world of generosity and the world of greediness. In the world of generosity, we find in **Appendix B(ii), line 32-36** in which Mr. Rabbit led Mr. Wolf to a place where they had enough food to feed their families. See the excerpt below:

### **Gurenɛ**

Ti Asaseŋa pɔga pɛ yire kɔ'ɔm nyɔke a sira tu tu tu, ti a me kɔ'ɔm  
gɛ sũure kɛ Asɔ'ɔŋa yire ti a ta baŋe ɛŋa n iŋe se'em nyɛ kabelega  
ma'asa wa la. Asɔ'ɔŋa da aka iŋe kambi'eleŋa dee tari e kiŋe zi'an ti  
ma'asa la bɔna la. Ba daa ma'ɛ bamiŋa mɛ dee zɛ bala nu'uka nu'uka 35  
kule ta bo ba yiduma.

**English translation:**

As soon as Mrs. Wolf got home she didn't spare her husband of insults and insinuations. Her husband felt bad and had to go to his friend Mr. Rabbit for assistance. His friend willingly sent him to the forest where the magic pot was. They feasted a lot and sent some home for their families.

In contrast, we find Mr Wolf's greediness in **Appendix B(ii), lines 36-38** below:

**Gurene**

*Dabesa ata daare ti Asaseŋa isege sunsua li'ise Asɔ'ɔŋa base* 36

*dee doose a bia kiŋe ti ba ta ma'ε bamiŋa suŋa suŋa la ma'asa la.* 38

**English version:**

However, three days later, and as greedy as Mr. Wolf was, went with his son to the forest without informing his generous friend.

This greediness did not end well with Mr. Wolf and his family because he forgot the right expression to use so the pot containing the *ma'asa* could open and that led to his untimely death. The concluding part of African folktales and for that matter Farefari folktales come in varied forms depending on the style of the narrator, the theme and the context. For example, a folktale could be concluded this way:

*a. Fum n daa ka boi bini dee ti mam daa bɔna bini la ti Nyeti  
N pike pa'ale fu.*

'You were not there to witness it but I was a witness to it, so I want to share it with you.'

*b. Bala n sɔi ti Asɔ'ɔŋa la Asaseŋa bii Abaa, ka le nyeta taaba nifo la*

'That's why Mr Rabbit and Mr. Wolf or Mr. Dog have become bitter enemies.'

Therefore, the narrator ended his story as we find in **Appendix B(ii), line 70-71** as follows:

**Gurene**

<i>Bala ti Mam daa bɔna bini dee nye, nyaa yeti n pike pa'ale ya ti yensebo</i>	69
<i>fii n boi bini wa la, ya dike gu yamiŋa. Bala ti diinduma ni make yeti,</i>	70
<i>“di n ma'a kiiri la n ma'a” dee “mina mina, ka le ta mina?”</i>	71

**English**

And that is why I'm sharing my experiences with you so that you would become aware of what has happened to Mr. Wolf because of sheer greediness. As our elders put it, “a greedy person suffers or bears the consequences alone.”

**4.3 Summary of the Chapter**

In this chapter, we set out to discuss two research questions, thus, questions one and two. In one we identified three types of oratory found in Farefari culture. They were deliberative oratory, judicial oratory and epideictic oratory. We found out that deliberative type of oration offers audience with choices at any material time to choose from. In other words, the oration is meant to either persuade or dissuade the audience from pursuing a certain course of action based on any consequential effects in the future. This is commonly found in political speeches made by political leaders. Judicial oratory was noted to have judgement as its key component in its discourse. At all times, the object of the discourse is to find out whether the justice system is followed so as to find out who is right or wrong; whether a certain decision arrived at was justifiable. It was revealed that judicial oratory is mostly practiced at the modern law courts as well as traditional law courts (chief's palace, homes of family and clan heads). Epideictic, a third type of oratory found in Farefari oratory was also discussed in this chapter. We noticed from the data that epideictic oratory praises a person for good deeds executed and blames or condemns when the person is undeserving. Such an oration happens mostly during funerals. A case in point is the



farewell tribute which was performed by a chief pallbearer for the late Apika from Bɔgereɔ. When the pallbearer used negative expressions to address the corpse, it did not budge but when it was eulogised, it moved.

The second research question we addressed was about the structure of oratory in Farefari culture. We observed that every language has a structure including Gurene whose structure is subject-Verb-Object. However, there could be some instances that there could be structural deviations in the rule. For instance, the data revealed situations where we had Verb+Object (V+O) without a Subject. We also discussed the types of sentence structure in Gurene; the simple sentence, compound sentence and the complex sentence. The discussion also looked at how Farefari folktales are usually structured, thus, the beginning, middle (content) and the end (conclusion).



## CHAPTER FIVE

### ANALYSIS OF SOME LITERARY DEVICES IN FAREFARI ORATORY AND HOW ORATORY IS DELIVERED IN THE CULTURE

#### 5.1 Introduction

Without literary devices, writers or speakers would not be so successful in the write-ups or orations which they usually deliver to their audience. These literary devices are important to them because they are techniques that orators employ in order to produce particular effects during speech delivery.

This work considered four research questions as stated earlier in 1.6 above. Questions 1 and 2 have been discussed in chapter 4. Question one discussed the types of oratory found in Farafari culture whereas question two dealt with the language structure in oratory in Farefari culture. This chapter discusses the last two research questions, that is, research questions three (3) and four (4). Question three looks at some of the literary devices used in Farefari oration while question four accounts for how oratory is delivered in Farefari culture.

#### 5.2 Question 3: What are some of the Literary Devices used in Farefari Oration?

In a formal discourse, there is always an interaction between a speaker and a listener in order to achieve success. Therefore, if a speaker is addressing an audience on a particular subject-matter his language ought to be succinct, persuasive and impeccable and as such he may have to employ various rhetorical devices in his delivery. Rhetorical device is a linguistic tool that employs a specific type of sentence structure, sound, or pattern of meaning in order to invoke a particular reaction from an audience. It is for this reason that every orator ought to make use of the rhetorical devices to

their advantage.

Corbett (1990) is also of the opinion that a rhetoric device is an art of deviation (cf. McQuarrie and Mick, 1996).

The orator is the main architect of oration. He is the initiator, crafter and executor of the performance. The orator's main purpose for orating is to excite his audience and make them happy. To achieve this feat, the orator has the onerous responsibility to be able to persuade the audience which of course requires eloquence. This style is realised in several speeches ranging from social issues to economic problems. For instance, in the traditional law courts, arbitrators use different forms of styles when adjudicating issues. It is therefore, imperative for the orator to be fluent in his speeches by having the ability to conform to the approved manner of speaking in many sociolinguistic situations. Now, we wish to look at some of the literary devices that were found in the speeches and texts of the various participants in the study.

In any form of discussion, the orator usually attempts to make sure that his salient ideas, keywords and phrases are memorable. This is done by using certain sound effects and phonological markers. As a result, Harris (2005) identified a number of phonological markers such as alliteration, assonance, rhyming and rhythm. The rest of the literary devices include anaphora, apostrophe, personification, repetition, metaphor, simile, hyperbole and reciprocity. These markers that the speakers applied in their oration played important roles in persuading and addressing the audience in one way or the other. The advantage of being in close contact with the audience allowed the combined use of these markers of the language.

### 5.2.1 Listing

Listing is one of the linguistic tools for effective communication orators sometimes use which affords the opportunity for effective communication in order to put emphasis on some points or issues that they discuss. Usually, when speakers interact with their audience the expectation is to positively impact their lives. To do this, orators would consciously tabulate salient issues and present them to the listeners to assimilate. For example, the second stanza of **Appendix E, lines 4-8**, the officiant presents his petition to the god by mentioning the important points in a rhythmic manner, which in essence tries to heighten the seriousness of the drought. For example, *nimbaalega* is made up of two words, *nini* ‘eyes’ and *baalega*, ‘lean’ which literally means eyes that have grown lean. Therefore, the metaphorical use of *nimbaalega* as seen **Appendix E, line 4** suggests the extent to which the famine has struck the community such that every person in the community looks starved with their eyes literally caved in. In addition, *kumpiinɔ*, ‘sorrowful’ indicates how death has ravaged the community which is unprecedented in the history of the land. Again, the use of *nɔyalegere* is another means by which the officiant expresses their concern about the drought. It comprises two words, thus, *nuure*, ‘mouth’ and *yalegere*, ‘lack of’. Therefore, *nɔyalegere* expresses lack of appetite. This expression *dɛna nɔyalegere wi’a!*, ‘causing lack of appetite!’ can be likened to a situation in which one becomes so hungry for a very long period and is eventually served with food which one loses appetite to eat. In the case of this community, the food is not even available for them. Therefore, their present circumstance is precarious for them to be able to bear. In the instance of *kabega*, ‘burning’ in line 9, it is suggestive that the situation is equally alarming. The verb form is *kabɛ*, ‘to burn’. In the context of the expression, *dɛna kabega wi’a!*, ‘call of hell fire (doom)!’ suggests that they are experiencing

deep pain.

Indeed, that stanza climaxes the entire prayer because the repercussions of the drought have been summed up in it, thus:

### Gurenɛ rendition

<i>La de la nimbaalega wi'a!</i>	'It is a pitiful call!'	4
<i>Dena kumpiinɔ wi'a!</i>	'Indeed, a sorrowful call!'	5
<i>Dena nɔyalegere wi'a!</i>	'Causing lack of appetite!'	6
<i>Dena kum wi'a!</i>	'A call of death!'	7
<i>Dena kabega wi'a!</i>	'A call of 'hell fire'(doom)!'	8

### 5.2.2 Alliteration

Alliteration is a figure of speech which refers to the repetition of the same sound in a group of words but does not just refer to letters. Agyekum (2013, p.195) also describes alliteration as “the repetition of consonants at the beginning of words or syllables.” Repeated sounds of alliteration do not necessarily have to line up sequentially but may have other intervening words. We find a perfect example of alliteration as seen below:

*Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled pepper.*

Form the example above, the intervening words “a” and “of” have broken the sequencing of the repeated sound /p/ in the phrase but does not invalidate it as an alliteration. Similarly, the data on drought also showed an example of alliteration even though there is an intervening word *ka*, ‘not’ in the sequence of repeated sounds in the words as shown below:

*Hali ti pɔgemiɲere pɔgesi ka puta*, ‘even lack of dignified women’

These repeated sound /p/ in the words may help enhance the effect of the repeated sounds. Harris (2005, p. 32) also observes that alliteration is the “recurrence of initial

consonant sounds.” He posits that the repetition of the sounds can be juxtaposed which is usually limited to two words. He cites the following example to make his point:

Ah, what a *delicious day!* The data in **Appendix E, line 21** also showed the following example as apt:

*Fu san siren ke'em kankani*, which means ‘if you are really powerful’.

Therefore, the two-word alliterative sounds /d/ and /k/ in both examples draw attention to the phrase and fixes it in the reader’s or hearer’s mind. This is useful for emphasis and also as an art.

Again, from the data in **Appendix E, first stanza, line 2** as we find below, there is alliteration in that context. The sound /w/ in the phrase, *Wi'a wa n wi'iri wa* has been repeated at word initial and this is to lay emphasis on the reason for the invocation of the Great Ancestor *Ate'elegua*. In fact, the repeated call of invocation as seen below, is an expression of deep worry, sorrow, dejection and despair.

Gurene version	English version
<i>N yaaba Ate'elegua!</i>	‘Ate'elegua, the Great Ancestor’ 1
<i>Wi'a wa n wi'iri wa</i>	‘This call that is being called’ 2
<i>Dagi pupeelum wi'a</i>	‘Is not a call of happiness’ 3
<i>La de la nimbaalega wi'a!</i>	‘It is a sorrowful call!’ 4
<i>Dena kumpiinɔ wi'a!</i>	‘A pitiful call!’ 5
<i>Dena nɔyalegere wi'a!</i>	‘A call of lack of appetite!’ 6
<i>Dena bugum!</i>	‘A call of doom!’ 7
<i>Dena kum!</i>	‘A call of death!’ 8

### 5.2.3 Assonance

The same vowel sound repeating within a group of words is what is termed an assonance. It is the repetition of only vowel sounds and these sounds can occur

anywhere in the word. Agyekum (2013, p. 195) posits that assonance is the “resemblance of sound in words or syllables. It is the relatively close juxtaposition of similar vowel sound.” Note that the emphasis here is on sound but not different letters producing the sound. In other words, assonance is the repetition of vowel sounds in sentences. Each word may begin with a different consonant sound. Let us consider the data below as illustrated in **Appendix I**:

<i>Bɔna wuu fu n yuum boi se'em la</i>	‘as you were before’
<i>Ka bɔta bɔteba sɔkɔ la</i>	‘did not envy a neighbour’s property’

The repetition of the vowel sound /u/ in “*wuu*”, “*fu*”, “*yuum*” and /ɔ/ in “*bɔta*”, “*bɔteba*” and “*sɔkɔ*” respectively give aural effect and memorability. Assonance in the context of Farefari oratory creates rhythm. It also makes the libation text more interesting and enjoyable when reading. As a literary device it enhances the musical effect in the text. It may also develop the internal rhyme as well as create a mood that may allow the readers to connect with the subject matter. In addition, it creates boundary between two ideas. It is also used in highlighting important words, such as nouns.

#### 5.2.4 Repetition

In all oral performances, orators make use of repetition to achieve specific effects. Repetition is a form of literary device in which an action or something is done several times. Sometimes, the orator repeats some words, phrases and even complete sentences in the performances. This linguistic feature of repetition when used effectively makes the speeches of orators more interesting and exciting. Thus, it sustains the interest of the audience as they listen to the speaker address them. As the speaker may also rely on repetition to persuade the audience, it also benefits the

audience for making it possible for them to retain relevant points of the speeches. Agyekum (2013, p. 67) has pointed out that in oral literature, repetition features prominently, and therefore, performs certain roles. As he puts it, repetition has:

both an aesthetic (beauty) and utilitarian (functional) value. It makes the work beautiful for people to enjoy, and it has also a functional value. It is a device that does not only give touch of beauty and attractiveness to a piece of oral expression, but also serves certain practical purposes in the overall organization of the oral performance.

#### 5.2.4.1 Repetition of Words

This refers to the repetition of the same linguistic form in order to lay emphasis on a point made by the speaker. When the point sinks into the minds of the audience, there is high possibility of memorability. As reiterated by Altam et al (2021), repetition as a literary device seeks to include intentionally using a word or phrase for effect, two or more times in a speech or written work. Sometimes orators deploy repetition in their orations in order to make certain ideas much clearer to their audience so that they may not forget. In other words, it will make the audience remember important points in the speeches of the orators and to make their ideas more emphasised. For example, the lexical item *yaane*, ‘pasture’ has been repeated in **line 14** of **Appendix E**. For example:

*ti duɲa yaane yaane ka le puta*      ‘not even a blade of pasture is left’ 14

The repetition of the word *yaane* establishes a clear manifestation of the severity of the drought. It is during these difficult periods that animals including human beings grow lean as a result of malnourishment. Traditionally, when domestic livestock finds it extremely difficult to find pasture to graze on, then life becomes problematic. Shepherds would have to drive the animals several miles away in search of little or



non-existing pasture. Understandably so because the Farefari are typically subsistence farmers, and livestock rearing also gives them financial support.

Further, the narrator employed a lot of repetitions in his narration. As explained by Sunkuli and Miruka (1990, p. 78), “repetition is the recurrence of a segment, episode or idea in a narrative or poem.” As Cham (1990) also points out, repetition can take the form of a function or a structure being repeated as another structure; it can also be a repetition of certain statements or phrases in different functions or structure. Since classical rhetoric (CR) theory concerns itself with all the possible means available in order to persuade an audience to be convinced of a particular thing, then, repetition as a literary device is appropriately applied here. For example, we see a clear case of repetitions in the narrator’s narration of the folktale in **Appendix B(ii), lines 44-45** that;

*A daa ta ba’ase me ti a* 44  
*yem libe ti a kɔ’om tara, “dukɔ vuge!”*, *“dukɔ vuge!”*, *“dukɔ vuge!”*, 45

When he became conscious of himself after fallen, he then started saying, ‘pot close!, ‘pot close!’, ‘pot close!’

In this instance, we find *Asaseŋa*, ‘Mr. Wolf’ in distress not knowing what to do to open the pot in order to come out. As he kept repeating the wrong command, the tighter the lid became. A similar incident was repeated by Mr. Wolf’s son when he ran to Mr. Rabbit for the right command to use in order to release his father from his agony. The repetition of the right command was given by Mr. Rabbit as *dukɔ vuke!*, *dukɔ vuke!*, *dukɔ vuke!*, ‘pot open!’, ‘pot open!’, ‘pot open!’. Unfortunately and sadly, the child ran, fell and forgot the command key for opening the pot and therefore, reversed the command to “*dukɔ vuge!*, *dukɔ vuge!*, *dukɔ vuge!....*”, meaning, ‘pot

close! pot close!, pot close!’ as we find in **Appendix B(ii), lines 55-58**. On getting back to his father, he told him the command but of course, the pot did not open. What is significant to note here is the exchange of the velar voiceless plosive sound /k/ in the word *vuke* ‘open’ for its counterpart voiced plosive sound /g/ in the word *vuge* ‘close’. Therefore, the mistake of the child substituting /g/ for /k/ has caused the death of his father, *Asaseŋa*, ‘Mr. Wolf.’ That explains why each speech sound in every language is unique.

The narrator further used repetition to show how heavy the food Messrs Rabbit and Wolf carried home to feed their families was. This was lucidly expressed in the sentence in **Appendix B(ii), line 36**, thus;

*Ba daa ma ’ε bamiŋa me dee ze bala nɔ’ɔka nɔ’ɔka*  
*kule ta bo ba yiduma.*

‘They ate to their fill and carried so much home to feed their family.’

The repetition of *nɔ’ɔka nɔ’ɔka* is a mental image which is captured in the utterance to indicate that the load of the *ma’asa* ‘cakes’ being carried was very heavy and unbearable. In other words, load that is probably expected to be carried by two or more people without any duress, is carried by one person. Thus, the mental picture of *nɔ’ɔka nɔ’ɔka* portray living entity walking or moving with difficulty which is an indication that the limbs are weak. This image can best be likened to a vehicle with weak shock absorbers and yet carrying heavy load on an uneven road.

### 5.2.5 Anaphora

The data above in **Appendix E** brings to light the use of anaphoric expressions in the oration during the libation prayer. To show how severe the drought is, and its

dire consequences on the community, the officiant chose the word *dɛna* and repeated it at the beginning of consecutive lines of the text as shown in **lines 5-9** below:

<i>Dɛna kumpiinɔ wi'a!</i>	'A call of pity!'	5
<i>Dɛna nɔyalegere wi'a!</i>	'A call of nausea!'	6
<i>Dɛna bugum!</i>	'A call of fire!'	7
<i>Dɛna kum!</i>	'A call of death!'	8
<i>Dɛna kabega wi'a!</i>	'A call of doom!'	9

The emphasis placed on the word *dɛna* is to avoid the issue of uncertainty as to whether or not the situation is severe. Once the word is repeated many times, it means the orator deems the point being made important, hence he places emphasis on it. Therefore, in rhetoric, the orator reiterates the same thought as well as the same sound repeatedly so that it prints the pictures and thoughts into the audience and readers' mind. In other words, a word or phrase repeats itself at the beginning of consecutive lines or sentences. This literary device also adds rhythm to the oration which goes a long way to enhance the aesthetic value of the text (Cuddon, 2013; Greene et al., 2012; Kane, 1994). We also find a similar example in **lines 30-31** in which high premium is placed on *kom*, 'hunger' as shown below:

<i>Kom yee! kum yee!</i>	Ooh! hunger! Ooh! death!	30
<i>Kom yee! kum yee!</i>	Ooh! hunger! Ooh! death!	31

*Kom*, as a beginning word in the sentence, *Kom yee! kum yee!* 'Ooh! hunger! Ooh! death! as shown above informs us that there is no hope for the community because there is not even a single blade of grass in sight for the domestic animals.

The lengthening of the sound /e/ as in ‘*yee*’ is to heighten the conversation to the effect that the unbearable hunger may eventually lead to death. This chorus by the congregation is an indication that their plight is hopeless and helpless and needed the intervention of the rain god. Experience has shown that any time there is a situation of such nature offering of libation is done to the rain god by the *sadaana*, ‘caretaker of the rain god’.

### 5.2.6 Personification

Language use in communication with listeners or audiences involves many literary devices in order to adorn the language. The data I collected during the research involved the use of personifications in the speeches of some speakers. In their speeches, certain attributes of human beings were given to inanimate objects, abstract entities, or non-human animate entities and they behaved or acted as if they were human beings. This view is supported by Finnegan (2012, p. 64) when she states that, “personification is particularly popular, and can be economically affected by transferring an ordinary noun from its usual class to that of persons. Doke (1948) as cited in Finnegan (2012) gave the following Zulu examples to elucidate her point:

- personified form *uNtaba* (Mountain) from the common noun for mountain, *intaba*
- personified form *uSikhotha* from the ordinary *isikhotha*, ‘long grass’

Finnegan (ibid) further explains that this type of personification is common in stories where the “names of animals are transferred to the personal class and thus, as it were, invested with human character.” Indeed, in **Appendix B(ii)** we have examples in the story in which rabbit’s wife and wolf’s wife are addressed as Mrs Rabbit and Mrs Wolf respectively. Also, their families and other entities such as the gods are

assigned human qualities of speech. These entities speak, eat, weed, rear, travel, run and even feel. For example, in **lines 5-7** of the **Appendix B(ii)**, the animals were described as being farmers as seen below:

### Gurene rendition

<i>Ba yuum kɔɔri mɛ dee ugera. Diisi iri iri ti ba</i>	5
<i>yuum kɔɔra de la ki/si, sukaam, suma, tea, nyubento la kareweena.</i>	6
<i>Gu'ulegɔ la me yuum de la nii, piisi, buusi, busi, nuusi la ki'ini.</i>	7

### English rendition

Typically, they were farmers, cultivating crops such as millet, groundnuts, round beans, beans, sweet potatoes and maize. They also reared animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys as well as the rearing of poultry

There were also several instances that we find the animals speaking and giving commands. A few examples to consider include:

- a. Mr. Rabbit commanding the *ma'asa* pot to open and close respectively, thus;
  - *dukɔ vuke*, 'pot open', **line 16**;
  - *dukɔ vuge*, 'pot close', **line 17**;
- b. Interaction between Mrs. Wolf and Mrs. Rabbit.
- c. Mrs. Wolf enquiring from Mrs Rabbit where she had the *ma'asa* from.

Thus,

- *fu nyɛ ma'asa wa la bɛ obe ti karekitema za'a ana ŋwana nyɔli wa?* (**in line 26**).

**Meaning:** 'Where did you get these *ma'asa* from with sweet aroma all over you like that?'

Response from Mrs. Rabbit;

*Fu sokeri nywana ti ani mia n wan ta'am tari wa'am na tugum* 28

*gana mmiņa suure bunɔ, Ayenkirega naba Asɔ'ɔŋa", -* 29

**Meaning:** Why would you ask this when you know obviously that it would not be any person other than my only wise sweetheart husband”

In addition, prefixes are also used to personify entities that otherwise are not humans. Finnegan (2012, p. 64) points out that, another way of achieving personification is “by a series of special formations based, among other things, on special prefixes, derivations from verbs or ideophones, reduplication, or the rich resources of compounding.” Therefore, among the Fafari people, to make an inanimate entity human, /a/ is used as a prefix to personify that noun. For example, *sɔ'ɔŋa*, ‘rabbit’ and *saseŋa*, ‘wolf’ as we find in the folktale under consideration are animals but have been personified by the prefix ‘A’. Therefore, *Asɔ'ɔŋa* and *Asaseŋa* are now designated as [+animate, +human] respectively. It is therefore, not surprising to find almost every Fafari Personal name beginning with ‘A’. For example, *zuure*, ‘tail’ (*Azuure*), *tia*, ‘tree’ (*Atia*), *suŋa*, ‘beauty/nice’ (*Asuŋa*) and *kuka*, ‘chair/stool’ (*Akuka*).

In reference to **Appendix O**, we witnessed a situation where a man supposedly made a joke of accusing a colleague of committing adultery with a neighbour’s wife which became a big issue and nearly resulted into a divorce of the marriage. Thus, from the intervention of the head of clan, the following excerpt was used to personify the cat as seen in **4.1.2.2, line 25**.

*Adeebia yeti, “de’eyo ka boi kunkɔa”* 25  
Mr. Cat says, play NEG there neck  
‘Delicate or sensitive matters are not to be joked with.’

In that instance, when the accuser realised that the issue which he took as a joke was taking a different dimension he apologized to the family. Therefore, the expression, *Adeebia yeti*, “*de’eyo ka boi kunkɔa*” ‘the cat says there is no play around one’s neck’ was to sound a bit of caution to him. Note that, the Cat, as a meek domestic pet, could allow any part of its body to be touched or manipulated with. However, it would become so aggressive if one attempts to touch its neck. This significantly means one should not play with delicate matters because one may pay a heavy price for the outcome, which could be very unpleasant. *Adeebia*, ‘Mr. Cat’ is [+animate, -human] thus, has been personified. Therefore, the cat has possessed the linguistic feature of speech. There are two noun phrases in the proverb-*adeebia* and *kunkɔa*. *Adeebia* is a third person singular nominal and occupies the subject position while the latter occupies the object position. The sentence is a direct speech cautioning people to know how to go about things without causing the displeasure of others or oneself. The proverb is expressed in the negative form using *ka* as the marker. Largely, it means there is no joke playing with one’s neck. The negative *ka* is a formal demarcation between the ‘joke’ and ‘neck’ which should never go together. This reveals how the Fafari people attach so much importance to their cultural values. They place high premium on delicate matters and handle them as such with reverence. For instance, the marriage institution is one of a kind that the people revere so much so that the community would always try to do everything possible within their power to protect it from collapsing because of its sensitive nature. It is for this reason that the neck and marriage are considered highly sensitive and for that matter must be guarded and protected at all times.

### 5.2.7 Apostrophe

In the speeches of orators, one form of an apostrophe or the other, may be employed; addressing a non-living being, abstract object, a dead or absent person as though present and could hear, understand and decipher the message. Therefore, it should be pointed out that an apostrophe is a way of addressing someone or something invisible or not ordinarily spoken to (cf. Carroll, 2003). In an apostrophe, a poet may address an inanimate object, some dead or absent person, an abstract thing or a spirit.” As a result, it is sometimes used to send out a message of disbelief of an action or opinion to people, whether positive or otherwise. Among the Farefari, officiants use many apostrophes when carrying out ritual performances. For example, whenever they are in difficulty, either marriage crises, funerals, dispute settlements or naming ceremonies, they seek refuge in their ancestors by calling upon them for help. In the light of this, the use of apostrophe reflects in the data I collected. For example, in **Appendix E** we encounter the *sadaana* ‘the chief priest in charge of the rain-god’, lamenting to his ancestors about a severe drought situation in the community. In his petition to the ancestor, the officiant addresses the god directly by invoking its name, three times in **lines 1, 10 and 21** in all three stanzas as;

*Nyaaba Ate’elegua!*                      ‘Ate’elegua, the Great Ancestor!’

The repetition of the name of the ancestor comes after every stanza, which gives credence to the fact that the officiant does not petition any other personality apart from *Yaaba Ate’elegua*, ‘Ate’elegua, the Great Ancestor’. The repetition of the name of the ancestor is for emphasis to indicate that, indeed, ancestors are crowned heads of clans and families. It is the reason these gods are always consulted for solutions whenever there are crises in the community. It is the belief of the Farefari that every family member that passes and buried does not only remain in the spiritual world



but also in the physical world. They are believed to be visiting the family members all the time. As a result, they have a share in anything that the family shares. The ancestors in turn offer spiritual support in times of need.

Again, the first stanza of the petition below, supports the point made earlier that the address is directed to their ancestors but not to any other living being.

<b>Gurene</b>	<b>English</b>	
<i>N yaaba Ate'elegua!</i>	'Ate'elegua, the Great Ancestor'	1
<i>Wi'a wa n wi'iri wa</i>	'This call'	2
<i>Dagi pupeelum wi'a</i>	'Is not a call of happiness'	3
<i>La de la nimbaalega wi'a!</i>	'It is a sorrowful call!'	4
<i>Dena kumpiinɔ wi'a!</i>	'A pitiful call!'	5
<i>Dena nɔyalegere wi'a!</i>	'A call of lack of appetite!'	6
<i>Dena bugum!</i>	'A call of doom!'	7
<i>Dena kum!</i>	'A call of death!'	8

Apart from that, we also find another example of the use of an apostrophe in **Appendix I**. In the instance of this, we find the *bayake'ema*, 'the chief pallbearer' having a conversation with the deceased Apika. He addresses the deceased as if he were still alive. Indeed, it was as if the *bayake'ema*, 'chief pallbearer' has restored life into the deceased as he addresses him passionately. This, we notice the repetition of the invocation by the call of the name of the corpse at the beginning of every stanza in the incantation as, *Apika woooooi! Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!* The ideophone *woooooi* adds flavour to the chant because it is as if the deceased, Apika is alive and is out of reach and is being called to return. Therefore, the ideophone is an intensifier which heightens the pitch of the voice of the *sadaana* so that the corpse may 'hear'.

Further, we encounter the agony of Abuto's family head who uses an apostrophe in **Appendix J** to put his supplication before his ancestors. Just the same day, he lost two adolescent twin sons through an outbreak of measles. In fact, the death of the two boys was difficult to explain. The family head was traumatised and had no option other than petitioning his ancestors and gods and the other divinities. Therefore, let us consider

**Appendix J, lines 1-3** in the first stanza of the supplication alone as seen below:

<b>Gurene</b>	<b>English</b>	
<i>Yaaba Akazuuri, isege!</i>	‘Akazuuri, my ancestor, wake up!’	1
<i>Isege!, isege!!</i>	‘Wake up!, wake up!!’	2
<i>Isege saazuo la fu to 'e ko 'om wa!</i>	‘Wake up and receive this water!’	3

It is obvious from the data that, the family head was speaking directly to the divinities as if they were alive and having a face-to-face encounter with each other. He invites his ancestors to wake up and be served with food, which is symbolically referred to as *ko'om* ‘water’. A stranger/visitor to a traditional home who is invited to be served with water simply means it is food that would be prepared and served. Water is usually mentioned instead of food because it is the culture that dictates what is appropriate to use and what is not. The people have the belief that since they are all farmers and produce food crops, everyone is capable of feeding themselves. Therefore, to invite a guest of high status to eat food is demeaning. Such an invitation could be a face threat to the guest.

### **5.2.8 Rhyming**

Rhyming is the sounding of similar words that are pleasant to the ear. It beautifies the language and appeals to the hearers because they can predict a part of the speech as in

the following text from **Appendix E**.

<b>Gureɛ rendition</b>	<b>English rendition</b>	
<i>Mɔga la kulesi lebege la dagelesi</i>	‘Dams and all water bodies have dried up’	12
<i>Goto me lebege la pɔgentɛɛsi</i>	‘Forest lands turned into arid ones’	13
Wuu nasaara kurego	‘Like the whiteman’s iron rod’	23
<i>Isege to ’e zompuko</i>	‘Wake up and receive this flour’	24
<i>Dɛna bugum!</i>	‘It is hell’	31
<i>Dɛna kum!</i>	‘It is death’	32

Similarly, Agyekum (2013, p. 256) indicates that a rhyme is the “close similarity, identity or duplication of sounds, usually in corresponding positions in lines of verse.”

Sometimes, identical or similar concluding syllables in different words can repeat. Rhyme is principally a function of sound rather than spelling. Therefore, words may have different spellings but still rhyme. For example, the suffix **-go** in **kurego** in **Appendix E, line 23** and the suffix **-ko** in **zompuko** in **line 24** rhyme. We notice that the two words *kurego* and *zompuko* have different spellings but rhyme with same sound.

<i>Nyaaba Ate’elegua!</i>	21
<i>Fu san siren kɛ’em mɛ kankaŋi</i>	22
<i>Wuu nasaara kurego</i>	23
<i>Isege to ’e zompuko</i>	24

He further says, there are two types of rhymes in any literary work. These are:

1. the true or perfect rhyme: Here, vowels and consonants rhyme.
2. the approximate one: This type of rhyming comprises assonance, consonance and alliteration.

Sunkuli and Miruka (1990, p. 79) also refer to rhyme as the ‘occurrence of identical sounds at the end of lines in poetry.’ They have also identified two common forms of rhymes, that is;

1. End-rhymes (sounds rhyming at the end of a verse and
2. Internal rhymes (words rhyming with others in the same line).

From the examples in **lines 12** and **13** above, the endings of *si* in *dagelesi* and *ɔɔgenteesi* respectively rhyme. We also notice that *go* in *kurego* and *ko* in *zompuko* rhyme in **lines 22** and **23** while *gum* in *bugum* rhymes with *kum* in **lines 31** and **32**. These are referred to as End-rhymes. Apart from the end-rhymes, we find internal rhyming within the speech in which the suffix-*si* in *kulesi* rhymes with the suffix-*si* in *dagelesi* in **line 12**. Rhyming is significant in poetry as seen in the text above because the repetition of the sounds in the words adds flavour to the language, and of course, gives pleasurable experiences to the listeners as a result of its musical component. In fact, it makes the language rhythmic. From this observation, rhymes play critical role in literary work because orators/speakers make judicious use of rhymes in order to create sound patterns in emphasising certain words and their relationships with others in an artistic manner.

### 5.2.9 Simile

Simile is another important rhetorical device which orators use in public speeches. It is the comparison of one entity to the other. The two entities being compared are essentially unrelated from each other using the words “like” or “as”. In a simile, the two concepts or entities usually share one attribute or the other. For example, lines **21, 22** and **23** as shown in the excerpt of **Appendix E** in **5.2.8** above illustrate what a simile is. We realise from the excerpt that the strength of the ancestor is compared to the hardness of an iron rod using the word *wuu* ‘like’. In other words, the officiant throws a challenge to the ancestor to prove that it is capable of conjuring rainfall to end the crisis of the famine the community faces. To that

extent, the officiant unconventionally offers *zompuko* ‘dry flour’ instead of *zonko’om* ‘flour solution’ to the ancestor. Another example can be drawn from the excerpt in **Appendix I** (a tribute in honour of Apika, the deceased) as shown in **4.1.3.1** above. In the first stanza of the excerpt the pallbearer applies a simile as he addresses the deceased using negative attributes on him and asks if they were indeed the true reflection of his being while alive, he was free to embark on the journey to his ancestral home. For example, in **lines 9** and **10** the officiant says that:

<i>Fu daa san dena la putɔya</i>	‘If you were wicked’	8
<i>Ti fu puure nyɔ ana wilam</i>	‘And your stomach was hot’	9
<i>Wuu bugum la</i>	‘Like fire’	10

The use of *wuu* ‘like’ in line 10 is a case of a simile, thus, comparing the deceased’s *puure* ‘stomach’ as hot to *bugum* ‘fire’. The mention of the concept ‘fire’ connotes destruction in the minds of people. To that extent, likening the deceased’s stomach to fire suggests that he was a wicked person. As a result, the spirit of the deceased could not make the pallbearers move with it and were standstill.

Indeed, the use of a simile plays a critical role in this context. It expresses similarity, and for a simile to exist, the two things compared have to be dissimilar in kind” (see Sunkuli and Miruka 1990, p. 82). To that extent, comparing a lion to another lion cannot properly be termed a simile. However, a human being can be compared to an animal. For example, “the man fights like a lion” is a typical example of a simile. Alluding to a person’s stomach as “pure”, simply means such a person is kind, loving, caring, accommodating, understanding and forgiving. All these virtues indicate that the person’s life is worth emulating. In other words, the individual is always at peace with their neighbours. Therefore, the deceased is so compared to the moonlight because the brightness of the moonlight at night is suggestive of purity. It provides security at night which makes people move about freely without fear.

Children also rejoice whenever there is moonlight because they feel happy and play around without entertaining fear in them. It is therefore, in this context that the deceased is rightly so compared to the brightness of the moon. If the accolades showered on the deceased from **lines 19-23** is something to hold on to, then it suggests that, the deceased was indeed, a peace-loving person and everyone who was around him was secured.

#### 5.2.10 Metaphor

Another important literary device that orators sometimes make use of in order to enrich their language when addressing their listeners is metaphor. According to Ashley (2013, p. 68), “a metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable” (cf. Stern, 2000; Donoghue, 2014; Goatly, 2011; Glucksberg, 2001). (e.g., “No man is an island”). In other words, every human being is depended on the other for survival because our needs are insatiable. Therefore, a metaphor may be considered when comparing two images or entities as if they were the same. In doing such a comparison of two entirely different entities, it must be pointed out that even though one entity shares features of the other, the two entities would not be the same. For instance, saying that ‘x’ is ‘y’ does not necessarily mean that the two are the same; they only carry similar characteristics. In other words, a metaphor is being described as an image in which one entity is associated with another, and by that, the tendency is to conclude or think that the two entities are really the same. It is for this reason that it has been espoused that even identical twins can never be the same. Sometimes a metaphor may exist without any connective or the verb *to be* which he refers to us an implied metaphor.

For example, in **Appendix D(ii), line 17**, a lead mourner makes a statement to console the bereaved family as we find below:

*Saa ka ηmi'iri poge-yiηa bia Muen 17*  
 Rain NEG beat woman-one child Forest  
 'Rain does not beat one woman's child in the forest.'

The metaphorical use of the expression suggests that when people go to the forest to undertake various activities such as farming, hunting or harvesting of fuel and there is rainfall, it does not discriminate as to who it should affect whether or not there is shelter. Significantly, it means a misfortune does not affect only one person. Therefore, there are several people who might have gone through similar or even sometimes, worse situations and life experiences. Indeed, no one is insulated from worldly troubles. It is something that we have to accept, accommodate and live with. From the foregoing, the illusion seems to be that metaphor is related to the adornment of language alone or making language so sophisticated instead of simplifying it. But one school of thought perceives the concept of metaphor differently. To them:

most people think they can get along perfectly well without metaphor. We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (Lakoff et al, 2003).

Again, we find in **Appendix D(iii), line 17**, another metaphor that a *sobia* uttered during a visit of some of his in-laws to mourn with a bereaved family. So, in **line 17**, he says;

*Wine sake fu nuure*, 'God accepts your mouth'.

The *sobia* was responding to the goodwill messages from an in-law to the departed soul which states:

**Gurenɛ**

*Naa, sɔna fara, sɔna fara la ya maaleɔ. Yaabeduma la Winna'am 15*  
*wan to 'e e nu'usi siyi dee bo e ga'aresuɔ zi'an. 16*

**English**

Your honour, you deserve thanks, you deserve thanks for good performance.  
 Our ancestors and God would receive him with two hands and give him a  
 good sleeping place.

Essentially, the in-laws sent their condolences and expressed their appreciation for the credible manner in which the family conducted themselves in the performance of the funeral. They also wished for the deceased, God's blessings in his new life. It is the belief of the mourners and the Farefari community that death on earth is not the end-of-life hereafter. The metaphorical use of *nuure*, 'mouth' represents the good intentions the mourners have for the bereaved but not just the physical 'mouth'. Instead of saying that, "God accepts your prayer", they say God accepts your mouth because that is the culture of the people. They believe that, words that come from the mouth, would either be good or bad. So, whatever that comes out of one's mouth goes to God through their ancestors. As a result, the community expects speakers to be circumspect in whatever they want to say to an audience because it is the "mouth" that can make or unmake an individual. Apart from the metaphorical use of "mouth", there is also the use of *nu'usi siyi*, 'two hands' as a metaphor. This simply means the Almighty God and the ancestors would warmly welcome the beloved deceased into their bosom. Therefore, we can assert that we all live with metaphors in whatever we perceive or do. In other words, we cannot live without metaphors. Metaphors manifest in all cultural activities such as naming ceremonies, marriages, funeral performances and festivals.



### 5.2.11 Hyperbole

Various speakers in the study have employed the use of hyperbole in making their speeches rich in substance. Hyperbole is one of the commonest literary devices that speakers often use. Accordingly, it is a rhetorical term for exaggeration or overstatement usually deliberate and not meant to be taken too literally. The use of hyperbole is relevant in speeches because it adorns language. Usually, hyperbole is used to create anxiety in listeners, hype their emotions and also just to create some humour and fun. Therefore, a speaker may say something that puts the minds of listeners wandering whether it is something that is to be believed or not. Let us consider some of the speeches of orators that feature hyperbole.

In **Appendix F(iii), line 19**, we notice the use of hyperbole in the expression below:

*U-uuuu! wɔberɔ bii nagebileero? Ya ku tu. Tɔgum pugum ka le bɔna.19*  
 ‘Waa! elephants or calves? You have killed us. Talk not again.’

This significantly means, ‘you have provided more than enough. There is no need for further deliberations as far as the bride price is concerned.’ Traditionally, all that the in-laws were expecting was to see some three calves but to their amazement, they were shown three huge cattle. It is the reason the in-laws expressed their joy by issuing the statement in **Line 19** above. Therefore, one may be expecting something basic in life but greater opportunities may come the person’s way unexpectedly.

The use of *wɔberɔ*, ‘elephants’ as expressed by the in-laws refers to the cows meant for the payment of the bride price. The image that is drawn from the expression is simply an exaggeration because cows used for bride prices are often not as big as the in-laws want us to believe. They are only excited by the sizes of the cows which were perhaps bigger and healthier than what we normally witness to be used as bride prices. *Wɔberɔ*, as being used in the expression was premised on the earlier

submission made by the *sobia* when he made an understatement in **lines 16-17** that;

#### **Gurene version**

*Tu yi tari tu deenduma la ke nagedenin ti ba ta nye nagebileero* 16  
*tuyi wa ti tu nye ti tu pa'ale ba wa.* 17

#### **English version**

Then send our in-laws to the kraal and show them the two calves  
that we have had.

The statement means that, the groom's parents have acquired two cows to give to their in-laws as the bride price. Tradition demands that the in-laws would first inspect the animals, and whether or not to accept them. The in-laws were therefore, ushered into the kraal to fulfil that mandate. Therefore, when the *sobia* tells his in-laws that he is only able to get *nagebileero tuyi*, 'two little calves' as bride price to be given to their in-laws, we find the statement to be an understatement. This is because rather than the in-laws really seeing little calves they were met with a big surprise of huge cows. This gesture, indeed, is not out of the ordinary because it does happen sometimes. If the relationship between in-laws is cordial and close-knitted, then the groom's parents would offer the best of bride-price to their in-laws as a show of deep appreciation with respect to the marriage of their daughter. On the contrary, if the relationship between in-laws is that of suspicion, gossip, mistrust, uncompromising and chaotic, then the bride-price to be offered would be nothing to write home about. That is what really defines the true state of the culture of the Farefari people. It inculcates in the people the benefits to be accrued for having a society devoid of all forms of negative tendencies as mentioned above.

### 5.3 Summary of Research Question 3

The study looked at some of the literary devices that speakers employ when interacting with their audience, either formal or informal setting. We also identified some literary devices in the speeches of the respondents/speakers such as personification, simile, metaphor, apostrophe, anaphora, alliteration and assonance. By and large, these linguistic features and literary devices all combine to first, help the speakers achieve their object and second, enrich the language. It was discovered from the data that speakers used mostly pronouns to either include or exclude a group of people from a discussion depending on the discretion of the speaker.

In addition, literary devices played a prominent role in the study. It was realised that orators employed some literary devices in executing their speeches. These devices include personification, apostrophe, rhyming, metaphor, assonance, repetition, and alliteration. They are sometimes used to lay emphasis on certain issues the speaker wants to stress; to express a feeling of excitement, sorrow, discontentment and even disappointment. Sometimes literary devices are used to enrich the language, as the data showed in some of the addresses of the speakers.

### 5.4 Research Question 4: How is oratory delivered in Farefari culture?

Basically, oral piece is hinged on performance and the ability to skilfully deliver the content of the message to an audience satisfactorily, is a mark of good language competency. Language delivery is a skill unique to an individual. Delivery was the fifth and last part of the *Classical Rhetoric* in the early first century B. C that Aristotle had proposed in his third book of the *Rhetoric for Herennius* (Kennedy 1994). Therefore, delivery is the ability of a performer to exhibit a skill through performance with the object to entertain, educate and inform a listening public. This is supported

by Yankah (1989, p. 35). To him, oral performers such as the tale teller, epic singer, appellation and performer, manipulate verbal art material. He added that these performers have the responsibility of communicating satisfactorily and exhibiting communicative competence to a sensitive audience. In the delivery of an oral piece, the performer adds nonverbal cues in order to effectively send his message to his audience. Some of these nonverbal cues include eye contact, gestures such as hand props and pacing up and down. In this regard, a performer who fails to discharge a high level of communicative competence, would be said to have disappointed his listening audience and his credibility would have been lost and gone forever. Therefore, in speech delivery, orators not only apply the linguistics of the language but also have to exhibit cultural knowledge competence. Sometimes, the diction chosen by speakers largely depends on the situation which is to be dealt with. A case in point is the severe drought that engulfed the entire Bɔgereɔ community which compelled the *tindaana*, ‘land priest’ to ask for an intervention from a *sadaana* ‘rain maker’ as seen in the excerpt in **Appendix E below**:

<b>Gurene</b>	<b>English</b>	
<i>Nyaaba Ate'elegua!</i>	‘Ate'elegua, the Great Ancestor’	1
<i>Wi'a wa n wi'iri wa</i>	‘This call that is being called’	2
<i>Dagi pupeelum wi'a</i>	‘Is not a call of happiness’	3
<i>La de la nimbaalega wi'a!</i>	‘It is a sorrowful call!’	4
<i>Dena kumpiinɔ wi'a!</i>	‘A pitiful call!’	5
<i>Dena nɔyalegere wi'a!</i>	‘A call of lack of appetite!’	6
<i>Dena bugum!</i>	‘A call of doom!’	7
<i>Dena kum!</i>	‘A call of death!’	8
<i>Dena kabega wi'a!</i>	‘A call of sensation’	9

The data presented show that the language of the officiant to the whole episode of the libation prayer was characterised with lamentation. The message to the ‘rain god’

is indeed that of hopelessness. It is the reason the officiant resorted to the use of anaphora to express their frustration due to the devastation effects of the drought. For example, in **lines 5-9**, *dena*, 'is' has been repeated at the beginning of each sentence for emphasis and intensification of the message. This underscores the fact that the nature of the problem facing the community was getting out of hand thus it needed the swift intervention of the *sadaana* 'rain maker'.

Apart from that the officiant's language to the god was distasteful and sarcastic. He did not exhibit even a bit of restraint on his choice of language to the god. For instance, the excerpt in **lines 24-25** of the **Appendix E**, we found the following expressions:

*Isege to'e zompuko* 'Wake up and receive flour' 24  
*Dee ko'om kai n bo'ori fu* 'Because there's no water for you' 25

Among the Farefari, the offering of libation to the deities, gods, spirits or ancestors is an important spiritual obligation that the community reveres. Therefore, decency in utterances to these spiritual entities is always not compromised. However, the expressions as found in **lines 24-25** above seem to deviate a bit from the norm because water is usually mixed with millet flour into a solution called *zonko'om* and given to the spirits. So, if the spirit god is just offered flour as in **line 24**, because there is no water, it becomes an affront to the reverence that is expected to accord the spirits. According to the officiant, the significance of the message was to task the god to search for water and prepare its own food, (*zonko'om*) and by extension, it impacted the community positively with a heavy downpour of rain for several days. Therefore, even though the expressions seemed to have breached the norm, it served a useful purpose. It is in this similar spirit that Finnegan (2012) underscores the fact that proverb utterances are expressed mainly based on contexts (cf. Yankah 1989, 1991,

1995; Wamukoya, 1982).

Similarly, we experienced the use of language which does not reflect in the spirit of forgiveness. The tone of the language is harsh. This is amply captured in **Appendix J**. In this episode, there has been a health pandemic that has hit the Bɔgerego community in the Boonjo District of Upper East Region of Ghana. The head of family having been the most affected in the community after losing twin sons through the infection of measles the same day, resorted to seeking some remedy from his ancestors. He invoked the spirits of his ancestors to give him justice by avenging his perceived enemies who might have caused the passing of his dear sons through the measles. Note that, in the context of the African and for that matter, the Farefari, no calamity or mishap of any kind befalls them without the suspicion of an evil force behind it. Such incidences are always attributed to an evil force, a person or a group of people. It is for this reason that the head of family's invocation of the gods come to play in the **Appendix J, lines 3-7** as;

<i>saazuo la fu to'e ko'om wa</i>	‘Wake up and receive this water’	3
<i>La dagi zonko'om</i>	‘It's not flour water’	4
<i>La me dagi kozana</i>	‘It's not just ordinary water’	5
<i>La de la <u>nanzu'a ko'om</u></i>	‘It's pepper solution’	6
<i>Nanzu'a ko'om n siren de bu</i>	‘It's real pepper solution’	7

From the data presented above, the head of family is seen inviting the ancestor for a meal (water) in **line 3** but was quick to give an indication that, the water is not the usual *zonko'om* (millet flour solution) or ordinary water as the case may be as seen in **lines 4 and 5** respectively. The ancestor has been informed of the kind of water it is being offered, and that is *nanzu'a ko'om*, ‘pepper solution’ (see **line 6**). This gesture has been reiterated in **line 7** to send a strong message to the god that the issue at hand was not a joking one. In other words, the ancestor must act swiftly to bring the

perpetrators to book. As stated earlier, pepper solution, when used in libation prayer, gives an indication that the issue being solved is not an easy one and must therefore not be compromised.

The ingredient (pepper) used is meant for revenge as we find in the data below:

<i>Mam zei la n sagebo puure ma'a</i>	I have a clean 'stomach'	10
<i>N ka tari nera nera taale</i>	I do not have malice against anyone'	11
<i>Ti mina san yeti a sɔgelum goone wa</i>	'And if someone wants to destroy this house'	12
<i>Wire a nini la nanzu'a ko'om wa</i>	'Afflict their eyes with the pepper solution'	13
<i>Ti wi'ijɔ wa tulege e</i>	'To reverse the spell'	14
<i>Ti n baɲe ti fu siren ani kankaɲi</i>	'To prove that you are really powerful'	15

Since oratory manifests in all facets of human life, and as a performative act, its delivery is important to the Farefari community. From the above data, we notice that the officiant was straight to the point without mincing words in the **Appendix J, lines 10-14** that the ancestor should deal mercilessly with anyone in the community who tries to destroy his household even though he bears no malice or grudge against anyone. The sentiments and tone of his message suggest that the officiant is in deep pain, and not until his demands are met, he would not be at peace with himself. He thus, throws a challenge to the gods prove their potency of being able to deal with any serious calamity. This is reflected in **lines 14 and 15** of the excerpt above. In other words, the officiant wants the gods to punish his perceived enemies severely so that he would be satisfied. He also wished such calamities be prevented or averted in future.

Another oratory delivery in the Farefari culture as the data show, manifests strongly in the farewell message to Apika (the deceased) in **Appendix I**. As noted earlier, delivery is the core aspect of oratory. If the message is not well delivered to the



audience, then it stands to reason that nothing is achieved. As a result, the speakers are always careful in choosing their dictions in order that while delivering, they would be able to carry their audiences along with them. (see Finnegan, 2012; Yankah, 1991). In this episode, the chief pallbearer addressed the deceased as if he was alive and could hear him speak. In all four stanzas in each of the beginning sentences (**lines 1, 7, 12 and 17**), the pallbearer calls out loudly the name of the deceased three times as, *Apika woooooi! Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!* Also, throughout the incantation, the pallbearer addressed the deceased until he was finally laid to rest to join his ancestors. We find in the data that the use of vowel lengthening has become so prominent in the delivery of oratory. As noted, the vowel sound /o/ in ‘*woooooi!*’ is repetitive in ‘*Apika woooooi!*’ The lengthening of the vowel is used to give an effect to the whole chant. It is the reason the officiant used high pitch so the deceased could respond. The attribute of auditory sensation in terms of which a sound may be ordered on a scale from ‘low’ to ‘high’, Cystal (2008, p. 369) posits that, “pitch is an auditory phonetic feature, corresponding to some degree with the acoustic feature of frequency, which in the study of speech is based upon the number of complete cycles of vibration of the vocal folds.” In terms of auditory sensations, pitch is a key factor and therefore, plays an important role in acoustic environments such as music and speech (Moore, Fuchs, Rees, Palmer, & Plack, 2010; Oxenham, 2012).

Further, Yost (2009) indicates that the American National Standards Institute points out that pitch is a subjective dimension of sound that orders sound from low to high. Thus, the ‘low’ to ‘high’ phenomenon is accounted for in the name of the deceased, “*Àpikà wòòóóó!*”, “*Àpikà wòòóóó!*”. The pallbearer starts his oration from low /ò/ to high /ó/ as in, “*Àpikà wòòóóó!*”. Under normal circumstances, when a person is called, s/he is expected to respond but in this particular case, the deceased would not



respond. Without a response from the deceased, the officiant intensified his calls, perhaps, wanting answers for the following: *“I’m calling you, why are you not answering me?”* *“Can’t you hear me?”* *“Are you deaf?”* The use of the rhetorical questions in this context adds to the aesthetics of the oration. Sometimes, this mode of delivery could go on for a while before the corpse would release the pallbearers to move out of the house to the cemetery. Of course, this is usually not out of the ordinary; it is part of the cultural norms. In that connection, an important element to also consider in oratory delivery is good voice projection. It is possible that an orator may be eloquent and highly knowledgeable in the architecture of both language and culture of the people, but if he is not able to project his voice well for the audience to experience the beauty of his delivery, then the exercise would not mean anything to them. To that extent, good voice projection is a must. However, it must be cautioned that good voice projection is not referring to an orator who merely yells and strains his vocal cords but the one who projects his voice and is able to maintain optimum audibility. Suffice to say that the audience is very quick to condemn or boo orators who merely speak to themselves. Of course, when oratorical exchanges are done in an enclosed apartment, especially, in a family courtyard, there would not be need for strong voice projection. In this regard, the theory of CR is made manifest.

Closely related to the voice projection in oration, is the speed of speech. When the orator speaks too fast, the words may be distorted or too complex for the audience to absorb all the ideas contained within the verbal transmission. On the contrary, if the speech is too slow, the impact is likely to be tedious and uninspiring, which may leave the impression in the minds of the audience that the speaker is being insecure or incompetent. The fact however, remains that there are some orators who speak quickly when they are excited or enthusiastic. There are those who may deliberately slow

down at key points in their oration to emphasise a point or sound menacing. Although it is prudent to speak in a consistent pace, the speed would vary according to circumstances. These then feed in into determining whether an orator's performance is good or bad. The question then is, who determines good performance or otherwise? That then draws in the question of relativity. Whereas a section of an audience may applaud the performance of a performer as brilliant, another may damn it even though the artist had all the linguistic resources at his disposal.

Furthermore, gestures also form part in oral art performance. It concerns the nonverbal forms of communication which include the effective control of the voice and limbs. (Kennedy, 1994, p. 6). To achieve the desired results of the oration, the speaker would have to have voice control when speaking. Therefore, voice oscillation is key in speech delivery because first, it creates prosody, and second, the oration becomes melodious. It therefore becomes incumbent on public speakers to avoid what I call flat oration. Concerning the severe drought as in the first stanza of the excerpt in **Appendix E** below, we could guess the mood of the officiant as he delivered his oration.

<i>N yaaba Ate'elegua!</i>	Ate'elegua, the Great Ancestor	1
<i>Wi'a wa n wi'iri wa</i>	This call that is being called	2
<i>Dagi pupeelum wi'a</i>	Is not a call of happiness	3
<i>La de la nimbaalega wi'a!</i>	It is a sorrowful call!	4
<i>Dena kumpiinɔ wi'a!</i>	A call of pity!	5
<i>Dena nɔyalegere wi'a!</i>	A call of nausea!	6
<i>Dena bugum!</i>	A call of fire!	7
<i>Dena kum!</i>	A call of death!	8
<i>Dena kabega wi'a!</i>	A call of doom!	9

Indeed, **line 3** of the stanza sets the pace on how the officiant delivered the message to the audience. He had already sounded a caution to the ancestor that the message he was about to deliver was not of good taste. Therefore, throughout the delivery of the message, the officiant made use of gestures as he performed his function.

In addition, the orators made use of repetitions in their orations in order to drum home their concerns before their audiences. Take for instance, the excerpt in **Appendix E**, line 31-32 below is one of such examples of repetition of a whole line during the oratory delivery.

<i>Kom yee! kum yee!</i>	‘Ooh! Hunger! Ooh! death!’	31
<i>Kom yee! kum yee!</i>	‘Ooh! hunger! Ooh! death!’	32

The officiant was passionate about the calamity that befell the community, hence, his lamentation to the gods. This repetition is to send a strong message to the ancestors that the situation of the community was so serious that they could not bear it any longer and therefore, needed an intervention. Again, in **Appendix B(ii)**, we found repetitions in the folktale which was narrated by the *solensolena*, ‘storyteller’. When Mr. Wolf, ‘the greedy man’ was trapped in the cake pot of the dwarfs, he sent his son to Mr Rabbit for a solution for escape. In response to his request, Mr. Rabbit gave the escape key as “*dukɔ vuke*” to Mr. Wolf’s son to be given to him to command, so he could escape. In order not to forget the escape key, *dukɔ vuke* ‘pot open’, Mr. Wolf’s son repeated the sentence several times as he runs back to the forest to his father and fell. When he got up, he forgot of the opening key. Instead, he used the reverse key as seen in **lines 56** of the appendix:

<i>dukɔ vuge, dukɔ vuge, dukɔ vuge</i>	‘pot close’, ‘pot close’, ‘pot close’	56
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When he got to the father, he gave the father the wrong key as shown in **line 56**.

As Mr. Wolf repeated same, the tighter the pot became. Here, the repetition of the wrong sentence made it impossible for the pot to open in order that Mr. Wolf could escape death from the dwarfs.

Touching on the role of the prompter after narrating the folktale, the narrator said the prompter is an integral part of the folktale. He calls him ‘co-narrator’ of the folktale. In other words, the two are all professionals; they both know the stories that they narrate except that one is a lead-narrator. According to him, the prompter serves as a support base for him as he narrates the story. He is the person, who comes in timely to fill-in gaps in the story that the narrator might have forgotten. Sometimes, as part of the style of oral performances, the narrator would intentionally narrate and leave some gaps for the prompter to fill. He usually does this so professionally that the audience would have no clue about. The prompter also urges the narrator on as a morale booster. An instance is captured in one of the folktales narrated in **Appendix B(ii), line 31** in which the prompter urged the narrator on, saying;

*Ba mina be? Yele ba*, meaning, ‘How would they know? Tell them.’ 31

With this kind of motivation, the narrator became high-spirited to perform well. It also offers the opportunity to the audience to listen to different voices to break the monotony of the narration and that adds to the aesthetic value of the performance. The narrator uses the concluding part of the story to reinforce his claim that he indeed, owns the story. For he ended his story by saying, *Bala ti Nyeti N pike pa’ale ti ya me wum*, which means, ‘and that is why I’m sharing my experiences with you so that you become aware of what has happened to Mr. Wolf.’

## 5.5 Syntactic Structures of Farefari Oration

As part of effective delivery of Farefari oratory, some of the data collected revealed that the speakers often used some structures to either deliberately include or exclude their audience from their oration. Either of the options to choose from largely depends on the context or the situation at that material moment. One of such structures is the syntactic markers.

According to Robbins (2007), the structure of a sentence may constitute many components and that the root of each sentence is the subject and the predicate. Also, a word or group of words that functions as a noun is termed the subject while the predicate is referred to as having at least a verb, and sometimes includes objects and modifiers of the verb.

Weth (2020) explains that syntactic markers are serial graphemic elements that indicate syntactic features, which create coherence within phrases and between words or word groups on the clause level. In addition, these features are not word-related but link larger entities of a sentence. It is also indicated that syntactic features are identical with inflection affixes in many languages. Taking conjugation in English for instance, the 3rd person singular is marked syntactically, distinguishing (I/you/we...) *sing* and (s/he) *sings*. The syntactic markers of oration can be represented by the following:

### 5.5.1 Use of Personal Pronouns in Oratory

As speakers, we always want to persuade our audience to agree with us in our viewpoints and support the issues we favour. The deliberate use of including or excluding pronouns help speakers do this. Therefore, depending on the intent of the

speaker, a deliberate choice of personal pronouns may be chosen to address the audience appropriately. Some of these pronouns are *Mam* 'I', *fu* 'you/your' and *tu/tumam* 'we/our/us'. Therefore, the speakers' use of these personal pronouns is to point out clearly who they are or the good deeds of their in-group members.

Ranjhaand et al (2018) cite Hass (1969) as saying that the terms *inclusive* and *exclusive* have been used for over two centuries and they have different connotations. The term *inclusive* "we" refers to the speaker, hearers (you) and others and *exclusive* is used when "hearer/s" are not involved. (see Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. 1985, Fontaine, 2006, Uzum, B., Yazan, B. & Ali, F. S. 2017).

### 5.5.2 Use of Pronouns in Oration

The pronouns such as *Mam* 'I', *fu* 'you/your' and *tu/tumam* 'we/our/us' are basically used to address audience as a group, but not necessarily to persuade them. The presence of the audience is what is of essence. The occasions could be in relation to marriage, rituals, funerals, settlement of disputes, borrowing and lending of money and items. In this study, the *tindaana*, 'land priest' uses some personal pronouns in his speech when he was interacting with his audiences at the shrine as found in **Appendix M**. As the data show in the appendix, the speaker (the *tindaana*) merely summoned the community representatives to the shrine to offer libation to the god and also to pass on the information to them. At the assembly, he neither sought their opinion nor coerced them to agree with him. Indeed, he did not persuade them during his address. It was just an information- giving exercise, laying bare the issues before the gathering. The repetitive use of the second person pronoun *ya*, 'you' (2PL pronoun) affirms that the message was not directed to an individual member of the community as illustrated in lines 3, 4, 8 & 9 below:

### Gurene version

*Ya bulika, N kɔma. Mam mi ti guum boi. Yelekate n lui tu yaaba 3*  
*tingɔɔ wa zuo ti n yeti n kaase soolum ti ya za'a wum. 4*

### English version

Good morning, to **you** all. I hope **you** are all doing quite well. An unpleasant incident has happened and that is why I've summoned **you** here to inform **you**.

### Gurene version

*Mam koɲe mɛ dee isege ɛ ti la 8*  
*kɔ'ɔm kɛ'em lebese na. Bala ti n yeti ya woo wum. 9*

### English version

I could no longer bear the brunt and had to visit a soothsayer for divination, and the revelation is that the future is nothing but life-threatening. It's the reason I want **you** to hear the message.

As an experienced orator, the *tindaana* did not go straight to conclude that the cow was stolen by someone in the community even though he knew that someone had stolen it. Rather, he used indirect means to send the message across to them. This was meant to allow members to do their own self-introspection and come to their own conviction of guilt or otherwise, in order to avoid the wrath of the god.

### 5.5.3 Use of Pronouns to Include the Audience

In a discourse setting, there are usually some pronouns that are used to include the audience. Among the Farefari, *tu/tumam* 'we/our/us' are identified as what I refer to as conversational inclusive pronouns. These are pronouns which speakers use when they want the audience to be on their side and agree with their statements or propositions. For this to come to fruition, the speaker would have to deliver his speech persuasively, using diplomacy. Here, the speaker sees all the listeners as

belonging to one family with common interest or purpose without discrimination. To that extent, the speaker/orator carefully chooses the appropriate pronouns that are inclusive. Therefore, the use of the First-Person Plural Pronoun (1PL) *tu* ‘we/us/ours’ which has been repeated in **Appendix F(iii), lines 14-16** below is an indication of inclusiveness:

### **Gurenɛ version**

<i>ka de la tu za'a poyua.</i>	14
<i>Yele la de la tu za'a yele. La san dena sum,</i>	15
<i>tu za'a bunɔ, la san kelum dena be'em, tu kelum tara bu la bala.</i>	16

### **English rendition**

She belongs to all of us  
 The issue concerns all of us.  
 If it's joy, we rejoice in it together, and if it's sorrow, we  
 equally share in it together

In other words, the speaker is assuring the audience that they all belong to one big family with a common destiny; the success or otherwise of an individual essentially affects everyone. Therefore, the communal life of the people manifests in several forms such as health, economic, social and spiritual. If someone in the community gets a problem, it becomes the entire community's burden and they all share in it. For this reason, we find Mr. Abugere inviting his immediate neighbours to bear witness to his daughter's marriage issues. Out of compassion and love, the neighbours responded to the call because the belief is that a child not only belongs to the biological parents alone but also belongs to the entire community.

### **5.5.4 Use of Pronouns to Exclude Audience**

To deliberately exclude the audience from his speech, the Family Head used such



pronouns as *fum* 'you' (singular), *fu* 'your', *ya, nyama* 'you'(plural) in his speech to address the audience. As we see in **Appendix N, line 9**, '*fum*' and '*fu*' as in *fum la fu yaabeduma*, 'you and your ancestors' are typical pronouns of exclusiveness in Farefari.

Let us consider the choice of *nyama* being used by the Family Head in **line 15** as in:

*Nyama ma'a n wan baŋe baduma,*                      'You alone would know  
them'.

The use of the pronoun *nyama* is most appropriate in the context in which it is used. The pronoun refers to their ancestors. In that sense, the speaker and the community as a whole have distanced themselves from their ancestors, thereby, challenging them to deal with the problem. The family was hit by a calamity, which resulted in a number of fatalities. It is in this respect that the Family Head was of the view that their ancestors had neglected them, thereby, distancing themselves from the community. We notice from the prayer that the officiant was in distress, casting insinuations to the extent that he seems to have totally lost trust in their ancestors. For instance, in **lines 9-11**, he laments;

#### **Gurene version**

<i>Fum la fu sɔduma</i>	9
<i>San yeti bugum kabɛ goone wa</i>	10
<i>La seke ya</i>	11

#### **English version**

'If you and your parents'  
'Think that fire should destroy this abode'  
'Then it's well with you'

## 5.6 Semantic Structures of Farefari Oration

In every discourse, speakers would usually want to achieve the maximum from their audience. Orators usually make use of a number of semantic markers in order to engage the audience and to lay emphasis on the message being delivered. These semantic markers involve emotional words and repetition (that is, repetition of words or sentences). These words and ideas appeal to the feelings of the audience and can have positive or negative implications. According to Buehler and Johannesen (1965), emotional words can influence an audience to be for or against an orator's ideas. These include the following:

### 5.6.1 Positive Connotation of Words/Sentences

The choice of words could help get the audience on the orator's side.

#### Gurenɛ version

#### English version

<i>Yaaba Akulepeelegoma</i>	'Akulepeelegoma, the ancestor'	1
<i>Isege!</i>	'Wake up!'	2
<i>Isege ya to'e ko'om</i>	'Wake up and have some water'	3
<i>To'e ya la ya nyu</i>	'Receive it and drink'	4
<i>Da base ya ti tu wum zuo la pua,</i>	'Do not let us experience ill-health'	5
<i>Tu boi la ya nu'usen,</i>	'We are under your care'	6
<i>Base ya ti tu nu'o ke lɔgerɔ</i>	'Grant us prosperity'	7
<i>Dee ya me wan tige me.</i>	'And you shall also be catered for'	8

From the address above, the officiant uses certain sentences that connote a feeling of 'belongingness'. The officiant addresses the ancestor (audience) in a subtler manner in order to woo them to his side. From **lines 1-8**, the officiant recognises the supremacy of the ancestors and therefore calls and invites them for a drink. Also, he entrusts their health needs and prosperity under the care of the ancestor. Especially, in **line 6**, he alludes to the fact that the destiny of the community is in the care of the

ancestors when he says, *Tu boi la ya nu'usen*, “we are under your care’. The element of reciprocity is also introduced to further deepen closer relationship between the community and their ancestors as seen in **lines 7 and 8**. It is the expectation of the community that the ancestors would enhance their wealth status and be reciprocated in similar manner. The name of the ancestor is of interest here and, therefore, worth discussion. In **Line 1**, *Akulepeelegoma* (is a complex name) which is structured as follows:

*A+kulega +peelego+ ma*

Water body+white+ mother

‘chaste mother’

The prefix ‘A’ in *Akulega* has personified the noun *kulega* ‘water body’ which is marked [+human]. Water is a significant source of life for all living things on earth which fits well in the adage that, ‘where there is water there is life. *Peelego*, ‘whiteness’ signifies purity while *ma*, ‘mother’ symbolizes ‘care’. In the context of humanity, mothers are seen as people who nurture and take good care of the society. All the physiological and psychological needs of the child are taken care of by the mother. Therefore, the name *Akulepeelegoma* symbolizes virtue. It is for this reason that, in offering the libation prayer to the ancestor, the officiant acknowledged all the virtues of the ancestor. The officiant has surrendered all the hopes and aspirations of the family to the ancestor. To the Farefari, their ancestors are seen as the protectors of their lives. They believe that the ancestors are clothed with all the powers on earth even though they recognise the supremacy of God. It is for this reason that in times of need either in health, farming, business, marriage or calamities, the people resort to having personal conversations with their ancestors through soothsaying and divination in order to get their needs addressed. Indeed, the Farefari revere their ancestors so much that they cannot do anything without them. Similarly, Gyekye (1999, p. 162) points out that the African people believe that their “ancestors have the power to punish those of their earthly kinsmen who

break the traditionally sanctioned code or fail to fulfil their moral obligations to their relatives, while rewarding those who conform their lives to the traditional code.” It is against this backdrop that the living is encouraged to embrace all the good societal values such as love, care, truth, humility, honesty, sincerity and hard work.

The discussions and the various orations delivered by the orators at one point or the other, are anchored on the two frameworks used for this study as pointed out in **2.1** above. Depending on the circumstances different orations are made by the orators. They are able to conceive the contents to suit specific occasions. In those instances, different rhetorical devices were employed to give emphasis to specific issues. The content must reflect the expectations of the audience and as such orators are obliged to carry it out. How the orators arrange the oration for effective delivery is also taken into consideration. It is also evident in the data that the style of oratory delivery by the orators differed in relation to diction. Some of the orations were lamentation, emotional, admonition, anger and frustration (ref. **Appendix D, E, G, J and M**).

Additionally, repetition reflected in most of the orations and these were made possible through the delivery. One of the five canons established earlier is delivery which plays a key role in oration. For instance, in **Appendices E and 15**, the orator repeated most of the phrases to put emphasis on the issues in order to express how serious the situations were and needed urgent attention. Also, relying on Hymes’ communication SPEAKING model, orators demonstrated professional competences in their individual spaces of public speaking. Indeed, the two frameworks synchronise with each other. What is therefore so fundamental between the two is the mode of delivery, which is oral.

## 5.7 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, we have discussed two research questions, thus three and four. Research question three discussed some of the literary devices used in Farefari oratory while question four dealt with how oratory is delivered in Farefari culture. Some of the literary devices which orators used as the data showed are personification, apostrophe, metaphor, simile, alliteration, assonance, anaphora and rhyming. The role of literary devices to orators in carrying out their functions successfully cannot be overemphasised. Some of them are used for emphasising and or highlighting pertinent issues for greater attention. Others are used to add to the aesthetic value of their messages to the audience.

In the context of oratory delivery, it became obvious that the essence of oration is to make sure that the right message is given to the listening audience. Therefore, delivery plays a key role in oration. In fact, the end goal of oration is delivery. Indeed, if after all necessary preparations are done, thus, starting from invention, arrangement, style and memory yet the orator is unable to deliver his message well to his audience, then, he would have failed as a public speaker. The data also revealed that, officiants sometimes opt to either include or exclude an audience from their conversations depending on the prevailing circumstances at the time. They skilfully do this by the use of such pronouns as *Mam*, 'I' *tu/tumam*, 'we', *fu/fum*, 'you' (2SG) and *nyama*, 'you' (2PL).

By and large, what became known to be common to all officiants was the use of persuasive language but based on individual speakers' own convictions. For instance, let us consider the severe drought that the people of Boonjo experienced as seen in **Appendix E**. It was realised that the tone of the language of the officiant to the gods

was not persuasive. Rather, he used harsh and aggressive language as seen in **Appendix E, Lines 23 and 24**. Indeed, the choice of the diction was situational because of the circumstances the community found itself in at that particular moment; indeed, they were frustrated and needed immediate solution. To that extent, the officiant operated within the norms of the society.



## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters I discussed the various facets of oratory based on the perspectives of the Farefari. This final chapter deals with the summary, findings and recommendations for future research work. I present the summary of the entire thesis and some of the findings identified in the work. The final section of this chapter gives concluding remarks on the study and offers some possible recommendations for future researchers and all stake holders in the education of the child.

#### 6.1 Summary of Chapters

The study seeks to investigate oratory in Farefari in the context of performance and also document some of the genres associated with oratory. I formulated four research objectives for the study. They are (1) Identify the types of oratory found in Farefari culture. (2) Analyse how language is structured in oratory in Farefari culture. (3) Identify some of the literary devices used in Farefari oration and (4) Examine how oratory is delivered in Farefari culture.

To accomplish this task, four research questions were asked (1) What types of oratory are found in Farefari culture? (2) How is language structured in oratory in Farefari culture? (3) What are some of the literary devices used in Farefari oration? (4) How is oratory delivered in Farefari culture? These questions were divided into two parts. Questions 1 and 2 were discussed in chapter 4 while questions 3 and 4 were also discussed in chapter 5. Appropriate responses were given to the various questions that were raised during the discussions.

The data collected were lodged in an appendix section for processing.

In Chapter 1, I discussed the background to the study of Farefari oratory. It was discovered that, depending on the context, content or the intent of the speaker, he may decide to apply the verbal or nonverbal means of communication to convey his message to his audience. In order that orators achieve their aim of oration, they must be eloquent, persuasive, and the language use must also be appropriate and convincing to their listeners. The data also showed that there is limited use of some genres such as libation, proverbs, song texts and other ritual texts which stand the risk of extinction. Therefore, appropriate steps have to be taken to promote their frequent use. It was further established that Gurene has some large amount of literature in core linguistics but little is done in Oral literature in general. The study of oratory as an aspect of oral literature is therefore, most appropriate since it would increase the stock of literature in the language to be available to scholars of Gurene and beyond.

Chapter 2 is focused on reviewing literature of scholars which are related to this current work. The scholarly works I reviewed point to the fact that oration is firmly grounded on the principle of persuasion which is that, the speaker does not impose his wishes on the listeners but rather uses soothing language in order to woo them to his side. Fundamentally, two key elements were found to play key roles in ensuring effective oration, thus, conviction and persuasion. Good voice projection also enhances excellent oratory delivery. Oratory is categorised into three main types namely; deliberative, forensic and epideictic. These are meant to address the challenges of the complex human being. The presentation style of the speaker and structure of the speech play a critical role in speech delivery especially when it is formal. Performance was noticed to play a major part in oration which is based on



context because oratory as a performative act, does not occur in a vacuum. (Finnegan, 2012; Yankah, 1989; 1991; 1995). Having discussed some of the relevant scholarly works in the study area, we also discussed two frameworks upon which the entire study is hinged. These were the Classical Rhetoric (CR) framework and Dell Hymes' communication model of SPEAKING. The CR seeks to examine how human beings manipulate language in their daily endeavours but of course, not embracing all forms of discourses and semiotics. Thus, the art of persuasion and practical application of language, form the philosophy of classical rhetoric. Under this theory, we went further to look at the five principles that underpin oratory namely; invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. Dell Hymes' SPEAKING model was also discussed in order to understand the speech community and under what circumstances the speech events occur. It was also applied to enhance a better appreciation and understanding of how language and culture are interwoven for better outcomes of the study.

In Chapter 3, I discussed the methodology of data collection. What emerged first and foremost was that, in ethnographic study, the natural method of collecting data from respondents is the better option. In that regard, as a researcher, I immersed myself in the community in order to obtain unrefined or adulterated data using methods such as interviews, introspection, audio recordings, observation, and participant observation.

The data collected from the fieldwork were presented in the appendices and discussed in chapters four and five respectively. I gave a background to each of the presentations. This is to enable the reader follow and appreciate the interactions between interlocutors. Some of the participants wanted to remain anonymous so I used pseudo

names in that regard. The data were presented in two parts; Gurene and English renditions. The Gurene rendition was religiously rendered in English for non-native speakers of Gurene to allow for wider readership.

## 6.2 Findings

The discussions from the participants revealed several significant findings as far as oratory in the Farefari culture is concerned. Notable among them are:

- i. Farefari oratory can be categorised into three; namely, deliberative (to influence the audience in their decision making), judicial (to determine right or wrong) and epideictic (to praise or condemn) (Cohen, 2006; Yack, 2006; Kennedy, 1994);
- ii. Farefari oratory also exploits variation in clausal or sentence structure to enhance the poetic cadence and communicative potential of the text;
- iii. The language of oratory features various forms of literary devices, including personification, apostrophe, metaphor, simile, alliteration, assonance, anaphora, and rhymes intended to heighten the communicative potential of the message and its persuasive strength (Agyekum, 2004; Plockey, Dedzoe-Dzokotoe, & Salifu, 2018; Yankah, 1989, 1991, 1995);
- iv. Orators use different techniques such as pronoun usage to enable them to interact effectively with the audience.

## 6.3 Conclusions

In conclusion, oratory is an effective means of communication in the Farefari community. It is therefore, the best tool to use when interacting with other interlocutors. It features prominently during activities such as funerals, calamities,

marriages and arbitration of disputes. We also note that the essence of employing oratory is to persuade a listener. Therefore, effective use of oration is likely to woo an audience to the speaker's side. However, it is worth noting that a speaker who is only eloquent but does not have the skills of persuasiveness and the knowhow in the cultural nuances of the society cannot achieve much and can just be described as someone who only yells without any substance. (see Agyekum, 2004; De Wet, 2010; Frederick, 2004; Higgins, 2008; Steel, 2006; Plockey, Dedzoe-Dzokotoe, & Salifu, 2018; Salzman, et al 2012; Yankah, 1989).

We have come to realise that oration plays significant role in education. Oratory skills broaden one's outlook in life through the transfer of knowledge from one generation to another. In the media landscape today especially the electronic media, many programmes are organised and discussed in our indigenous Ghanaian languages including Gurene. In the discussions, people tend to listen to and admire those who speak well and are able to persuade them to believing that all what they hear is nothing but the truth. When scholars speak and are able to apply themselves to the appropriate use of literary devices such as proverbs, personifications, metaphors and similes in conversation and in right contexts the public regard them as being competent speakers of the language. Significantly, oratory does not only give us information and education, it also serves as a source of entertainment. Storytellers, pallbearers and praise singers make use of literary devices to enrich their performances. (see Ashley, 2013; Finnegan, 2012). By and large public speakers in general must at all times remember that the audience they may be addressing come from different walks of life and the contexts may also differ. Therefore, the five canons of oratory, thus, invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery must come to play.

#### **6.4 Implications of the Study**

- i. Documentation of oratory data would help preserve the language and culture of the Farefari.
- ii. The results of the study would influence the youth to be interested in their own linguistic resources by listening to folktales from the elderly, imitating and practicing same. (Atintono, 2013).
- iii. It would also offer the opportunity to future scholars to have a fair idea of what has been done in this study and what is probably left undone.

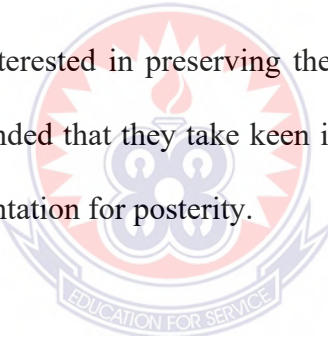
#### **6.5 Recommendations**

The study has revealed that the various African communities cherish oration because of their relevance to discourse at various levels of human endeavour. In a fast-changing socio-cultural situation where cultures intersect at various levels, it is important that those who are orators try to retain the tempo in their linguistic repertoire. In Africa, where orality is placed above written communication, it is obvious that the prevalence of this resource would continue to sustain the oral literature of the continent. It is also an appeal to parents and the adult generation to as a matter of urgency begin to revise their stance and realise that it is their core responsibility to nurture the children to grow and develop the way they ought to be. One of the surest ways is to go back for the folktales that they used to narrate to the youth during storytelling times. Acquisition of aural and oral skills can be derived from such encounters. From time to time, parents could allow their children to visit chiefs' palaces in order to witness arbitration of cases and appreciate how language is delivered. Children should also be encouraged to attend traditional durbars such as installation of chiefs, marriage ceremonies and festivals. Through some of these

activities and engagements, the acquisition of oratory skills could easily be enhanced. In all of these revelations, what is key to the successful acquisition of oratory skills is dedication and perseverance. The spokesperson for the paramount chief of Boonjo is a perfect example of a good role model. He has been on the throne as a spokesperson for various successive chiefs for over half a century. (see Yankah, 1989).

We also wish to encourage societies not to reprimand or give labels to the youth who may be knowledgeable at delivering good speeches; they should rather be encouraged to keep exhibiting their potentialities and skills in the use of formal speech. No one should be discriminated against the display of oratory as Finnegan (2012) rightly points out, “every child of African descent is a born orator.”

For scholars who are interested in preserving their cultural heritage through oral literature, it is recommended that they take keen interest in collecting oratory data for analysis and documentation for posterity.



### **6.6 Suggestions for further Research Work**

The current study on oratory is not exhaustive considering the vast nature of oral literature. We therefore, suggest that scholars of oral literature should explore more into the area of the genre in general and oratory in particular. Particularly, future researchers could take up the responsibility of delving into women’s oratory. When the genres are properly researched into and documented, they would add to the existing reference resources towards the development effort of the language and culture of the Farefari community.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **Presentation of Data**

##### **Introduction**

This Appendix presents the field data collected from respondents for the study. A total of twenty-five (25) elderly respondents were selected because of their rich knowledge, wisdom and experience and know much about the functions, practices and performances of the Farefari traditions. The detailed analysis of the data would be done in chapters four and five. The research questions are four; two each in chapters four and five respectively. The data is first presented in Gurene on the one hand and the English translation on the other. This would make it easier for non-Gurene scholars to be able to understand and appreciate the import of the data.



## APPENDIX B(i)

### Interview with a *Solensolena*, 'Storyteller'

- Viisa:** Migira, fu wunteɛŋa. 1
- Solensolena:** Naabaa.
- Viisa:** N boti ti N baŋɛ la sankani la sankani n nari ti  
sesegunguma bɔna sɔsega puan?
- Solensolena:** Hmm, sokere la karege me de ka karege de wuu bem, di ka 5  
tari saŋa. Asaala sɔsega wuu puan, la nari ti sɔsega la tara magelum.
- Viisa:** Wuu bem?
- Solensolena:** Wuu pɔgedire yele puan, koka'are puan, yele maalego puan,  
nayire sɔsega puan la kuyire puan malema.
- Viisa:** Tɔ, dee sɛla le pa'asɛ? 10
- Solensolena:** Le ye'esa, fu san naɛ la saama sɔsɛra, la nari ti fu nyɔkera fumiŋa  
sɔsɛra ti magelum bɔna bini. Fu me san kelum naɛ la bunkegesi
- English rendition**
- Researcher:** Daddy, good afternoon.
- Storyteller:** Good afternoon.
- Researcher:** Please, when does one speak with decency?
- Storyteller:** Hmm, in fact, this is a difficult but manageable question  
because there are specific occasions for oration. Therefore, at every

occasion, there is need for one to use decent language.

**Researcher:** Which occasion?

**Storyteller:** Occasions such as marriage ceremony, offering of libation prayer, settling of disputes, palace discourse and funeral rituals among others.

**Researcher:** Alright, do you have further issues to add?

**Storyteller:** In addition, when you're interacting with strangers you ought to be mindful of your use of language, making sure that you use dignified language.

**Researcher:** Father, how about playing *bea*, 'an outdoor' with my peers, what language is appropriate to use in our conversations?

**Storyteller:** The language you use with your peers is quite different, especially, when at play. In fact, peer language is highly informal, so there's no problem with that.

**Researcher:** Father, I am so grateful to you for the interaction. If there is need to come back for further information, I would call on you again.  
May God richly bless you.

**Storyteller:** No problem at all. I'm always available and at your service; just give me a call if need be.

**Researcher:** Alright, thank you very much.



## APPENDIX B(ii)

### Sample of a Story Narrated by the Solensolena, 'A Storyteller' on the occasion of Marriage

#### Background

A young man from Bɔgereɔ married a wife from Beo in the Boonɔ District of the Upper East Region. The bride was sent to the house of the head of family for grooming. She was welcomed into the household and she stayed there for a couple of days. During this period, family and neighbours entertained her with all forms of entertainment such as dance and folktales. In this context, the storytelling sessions dominated throughout the period of confinement. This was one of the stories that a renowned storyteller narrated to entertain and welcome the bride who was newly married:

**Participants:** *Solensolena* 'storyteller', *sakera* 'prompter'

**Audience:** Community folk

**Place:** Bɔgereɔ in the Boonɔ District of Upper East Region

**Date:** 13<sup>th</sup> October, 2019

#### Gurenɛ

**Solensolena:** N solene n boi.

1

**Sakera:** Ti la

bɔna.

**Solensolena:** Ti Asɔ'ɔɲa la Asaseɲa bɔna. Ba yuum de la zɔtɔ lagum ki'ira tiɲa

kayima. Tiɲa wa yu'ure yuum de la Ama'aserin. Sela yuum ka gee

ka bɔna tiŋa wa puan. Ba yuum kɔɔri mɛ dee ugera. Diisi iri iri ti ba 5

yuum kɔɔra de la ki/si, sukaam, suma, tea, nyubento la  
kareweena.

Gu'ulegɔ la me yuum de la nii, piisi, buusi, busi, nuusi la  
ki'ini.

Dee yelekatɛ n yuum lui tiŋa wa  
puan.

**Sakera:** Kɔ'ɔm lui ti bugumpeelego tɛ zi'an woo dita  
pililililiii!

**Solensɔlena:** La yuum de la kumpiino la nɔyalegerɛ. Ware n yuum ze'ele 10  
ti diisi la dusi suu ba'ase, hali ti tingama la ki'induma za'a isege zoi sige  
Kumaasi ti ba ta nyu biim dee ŋwɔrɛ kɔba.

**Sɛlesereba:** Ha-ha-ha-ha-haaaa! Tinlebegere ti tingama la ki'induma po mina  
Kumaasi?

**Solensɔlena** Nereba yuum kɔ'ɔm vibera mɛ ti la dena nimbaalega. Dɔwana ti 15  
Asɔ'ɔŋa yuum ɛera ka'asera a mɔgesi ta liŋe dukɔ n vuge zi'a tu'a tiŋa.  
Eŋa n daa vurege lɛm dukɔ la, a kɔ'ɔm tase mɛ ti, “dukɔ vuke!” ti dukɔ  
vuke ya. A daa ka gu'um dee kɔ'ɔm ɛke sige ma'asa dukɔ la puan dee  
le tase ti, “*dukɔ vuge!*”, ti dukɔ kapi. A daa obe mɛ ma'ɛ amiŋa dee vaɛ  
pire a mɔka pi'ɔ la dee le yele ti dukɔ la vuke ti a yese kule. Dukɔ 20

wa de la kinkito dukɔ. Ba me yese la eere ka bɔna yire. Asɔ’ɔɔa zusuɔ  
n daa bala.

**Sakera:** Eɔa la a yiduma yi ga la yiɔa!

**Solensɔlena:** Ya n bise pɔgesi la ba bayeti wa; Asɔ’ɔɔa n daa ta pae

yire la a pɔga daa pugum ka gu’um dee loe ma’asa la ɔbera sigera kulega 25

ti a ta ake ko’om. Asaseɔa pɔga daa ta pae ti Asɔ’ɔɔa pɔga obe me bue

nuure ti la ana nyɔli ti a soke bise, “fu nye ma’asa wa la be obe ti

karekitema za’a ana ɔwana nyɔli wa?” Fu sokeri ɔwana ti ani mia n wan

ta’am tari wa’am na tugum gana mmiɔa suure bunɔ, yenkirega

naba Asɔ’ɔɔa”, Asɔ’ɔɔa pɔga n lebese ɔwana. “Ya mi sela n le iɔe?” 30

**Sakera:** Ba mina be? Yele ba.

**Solensɔlena:** Ti Asaseɔa pɔga pae yire ko’om nyɔke a sira tu tu tu, ti a me ko’om

ge suure kae Asɔ’ɔɔa yire ti a ta baɔe ɔa n iɔe se’em nye kabelega

ma’asa wa la. Asɔ’ɔɔa daa ka iɔe kambe’eleɔa dee tari e kiɔe

zi’an ti ma’asa la bɔna la. Ba daa ma’e bamiɔa me dee ze bala 35

nɔ’ɔka, nɔ’ɔka kule ta bo ba yiduma.

Dabesa ata daare ti Asaseɔa isege sunsua li’ise Asɔ’ɔɔa base

dee doose a bia kiɛ ti ba ta ma'ɛ bamiɲa suɲa suɲa la ma'asa la  
Ba n daa ta pae la, kinkito la daa yese tole la eere. Asaseɲa  
puure daa kɔ'om pee me ta gaɲe ti a ka mina eɲa n iti amiɲa 40  
se'em. Bala inya la a daa ka gu'um dee tase ti, "dukɔ vuke!",  
ti dukɔ vuke. Eɲa sige ba'ase la, a le yeti, "dukɔ vuge!", ti dukɔ  
kapi. A daa sige dukɔ la puan la a ma'ɛ dee base ti a bia la zea  
doone pigera daanse'ere nera san kina na. A daa ta ba'ase me ti  
a yem libe ti a kɔ'om tara, "*dukɔ vuge!*", "*dukɔ vuge!*", 45  
"*dukɔ vuge!*", ti dukɔ la maan vugera kipi kipi. Muregere ta so e  
me gaɲe ti a koɲe dee tum a bia la ti a ta soke Asɔ'ɔɲa ti a  
pa'ale e eɲa n wan iɲe se'em ta'am yese. Asɔ'ɔɲa daa ka ɲme  
noke'ene dee yeke Asaseɲa bia ti, "la de la "dukɔ vuke." A bia la  
daa ka gu'um dee kɔ'om zɔta lebera dee kɔ'om tara, "dukɔ vuke!, 50  
dukɔ vuke!, dukɔ vuke!. A daa tari la bala tatatata -ta pɔra kɔ'om  
ɲme na'are eke ta lui pareba ti zuputo yuleɲɔ.

**Sɛlesereba:** "Hahahahahahaaaa! Yele pae Asaseɲa wɛɛ!"

**Sakera:** Yelepataabere!

**Solensɔlena:** Bia zuputo yuleɲe ya! Eɲa n kɔ'om vaɛ isege, a nyaa kɔ'om tara la 55

*"dukɔ vuge, dukɔ vuge, dukɔ vuge..."*

A ta pae yeke a so ti la de la,

*"dukɔ vuge, dukɔ vuge, dukɔ vuge..."*

Asaseɲa me daa kɔ'om tara la bala

*"dukɔ vuge", dukɔ vuge", dukɔ vuge",*

60

ti dukɔ la kɔ'ɔm maan kimesera yu'ura ganjera bala. Asaseŋa bia la n  
daa ta zekera zuo la ti kinkito la n bala n leberi na. Bia wa daa ka  
gu'um dee yeke kaminja yeti, "na'are san kɔ, kaminja n boti." A kɔ'ɔm  
ɛke me wuu digeri ku'ɔŋɔ la." Yidaanduma la n daa ta pae la nyaa  
yeti, "dukɔ vuke, ti dukɔ vuke ya." Ba yeti ba bise ti ani n doɔi kuu 65  
wuu ku'ɔŋɔ n um ku vaka puan. Nera woo daa kɔ'ɔm nagera e me  
fu nagera, fu nagera tara tara ta biŋe e tara. Asaseŋa bia la daa nyaa  
zo la bala ta pae yire ta tie ka ma la Aso'ɔŋa yelese'ere n iŋe la.  
Aso'ɔŋa me nyaa daa isege me ta tie ba tiŋa naba ti a soolum ti nera  
woo yese ke muen ti ba ta ɛ Asaseŋa. Ba daa ta pae zi'an la puan 70  
kinkito la toosum Asaseŋa me toosum toosum obe tige dee ɔle base  
dee yese eere. "N suuro, nyama daa boi bini nye yeke-ana za'a me yo?"

**Sakera:** Bɔna be?

**Solensɔlena:** Bala ti N yeti n pike pa'ale ya ti ya me wum. Diinduma me  
make yeti, "*di n ma'a kiiri la n ma'a*" dee "*mina mina,* 75  
*ka le ta mina?*

**The English version**

**Storyteller:** I have a tale.

**Prompter:** Yes, have it.

**Storyteller:** There were two friends living happily together in a far distance village called Ama'aserin. They were typically farmers, cultivating crops such as millet, groundnuts, round beans, beans, sweet potatoes and maize. They also reared animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys as well as the rearing of poultry. Unfortunately for them, a misfortune befell the whole community.

**Prompter:** Indeed, the whole land was in flames and there was no remedy!

**Storyteller:** It was a terrible scene and experience. There was a severe drought and serious famine hit the entire farming community such that all the river bodies dried up. As a result, all the crops withered, animals died, human beings starving and becoming anaemic. What was even worse was that, all the gods and ancestors had to also flee to the southern communities, especially Kumasi to enjoy the favourable weather conditions where food is in abundance.

**Prompter:** Ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-haaaa!!! Wonders would never end such that even the spirits of the dead also travel to the south in search of greener pastures!

**Storyteller:** One day, Mr. Rabbit was on his usual expedition to the forest in search of termites to feed his poultry and fortunately bumped into a magical pot under a big baobab tree. On seeing the pot, he was scared but as curious as Mr. Rabbit always was, went closer to

have a critical look at what he saw. He held the lid of the pot and tried to open it but it was tightly closed. He became frustrated and shouted, *dukɔ vuke!*, “pot open!”, and lo and behold, the pot opened. As he looked into the pot, there was a surprise for him, thus, plenty of *ma’asa*<sup>5</sup>. He could not control his anxiety and had to jump into the pot. As soon as he got into the pot, he shouted again, *dukɔ vuge!* ‘pot close!’ and the pot closed. He ate to his fill and fetched as much as he could carry home for his family. To come out, he repeated the former command and the pot opened and he came out. Happily, he went home with his booty to feed his family. Anytime the *ma’asa* got finished, he went back for more.

**Prompter:** Waa! Then his family had no worries at all!

**Storyteller:** Now, look at what his wife did, which is one of the typical characteristics of women, *abayeti*, ‘gossip’. One day, while Mrs. Rabbit was going downstream to fetch water with her earthenware pot, she mashed some of the *ma’asa* in her calabash and ate along. At the stream, she met Mrs. Wolf who could not hide her desire and appetite for the food, exclaimed, “*eeei!, bana de la bem, fu nye bu la be ti nyuujo la ηmi’ira zi’an woo ηwana fεεu fεεu wa?*” ‘Eeei! What is this? Where did you get this *ma’asa* from and it’s smelling all over you like that?’ Why would you ask this when you know obviously that, it would not be any person other than my only and only wise and sweetheart, husband,” Mrs. Rabbit responded. In fact, do you know what followed?

**Prompter:** How would they know? Tell them.

**Storyteller:** As soon as Mrs. Wolf got home she didn't spare her husband of insults and insinuations. Her husband felt bad and had to go to his friend Mr. Rabbit for assistance. His friend willingly sent him to the forest where the magic pot was. They feasted a lot and sent some home for their families. However, three days later, and as greedy as Mr. Wolf was, went with his son to the forest without informing his generous friend. As they got there, he commanded the pot and it opened and he got in while his son remained outside. He served as security to his father in case the dwarfs who were the owners of the pot were returning from their daily adventures. Mr. Wolf ate and ate and ate till he could hardly breath and even forgot the comman used in opening the pot. He was using the closing command, '*dukɔ vuge!*' instead of '*dukɔ vuke!*'. As he kept using the wrong command the tighter the lid became. In fact, his life was seriously in danger because the dwarfs were likely to get there any moment. As he attempted several times but the pot couldn't open, he asked his son to run quickly back home to get the right command to save his life from the wicked dwarfs. Mr. Rabbit generously, gave the child the correct command to use in opening the pot but warned him not to forget it. Excited as he was, he was more or less flying back to the base while singing, "*dukɔ vuke!, dukɔ vuke!, dukɔ vuke!, dukɔ vuke!, dukɔ vuke!, dukɔ vuke!....*" Unfortunately, he ran, stumbled and fell prostrate. He struggled and got up. In that perplexed mood, he started his journey again but this time forgot the command and started with the command that rather would tighten the lid of the pot, that is, "*dukɔ vuge!*". He gave his father the wrong command which worsened his plight because as he gave the command, the tighter the lid was. Eventually, as the sun was setting the boy abandoned his father and took to his heels back home because he knew the dwarfs



could be returning any moment then. On reaching home, the child reported to his mother and then Mr. Rabbit regarding the ordeal his father was going through. No sooner had the boy left the premises than the dwarfs arrived.

**Prompter:** And what happened?

**Audience:** Yes! We want to know. He's in trouble oooo!

**Prompter:** Yes! He's really, really in hot soups!

**Storyteller:** When the dwarfs arrived, they commanded “*dukɔ vuke!*”, ‘pot open!’, and the pot opened. Shockingly, they saw Mr. Wolf squatting in the pot.

Before he could utter a word, the dwarfs brought him out and started beating him with cudgels and clubs until he gave out his last breath. When the news got to Mr. Rabbit and the community, they quickly left for the forest to look for him. To their utmost dismay, they couldn't rescue him because he has long been killed by the dwarfs. In a sorrowful and mourning mood, they returned home. The dwarfs prepared delicious meals with Mr. Wolf's meat each day till it got finished. Comrades, were you there when this happened?

**Audience:** Not at all!

**Storyteller:** And that is why I'm sharing my experiences with you so that you become aware of what has happened to Mr. Wolf. As our elders put it, ‘*di n ma'a kiiri la n ma'a*’, which means, if one is greedy, s/he bears the consequences alone.

**Prompter:** Well done! Well done! Well done! (the culture of the Farefari is

about communality and therefore, believe in sharing. Greediness is abhorred and frowned upon the community members. There is also the belief that anyone found guilty of that is severely punished by the gods of the land, the sad end of Asaseja.

## APPENDIX C(i)

### Interview with *Tindaana*, 'The Land Priest'

**Viisegɔ duma:** Viisa la Tindaana

**Viisegɔ zi'an:** Tindaana Yiren

**Tiŋa:** Dua

**Dabeserɛ:** Ko'oro 23, 2017

#### Gurenɛ rendition

**Viisa:** Naa, fu bulika. 1

**Tindaana:** Naabaa, bulika.

**Viisa:** Naa, ba san yeti azagela mi sɔsega, bala vuurɛ de la bem?

**Tindaana:** Nera n mi sɔsega pa'ali ti a duma sɔsega tari la girema. A sɔseri la naresum sɔsega. A sɔsega ka ani wɛɛku. 5

**Viisa:** Dee bunkura la kɔma, bani sɔsega n tari magelum?

**Tindaana:** N bia, fu n sokeri ŋwana wa,

fumiŋa la ka mi??

**Viisa:** Naa, aai, bala n soi ti N sɔkera wa.

**Tindaana:** Tɔ, daaŋɔ kai. Bunkura sɔsega boi mɛ ti kɔma me sɔsega bɔna. 10

Kɔma yem nan ka yilege wuu bunkura. Bala la zuo, ba ka mi sɔsega n gumeseri se'em sɔsera. Ba ni zɛsɛra la sɔsega saazuo sɔsera.

Sɔsega me ka sɔseri bala. Sɔsega de la fu nyɔkera fumiŋa sɔsera ti bɔkerɛ ta'am bɔna sɔsega la puan. Dee bunkura san sɔsera ti fu selesera, fu baŋɛ mɛ ti sɔsega n siren ŋwana. 15

**Viisa:** Naa, n pu'use ya. Dee fu san bisera, bunkurese'em boi mɛ ni sɔsɛ ti nera woo ni kɔ'om si'isa, fu si'asa, fu si'asa. Zaaam zaam, fum yeti bo?

**Tindaana:** La de yelemiŋere, fu ka parum. Ba ta'am ni yeti, "bunkute n sɔsɛ wuu bia", "hali bituulega pugum kan sɔsɛ ŋwana", bii "binya'ate sɔsega n bala ti fu sɔsɛ la", bii fu fakeri la bunkura zuto". 20

Bala, bama duma la ka po pa'ase bunkura puusin. Fu ween nyɛ baduma mɛ dee yem yem ka boi ba puan. Baduma n bala ti sɔsega kankanji san bɔna yire puan dena ti ba sɔsɛ ti baduma ni ka bɔna ti ba ni yeti, "tu sɔsɛ ya dee ba san pae na, tu wan tie ba" la."

**Viisa:** Ti tuma n de kɔma wa wan iŋɛ la ŋwani zamesɛ sɔsega n tari magelum? 25

**Tindaana:** Bunkura san sɔsera, la ka ba'am nara ti ba digera kɔma ti ba ka lena ba, yeleyele wuu la san ka dena sɔsesɛka n ka nari ti kɔma wum. Tuma baduma sajan la, bunkura yuum san lagesɛ zi'a sɔsera ba sɔsega, bia bia yuum ka leni bini. Mam yeti fu, hali zina beere wa, tu zo'e zo'e kelum nɛ la tagedine mia nuu zɛa wa. 30

**Viisa:** Ti beni n soi ηwana wa, hali bunkura zi'ita sɔlena sɔlema ti tu sɔlesera la pugum ka le bɔna?

**Tindaana:** N bia, fu kɔ'om soke la sokere. Tu bunkureba baseba de la bunkurefɔgerɔ, putɔpa la geto. Beni zuo ti n yeta ηwana wa? Di vuure de wuu tumam san yeta ti tu beere san ta tige sagebɔ, yamam n de kɔma wa sɔɛ tu dee 35  
ka bɔta ti ya lena tu wuna tu sɔsega, la wan iηe la ηwani ti ya beere ta'am sɔɛ tuna tu tuuma? Bunkureba baseba ni ti'iseri ti kɔma san selesera bunkura sɔsega, ba wan tuna bunkegentuuma, ba wan tu zuo gana tu, ba kan nana tu bii ba wan tara yelekigela. Ti N bia, fu n bise ηwana wa, yempɔ'ɔre n de di wa bii la de la gerene? 40

**Viisa:** Tɔ, Migira, ti la nyaa ani ηwana wa, sɔa ani ti fum ti'ise ti la wan ta'am suηe ti sɔsegunuma ta'am nye na'are buuri wa puan?

**Tindaana:** Tumam n de bunkura wa nari ti tu tee tu daami puti'ira yesera tu yele-ire puan. Magese wuu mam n de tindaana wa, tiηa wa zuo la ka pua, mam n wan mina la ani se'em. Kua sɔsega yele san bɔna 45  
ti ba tari pae na, mam n wan sɔse ka yele, tingane kosebo san yese dena ka'are, mam n wan ka'e bu, asaala ziim san tɔke tiηa yesera zebera puan, la de la mam yele bii la san dena yire kuure, mam n kelum sɔna bu tuna la na nari se'em la; bii nera yeleyele wuu bunkute san ki dee nara boko, mam n kelum bɔ'ora fole ti ba tu'ura yɔɔ la. Yele-ana za'a doli la sɔsega 50  
n tari magelum, sɔsega n tari maalegɔ, sɔsega n di'iseri suure, sɔsega n bo'ori nɔyine la yimere. Yi bise mam n magese yelesi'a za'a biηe wa, n san ka base ti kɔma lena mam po zi'ita selesera tu sɔsega, ba wan iηe la ηwana mina tu buuri malema la ba n geleseri sɔsega se'em sɔsɛra?

**Viisa:** Tɔ, dee ani n sum ti a sɔsɛra bunkegenen? 55

**Tindaana:** San dena mam ma'a puti'iren, la nari me ti nera woo ta'am sɔsera  
ija n boti se'em. Bala n wa base ti nera woo ta'am zamese sɔsega  
n tari gunguma.

**Viisa:** Dee koma la tarenduma n boi tu buuri wa puan wa?

**Tindaana:** Koma la pɔgesi yeleyele wuu tarenduma za'a yuum ka 60  
tari noa ya'ara ke'enduma zi'isin, magese wuu bundaasi.

Bala n soi ti budaasi san tara ba sɔsega, pɔgesi ka lena ba la.

**Viisa:** Baaba, ti la ka nari tu tee yele-ana wa?

**Tindaana:** La ka nara nwana? Beere n wiiri woo, asaala vom teere la bala,  
dee teere san teera, la teeri la fii fii. La kini na, fu wan ta nye ti 70  
pɔgesi la koma lagum sɔsera kuuma zi'isin.

**Viisa:** Tɔ, Baaba, N pu'use fu zo'e zo'e dee fu ka'ango za'a za'a de la  
beni bo'ora tu?

**Tindaana:** Koma me sum ti ba lake nini dee base ti ba suure ke tu buuri  
yele-ire za'a puan. Bunkura la me peregera ti koma zi'ita 75  
la ba selesera ba sɔsega. Solema solejo n ka le ba'am bona wa,  
nari me ti tu le maan tirese ze'ele ti la nan nyeti wa.

**Viisa.** Ai, Migira, N pu'use fu zo'e zo'e la fu n sa'am fu saɔa dee base ti  
N tige se'em wa. Ndugema Naawine ka maale fu dee bo fu  
nyowoko ti fu mɔge tampegelum. 80

**Tindaana:** Tɔ, Wine me wan suje ti putise'ere ti fu tara wa la, maale suja  
bo tu buuri wa za'a waabi.

**English version**

**Researcher:** Naa, good morning.

**Land Priest:** Good morning.

**Researcher:** Naa, when they acknowledge one of being eloquent in speech, what does it mean?

**Land Priest:** Being eloquent means, he speaks with decorum. He does not just speak ordinarily.

**Researcher:** Whose language is more decorous, the elderly or the youth?

**Land Priest:** My son, the question you've asked me, don't you know the answer yourself?

**Researcher:** No, and that is why I am asking.

**Land Priest:** Alright, there's no problem. The language of the adult and that of the youth is different. The youth are not mature yet. As such they don't know how to organize their thoughts appropriately to suit the context. They often speak ordinarily, 'anyhow' without measuring their thoughts. And that's not how speeches are expressed. In oratory, every utterance is well measured for enhancing understanding by all. But when you listen to adults while they speak, you would admire them and appreciate them.

**Researcher:** Thank you, Sir. But sometimes when an adult speaks, he is booed by everyone. Please, what do you say about that?

**Land Priest:** It's true, no argument about it. You could often hear derogatory comments such as "is this an adult's speech", "a smart young man wouldn't have said this", "this is child's language" or "you're disgracing the elderly". Therefore, such people are excluded from the

adults. You just see them as adults but they have feeble brains and can't utter anything fruitful. Such people are not recognised in their families. Any issue that comes up in the family for discussion, family members proceed to discuss and take decisions and inform them later.

**Researcher:** So how can we as youth acquire decorous language?

**Land Priest:** As adults, they don't have to sack any youth when they are having their discussions unless the discussion is restricted to only the adults. In the olden days, no child ever dared go nearer adults when they had their conversations. As we speak, many of us as adults still possess that old mentality in us.

**Researcher:** And what is the cause of this, even the folktales which adults would have to narrate for us to listen is even a problem?

**Land Priest:** My child, your question is apt. Some of us as adults, are good-for-nothing, wicked and without the least sense. Why do I say so? The irony is this, if we preach that, you, the youth are the future leaders and we bar you from learning from us, how are you going to take the reigns of leadership from us? This is hypocritical. Some of us think that if we allow the youth to listen and learn from us, they'll behave as if they were adults, they'll gain fame more than us, they'll disrespect us or they'll be doing things extraordinarily.

**Researcher:** Alright, Sir. As we find ourselves in this situation, what do you think we can do to raise the image of our oratory?

**Land Priest:** As adults, we need to have a forward-looking attitude towards what we do and think about. For example, as a land-priest, whatever happens on the land it's my responsibility to know. If it's about land dispute,

I'll have to deal with it; if it's about offering libation to the gods of the land, it's my responsibility; if someone is murdered on the community soil as a result of war, I'll appease the gods of the land; if a foundation block is to be laid for a new house to be built, I still deal with it; or if an elderly person for instance dies and there is need for a new grave, I have to give authorization for the digging of the new grave. Decorous language must be used in order to be able to deal with some of the issues I have raised; language that is dignifying, language that brings development, language that consoles, language that enhances unity and bridges gaps in the community. Imagine all the issues that I've raised, if we don't encourage the children to occasionally participate in some of the deliberations that we do, how would they learn the nuances of the culture and be able to deliver good speeches in future?

**Researcher:** I appreciate you so much and what is your final message to us?

**Land Priest:** The youth is encouraged to have full interest in all activities of the community. Adults must as a matter of urgency, also encourage the youth to be around them so they may learn from them. Narration of folktales are almost non-existent. It's therefore, important to revitalise them.

**Researcher:** Waa! Sir, I appreciate all your time and efforts you have expended on me. May the Almighty God richly bless you and prolong your life.

**Land Priest:** Good, may God richly bless and help you accomplish the task that you have set up successfully so that it would bear fruits to benefit the entire community.



## APPENDIX C(ii)

### Interview with *Kana*, 'the Chief's Spokesperson'

**Viisegɔ duma:** Viisa la kana  
**Viisegɔ zi'an:** Kana yiren,  
**Dabeserɛ:** Ko'oro 12, 2017

#### Gurenɛ

**Viisa:** Baaba, fu bulika. 1

**Kana:** Naabaa, N bisunja. Guum boi fu, la fu dogereba?

**Viisa:** Naa, nera woo de amiŋa. Dee Baaba, yɛla fii N boi ti N bɔta ti N soke ti fu  
gareɛ bo mam.

**Kana:** Tɔ, daaŋɔ ka boi. 5

**Viisa:** Naa, beni n de tɔgegunguma?

**Kana:** Tɔgegunguma de la sɔsega n sɔseri ti magelum bɔna bini. Nera san ween tɔgera  
ŋwana fai fai ka mina buuri malema, bala daga tɔgegunguma. La nari ti a  
mina nereseba ti a sɔsera bɔ'ɔra la, ziseka ti a bɔna la, la sɔsega la dimiŋa n  
ani se'em. 10

**Viisa:** Dee nera wan iŋɛ la ŋwani zamese tɔgegunguma ti la suŋɛ ti a tana sɔsera  
suŋa suŋa nerekuuŋɔ zi'isin?

**Kana:** Sela woo de la zamesegɔ. Fu san tabela zi'ita la bunkura ti ba sɔsera ti fu  
selesa, fu wan ta'am doose bini zamese tɔgesumɔ. Nereba baseba me tari ba

bunɔ ze'ela la Wine zuon sige na. Bala n sɔi ti kɔma baseba san ta zɔ'ɔra 15

ba nɔa ni kɔ'ɔm te'ele zake ti ba vulesera wuu niintɔgeresi la.

**Viisa:** Naa, N pu'use ya. Naa, sela le bɔna ti fu wan pa'ase?

**Kana:** Tɔ, N wan pa'ale fu, la iɲe se'em ti N ta'am dena kana wa zea zina wa la.

Mam isege zina beere dena kana wa la, la daga la n tari la yem gana nera woo,  
Dee la de la daami me ti n nyɔke mmiɲa se'em hali wa pae zina 20

beere wa la. Mam migira n yuum de Boonaba kana, Naba Salibega saɲa sa.

Mam migira yuum dike mam me table amiɲa. A yuum ka we zi'an dee geta  
mam. Mam ta'am ni ta sɔse sela tue ti a ka'am ti ba ka sɔseri sɔsega bala. A  
ta'am ni tum mam nereba zi'an ti n ta bo lasebaare. Lasebaare woo ti a yuum  
ni soolum mam nereba zi'isin, see a ni base ti n tɔge ti a kelese bise la tɔ ya bii  
ai. Sɔsega san bɔna Naba yire N boi bini la bala. 25

Mam n doose a pooren ta kaɛ yuuma la, mam zamese yelekigela ta mina tumam  
N-yeti-yaa buuri tuusum, buuri malema la sɔsega gunguma. Mam migira n ka  
wa bɔna ti Sapɛelega wa tee di na'am la ti ba bobɛ mam kana. Sɔsegunguma  
daga la tɔgum vulesego ma'a, dee la de la buuri la malema za'a waabi. La me  
de la buuri la za'a magesi wuu budaasi la pɔgesi, 30

bunkereba, bipɔɔlɔ, voole, yuuma, wa'a, ka'a, kunkuumɔ la lɔ'ɔrɔ.

**Viisa:** Naa, dee sɔsegunguma bii yelekigela, ani n nari ti a sɔsera bu?

**Kana:** Nera woo ta'am sɔsera bu dee bɔgesego boi bini me

**Viisa:** Magesi wuu bem?

**Kana:** Farefari buuri puan, yelekigela sɔsega de la bunkegesi bunɔ. 35

Kɔma ka leni bini. Bala n sɔi ti bunkegesi san zi'a sɔsera ti kɔma ka lena ba la.

**Viisa:** Ti bala la, tumam n de kɔma wa wan iŋe la ŋwani beere sɔe ya na'are?

**Kana:** Fu soke suŋa dee mam nye bu se'em n ŋwana: Biseka n wuni tasega la

ka'aŋɔ, bunkegesi la pa'ali ka me ti ka beere me wan lebege nera. Fu san bise

mam n zi zina wa, mam baaba n yuum pa'ale mam ti N ta'am sɔe 40

a na'are dena kana zina wa bem zuo, N yuum wuni la tasega la ka'aŋɔ dee

na'asera dɔgereba.

**Viisa:** Ti bala teere kan maan bɔna yoi?

**Kana:** Teere nyaa kini na. Fu san bisera, daami sa la tu yuum ka

tari

napɔgeba dee nananewa, naduma nyaa bobɛ napɔgeba me ti ba bɔna. 45

Bala la basɛ ti ba nyaa po tara nɔa ya'ara nerekuuŋɔ zi'isin me. Mam ti'ise

ti ba la de la yelesune bɔ'ora tu.

**Viisa:** Naa, N pu'use fu zo'e zo'e. Wine ka maale fu dee bo nyɔvore.

**English version:**

**Participants:** Researcher (R) and Chief's Spokesperson (CS)

**Venue:** Chief's Spokesperson's House

**Place:** Bɔgereɔ

**Time:** January 12, 2019

**Researcher:** Baaba, good morning.

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Hello, my dear son.

I hope you and your family are doing well.

**Researcher:** Please, everyone is doing quite well. Please, I have some

issues which I need clarification on.

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Alright, there's no problem.

**Researcher:** Please, what is good speech?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** A good speech is speech that is well thought of and delivered. Speech that is delivered anyhow without taken into consideration the cultural norms of the society isn't good speech. The speaker must consider the audience, place and the content of the speech before it's delivered.

**Researcher:** And how does one acquire good speech in order to speak well in public?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Everything is about learning and practising. If you always sit around the elders and as they speak, you listen and also put into practice bit by bit and eventually, you become a good orator. Some people are also gifted right from birth. That explains why some children pick up language fast as they grow.

**Researcher:** Alright, and please, who qualifies to orate?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Everyone can orate but there are exceptions.

**Researcher:** Please, what are the exceptions?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** In the case of the Farefari culture, oration is the preserve of the elderly. Children don't have the right to orate. It's for this reason that when adults gather and are having discussions, children don't get near them.

**Researcher:** If that is the case, how would the youth be able to succeed you in all that?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Your question is on point, but what I've to say is this; a child who listens, takes instructions and honours elders is always supported to unearth

and enhance his/her potentials. As the current chief's spokesperson, I was groomed by my late father and that put me in good position to take over from him. Indeed, I was obedient and gave respect to the elderly in the community.

**Researcher:** So, would there be a change at all?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** There are changes underway. If you recall, we had no queen mothers in the olden days but these days the situation is different. Chiefs now install queen mothers and affords them the glorious opportunity to participate in public speech. Therefore, I think it's a good initiative.

**Researcher:** Please, thank you so much. May God richly bless you and give you long life.

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Alright, I'll tell you about my personal experience as the spokesperson for the chief. Being a chief's spokesperson from time for a long time does not mean that I'm intelligent than everyone else, but it's because I'm committed to the work. My father was a spokesperson during the reign of the then chief of Boonjo, Naba Salibega. He pulled me closer to himself, and indeed, wherever he went I was with him. Whenever I made a wrong utterance, he corrected me. He could send me to deliver messages to people elsewhere but, I had to literally deliver the message to him first so he could ascertain whether I could deliver the information well. Anytime there was arbitration of a sort at the chief's palace, I was always present to witness the mode of delivery. As I followed him for several years, I learnt a lot more about the history of my community, the cultural practices and how to communicate effectively. When my dad passed on, I succeeded him as a spokesperson during the reign of Naba Sapælega.

**Researcher:** Please Sir, who qualifies to orate?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Everyone is qualified to orate but there are exceptions.

**Researcher:** In what sense?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** In the Farefari culture, only adults qualify to orate. Children are exempted. It's the reason when adults are having their conversations, children are not allowed to be present.

**Researcher:** Then for us as children, how can we take over from you in future?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** You've asked a good question but this is how I see it. A child who's obedient and listen to good counsel, he'll be mentored by the adults to get good foundation. For example, as I was under the tutelage of my father, I obeyed and respected adults and that has brought me up to be a chief's spokesperson for the Boonjo paramountcy.

**Researcher:** So, would there ever not be a change?

**Chief's Spokesperson:** Change is now eminent. For instance, we're now having queen mothers being installed, which hitherto, was non-existent.

**Researcher:** Please, I express my profound gratitude to you.

May God richly bless you.

## APPENDIX C(iii)

### Interview with *baga*, 'soothsayer/diviner'

**Context:** To find out how oratory skills are acquired in Farefari.

#### Gurenɛ rendition

**Viisa:** Baaba, fu bulika.

1

**Baga:** Naabaa, N bia.

**Viisa:** Naabaa, Baaba.

**Baga:** N bia, tara ti N selesera.

**Viisa:** Tɔ, N pu'use ya. Baaba, N boti ti N soke bise, fum n de baga wa, fum 5

tuune de la bem ɲwana mɔpi tiɲa wa puan?

**Baga:** Mam tuune kankaɲi de la buka. Nera san ke ka ga'are bii poka bii bia inya n su'e, yidaana la wan zoe pae la mam ti N buge bo e ti a banje sela n ta'ase gɔgara la. N san garese yela la bo e ba'ase ti koka'are yeke bona bini a wan lebe kule ta ka'ase la ko'om la bo zisesi za'a n nari koka'are la ti guum 10 ta'am lebe ke a goone la puan.

**Viisa:** Sela le pa'ase, Baaba?

**Baga:** Sela n le pa'ase la de wuu, kum san ku tiɲa la puan bii satinseka ti ba buge bogero,ba ta'am wa yake mam kiɲe ti N ta buge. Dee kuyire buka la ka

ba'am zɔ'ɔra.

15

**Viisa:** Dee Baaba, fu zamese bakolego buka wa la be tana bugera wa?

**Baga:** O-o, N bia, ba ka zameseri ba wuu yamam n kini sukuu zamesera ya gɔnɔ se'em wa la. Fu san ka dena бага, fu kan ta'am bugɛ. Fu kan nyaɲɛ kɔ'ɔm isege zamese ta lebege бага tana bugera. See nera la ηma bakolego dee nyaa pɔse bugera. 20

**Viisa:** Baaba, fu wan zamese la ηwani ηwani ta'am lebege бага?

**Baga:** Wuu mam yeke ni se'em la sukuu ka boi ti ba kina bini zamesera ti ba ta paase fu ti fu lebege бага. Bakolego ηmaa doli la buuri tuusum puan dɔla nera, yeleyele wuu nema tuusumi. Bakolego la ta'am dɔla nera ti a san ηma, ku ta'am daam e hali ti a ta'am ta yire zɔlegɔ ke muen. Dee ba san ηma bo a дума 25  
ba'ase, imma'asum nyaa wan ke e. Bakolese'ere boi me ni ηma yagele ti se'ere me ni ηma bugera.

**Viisa:** Tɔ, Baaba, N pu'use ya. Dee fu yeti, bakolego buka ka tari sukuu kini dee la iɲɛ la ηwani ti fum yetɔgum woo kɔ'ɔm dena yetɔgezula tara tibesum la magelum saɲa woo? 30

**Baga:** N bia, fu sokere la soke suɲa. Dee mam N make ni se'em la de wuu bem, pugela san bona ka zameseri la ka ma n iti sela woo la dɔla pɔgene tuuma puan, magesi wuu duka, zom niɲɔ, sagebo mɔɲa la laasi peere. Ka ma san kelum dena la dakɔgera, ka zameseri la bala ta lebege dakɔgera. Dee fu sɔ san dena бага dee ti bakolego ka doose fu, fu kan nyaɲɛ zamese 35  
fu sɔ zi'an ta dena бага. La n de se'em la n bala. Dee fu mi ti bakolego



sɔsega de la yelekigela ma'a ti fu san bugera dee sɔsera la nɛreba saɲa woo, fu nuure doli la bilam zakera. Fu wan mina fu n sɔseri dee gumesera fu sɔsega se'em se'em yeleyele wuu fu san bɔna nɛrekuuŋɔ zi'isin.

**Viisa:** Awoo, fu n yeke se'em pa'ali ti nera san bɔta ti a nuure 40

zake la sɔsegunguma, la nari ti a duma da tara zinnyagere la sɔsega.

**Baga:** La n kɔ'om bala.

**Viisa:** Baaba, dee ani n nari ti a sɔsera sɔsega n tari tibesum nɛrekuuŋɔ zi'isin?

**Baga:** Nera woo sɔseri me yeleyele wuu fu san dena bunkute.

**Viisa:** Dee pɔgesi me? 45

**Baga:** Pɔgesi po pa'ase me dee ba nɔa n ka yeseri yiŋa. Bala n sɔi ti budaasi san zi'a sɔsera, pɔgesi ka bɔna bini la.

**Viisa:** Beni n sɔi bala?

**Baga:** Pɔgesi ba'am tara la nɔa gaŋe. Ba nɔa ka pi'iri yela. Bala me kelum yesera la ba tuuma puusin. Dee yela la nyaa teeseni me fii fii. Pɔgesi sesi 50  
ŋma bakolo me bugera. Buka la puan wan base tib a me po tana sɔsera kuuma zi'isin.

**Viisa:** Tɔ, Baaba, N pu'use fu zo'e zo'e la fu n sa'am fu saɲa dee bo ma foli ti

tu sɔse pae nananewa la. Wine ka maale fu dee bo fu nyɔwoko.

**Baga:** Ai! N bia, beni n de pu'usegɔ? Putidina wa ti fu tara lagesera 55

tu buuri yela wa dagi la yelesune bɔ'ora tu za'a. Wine tari fu lebe suɲa.

**Viisa:** Tɔ. N pu'use zo'e.

**English version**

**Researcher:** Good morning, Sir.

**Soothsayer:** Good Morning, my son. Let me listen to you.

**Researcher:** Alright, thank you. Please Sir, as a soothsayer in this community, what exactly are your core functions?

**Soothsayer:** My core business as a soothsayer is divination. If for example, someone is not well or his family is afflicted with any ailment, he has to come to me for divination to find out exactly the cause of the problem. If after divination there is need for sacrifices to be made as demanded, he goes home to perform those rituals.

**Researcher:** Please, is there anything else?

**Soothsayer:** Yes, anytime there are final funeral rites to be performed either within the community or outside out the community, I could be invited there to carry out the soothsaying.

**Researcher:** So Sir, where did you learn this divination from?

**Soothsayer:** Ooh! my son, it's not learnt the same way as your type of formal education. If you're not a soothsayer, you can't divine. It's impossible to study to become a soothsayer. It must be a calling, and you must be initiated before you may divine.

**Researcher:** Sir, how about the soothsayer, how do you study to become one?

**Soothsayer:** As I said earlier, there isn't any training school that trains practitioners.

The divination profession is traceable to family lineages, especially from the maternal side. If the spirit of divination chooses a person to be ordained and s/he refuses or ignores to comply, s/he may go insane. But if the necessary steps are taken and the initiation rites and protocols are followed, s/he may become well again. Note that not every baga, divines; some are

initiated purely for health reasons.

**Researcher:** Alright, Sir. Thank you so much. Sir, you indicated to me that, there isn't any training school that turns out professional soothsayers, but what has made you a great orator?

**Soothsayer:** Youngman, you've asked a good question. But as I alluded to earlier, a girl learns all the household chores from the mother. Informally, she would be learning how to cook, grind millet, washing of utensils and maintenance of the home. For example, if her mother is a professional *pito*<sup>4</sup> brewer, she is likely going to be one because she learns from the mother. But if one's father is a soothsayer, one can't automatically become a soothsayer unless it's a spiritual calling. That's how things are. Note that the business of divination goes with decorous language and with constant practice and interaction with clients, one's competency in language use enhances. One is able to choose and measure his/her language appropriately to suit the right contexts especially in formal settings in the public space.

**Researcher:** Okay, the import of your narration points to the fact that if one wants to enhance his/her language competency, then constant engagement with the public is crucial.

**Soothsayer:** Exactly so.

**Researcher:** Please Sir, who qualifies to orate?

**Soothsayer:** Everyone, especially if you're an adult.

**Researcher:** How about women?

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<sup>4</sup> *Pito* is a local northern drink prepared from millet, guinea corn or maize malt. It may be served when fermented or not depending on the choice of the consumer.

**Soothsayer:** Women are also part of it, but just that they're not heard.

**Researcher:** Why is it so?

**Soothsayer:** Women are talkatives. They gossip a lot. It also depends on the opportunity of work that they engage in. They're not privileged to have the opportunities of work like those of men

**Researcher:** Alright, Sir. Thank you so much for giving me audience in spite of your busy schedules. May God richly bless you.

**Soothsayer:** Oh, young man, it's my greatest pleasure. What you're doing for the community is quite awesome; it's for posterity. May God bless and keep you safe.

**Researcher:** Thank you so much.



## APPENDIX C(iv)

### Interview with *Pɔgebaambaana neɲa daana*, ‘Leader of a Female Praise Singing group’

I collected data from the leader (one of my respondents) of a female praise-singing group regarding how native speakers of Gurenɛ acquire oratory skills. The respondent gave me a couple of responses during an interview session as seen below:

#### Gurenɛ rendition:

- Viisa:** N ma, fu bulika. 1
- Pɔgebaambaana:** Naabaa, N bia. Guum boi?
- Viisa:** Sela n zoi piɛ ma’a dee yeke kai.
- Pɔgebaambaana:** Tu boi Wine fara. Tɔ, tara ti N selesera
- Viisa:** Tɔ, la ani suɲa, la dee Mam n paari na wa de N sɔsega la ti N daa 5  
wa’am wa tie fu la inya.
- Pɔgebaambaana:** Tɔ, daaɲɔ ka boi. Buuri malema zamesegɔ yeke la ti N yeti N ɲme noke’ene bii. Bala, tara.
- Viisa:** Atibirefareɲa buuri puan, ba san yeti, azagela san sɔsera gunguma boi a tɔgum la puan me, bala vuure de la beni? 10
- Pɔgebaambaana:** Fu sokere la soke suɲa. Yeke zo’e zo’e n boi nera sɔsega puan ti nereba wan ta’am baɲe azagela sɔseri ti gunguma bɔna bini bii ai. Fu san sɔsera, la sum me ti fu mina nereseba ti fu sɔsera bɔ’ɔra la, (magese wuu ba de la bunkura bii fu taaba).
- Viisa:** Ti la san dena bala, nereba iti la ɲwani tana mina ba iti se’em 15  
tɔgera ti gunguma bɔna bini? La de la sela ti ba zamesera bii

ɲwani ɲwani, magese wuu budaasi la pɔgesi?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Aato, mam wan ta'am tɔge la pɔgesi yela dee tugum base budaasi yela la.

**Viisa:** Aai, daaɲɔ ka boi. 20

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Fu nuure san zake bii keɲe la tɔg um dee ti fu mina buuri yetɔgum la malema yela la suɲa suɲa, fu sɔsega puan me wan tara gunguma.

**Viisa:** Beni n pa'ase?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Pugela me san isegera dee zi'ita la ka maduma la mayaabeduma kelesera ba sɔsega, a doli la bini me zamesera sɔsegunguma 25

**Viisa:** Dee nereba baseba boi me ni sɔse ti nera woo si'isera. Beni n ni sɔna bala?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Nera boi me dena bunkute dee ti nereba ka dikera ka sɔsega wi'ira sela, bem zuo, girema ni ka bɔna a sɔsega la puan. A ni kɔ'om sɔsera la ɲwana fai fai. Ba wi'iri bala la abagakai sɔsega. 30

**Viisa:** N pu'use ya, dee N le soke bise, fum n de baambaana la zuo ti fu nuure zake ti fu sɔsega woo tara gunguma wa, bii ɲwani?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Pɔka san bɔna yire puan, ki tua la zom niɲɔ de la ka tuune. Bana me tuni ti baɲa n dɔla ti fu nuure me zakera dee yeera la tɔgum. Bala n sɔi ti baambaanduma zo'e zo'e mina sɔsegunguma la. 35

**Viisa:** N ma, dee nerebani n nari ti ba tɔgera kuuma zi'isin?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Seba n de bunkureba la.

**Viisa:** Dee kɔma la pɔgesi?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Fu soke suɲa. Pɔgesi boi bini me, dee bama ka ba'am niira bamesi peeleme wuu budaasi la. 40

**Viisa:** Beni n sɔi bala wa?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Tu yaabeduma n pi'ilum bu biɛe na; ti pɔka ka tari nuure ya'ara.

Baseba ni yeti pɔka ɲwɔni la bia.

**Viisa:** La kelum ana la bala zina beere wa yoi?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Ai, zina beere wa pɔgesi nyaa nyeti teere ba vom puan mɛ. 45

Fu san bisera, napɔgeba nyaa boi tumam N-yeti-yaa buuri wa  
puan mɛ. Sodina de la zi'an ti pɔgesi me dɔla bini paara zama sɔsera.

Ba sɔsega me ni kɔ'om tara tibesum mɛ.

**Viisa:** Tɔ, N ma, N pu'use fu zo'e. Fu le tara sela ti fu pa'asɛ?

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Ai, mam ti'ise ti za'a n bala dee yelese'ere san ta 50

bɔna ti fu lebe na tu wan kelum pa'asɛ. Dee tu yaabeduma la

Ndugema Naawine wan suɲe dee te'ele fu fu tuuma puan ti  
selawoo ti fu ita wa wan ta'am suɲe tu buuri za'a waabi.

**Viisa:** N ma, N me pu'use fu zo'e la fu n base fu tuuma dee suɲe mam la  
putisi'a wa la. Wine ka maale fu ti guum gisera fu la fu goone 55

Wa za'a ti dabesune le bɔna. Dee yaabeduma n make se'em la, "nɔa  
ka keeseri toore"; la san ta mu'ura fu wan nye mam.

**Pɔgebaambaana:** Tɔ, Wine tari fu pae suɲa.

**Viisa:** Dee me bɔna la ya.

### English rendition:

**Researcher:** Mum, good morning.

**Praise Singer:** Good morning. How are you, my son?

**Researcher:** Nothing bad.

- Praise Singer:** We thank God. Alright, let me hear you.
- Researcher:** Alright, I have come back in respect of our previous arrangement.
- Praise Singer:** That's alright. Since it's about research into our culture, it's good to contribute.
- Researcher:** In Farefari culture, when they talk of someone being an orator, what does that mean?
- Praise Singer:** That's a good question. There are several factors that determine that. Speaking and knowing your audience (whether old or young). It's also good to know the context in which a speech is uttered.
- Researcher:** If that's the case, then how does one acquire oratory skills? Is it something that is learnt or how is it, especially men and women?
- Praise Singer:** Well, I can speak about women but not that of men because we are in different categories
- Researcher:** Well, there's no problem.
- Praise Singer:** Once you are eloquent as a speaker and also rich in the cultural milieu of your people, then you're regarded an orator.
- Researcher:** Please, what else do you have to add?
- Praise Singer:** If a girl in her infancy sits with her mother and grandmothers she is most likely to learn from them how to speak well in public.
- Researcher:** But there are some people when they speak, they're



mocked at. Why is it so? Is it because they do not think well about what they want to say?

**Praise Singer:** There may be elderly persons who may speak but the audience may not take them serious because of the content and manner of presentation. Such persons' speeches may be equated to 'street talk'.

**Researcher:** Thank you so much. Also, there is a question I wish to find out. Is it because you are a praise-singer that makes you an orator or what is the secret?

**Praise Singer:** Well, you know every housewife has several chores such as threshing and grinding of millet, washing, fetching water and cooking food. These household chores are usually accompanied by songs. As they sing while performing the tasks, their speaking skills are sharpened and they become eloquent.

**Researcher:** Mum, who qualifies to speak in public?

**Praise Singer:** Those who are adults.

**Researcher:** How about children and women?

**Praise Singer:** That's a good question. Women qualify to speak in public but they're not so visible as the men.

**Researcher:** Why is it so?

**Praise Singer:** Our forefathers laid the rule that women have no right to speak in the presence of men. Some equate women to children.

**Researcher:** Is the situation the same in these contemporary times?

**Praise Singer:** No, women are now witnessing improvement in the visibility in their lives. For instance, hitherto, we had no queenmothers unlike today in which queenmothers are being installed in our traditional areas. Through this channel, women now have a voice in society. Indeed, they're able to project themselves very well as far as public speech is concerned.

**Researcher:** Alright mum, Thank you so much. Do you have anything else to say?

**Praise Singer:** No, I think there is nothing else to add at the moment but if there's something in the future, we can address that. May our ancestors and the Almighty God protect and keep you safe so that the project you are undertaking would be beneficial to the entire community.

**Researcher:** Mum, I also wish to thank you so much for suspending all your work and feeding me with all the needed information. With this, I say may the Almighty richly bless you and all your family till another opportune time. As our forefathers, say, "*nua ka keeseri toore*", which literally means, 'a fowl does not say good-bye to the threshing mortar'.

**Praise Singer:** Alright, may God guard you safely home.

**Researcher:** And also keep you safe.

## APPENDIX D(i)

### Bereavement: Discussion with a Widow and Pallbearer

**Viisegɔ duma:** Viisa, pokuure la bayaa

**Viisegɔ zi'an:** Pokuure yiren, Apaataŋa

**Dabesere:** Sapɔɔlegɔ 12, 2018

### Gurenɛ rendition

**Viisa:** N ma, fu bulika. 1

**Pokuure:** Naaba, la fu zaare.

**Viisa:** Naaba, N ma. Tɔ, la ani suŋa dee N boti ti N sogese yela ŋwana

fii yesera kuure yela puan n po dena tu buuri malema wa la.

**Pokuure:** Daanɔ ka boi. Fu ta'am sogese. 5

**Viisa:** Tɔ, ba san yeti kuure, bala de la beni?

**Pokuure:** Azagela nera san ka bɔna; bia bii bunkute woo see ba iŋe kuure.

**Viisa:** Fu gaafara woo, wuu fu n zeɪ zina wa ti fu sira ka bɔna wa, la ani fu la ŋwani?

**Pokuure:** Hmm! La ka ta ita. Mam zeɪ wa, n nyaa de la N ma'a la kɔma wa. Beere

la zina, tu kan le nye taaba. Dabesa wa puan, guum ka boi n ninin. 10

N ni piga la bala ti beere yilegera.

**Viisa:** Di sugeri dee la de la Wina'am la yaabeduma tuune.

**Pokuure:** La de la yelemiŋere, dee la tɔi mɛ. Dee tɔ, tu ka tari di paŋa Baaba, fu me

tari la dina?

**Bayaa:** Tɔ, tu tara di paŋa la be ti daarewoo, ti la kɔ'om luta ŋwana tai tai wa! 15

Tingɔŋɔ wa zuo de la da'a ti tu ki'ira. Fu san ke ta di fu da'a ba'ase ti la pae

kulega, fu yɔɔri la fu yire sore. Nɛra woo me tɔbɛgɛ a ki ze'ele la Winɛ zuo sige na, ti fu san di ti la ba'asɛ, fu dikeri la fu baagi walesera. Di'ise suure dee da ba'am fabela dee mam suo wa boi la Wina'am la N yaabeduma nu'usin.

A innaane la n ween ka bɔna la tu dee a kia boi me ki'ira yuura ko'om. 20

**Viisa:** Dee beni n sɔi ti ba ita ki'ima kuure?

**Bayaa:** Wuu Mam diɲɛ yeke se'em ti ki'ima la ki'iri nyuura ko'om me la, ba san

ka iɲɛ ki'ima kuure, a kan ta'am ke deon nyu ko'om. A yeti a ɛera la

yiɲa lalesera. Nɛra san pugum ka bɔna ti daama ka bɔna tib a wan iɲɛ

kuure, ba ni bugɛ la bɔgerɔ ti a tana ki'ira deon nyuura ko'om. 25

**Viisa:** Tɔ, N ma, se'ere le bɔna ti fu wan pa'asɛ?

**Pokuure:** Ai, dee Wina'am la yaabeduma tara e suɲa ti a da tamena tu yeke daarewoo.

**Viisa:** Tɔ, N pu'usa ya zo'e zo'e. Winɛ ka maale tu dee bɔ'ora tu sugeri la summa'asum daarewoo.

### English version

**Participants:** Researcher and Widow

**Venue:** Widow's residence

**Place:** Bɔgerɛgɔ

**Date:** December 12, 2018

**Researcher:** Mum, good morning.

**Widow:** Good morning, and welcome.

**Researcher:** Thank you, mum. Alright, please, I want to enquire some few issues relating to bereavement.

- Widow:** No, problem. You may proceed.
- Researcher:** Okay, if they talk about bereavement, what is it?
- Widow:** If one loses a relation, be it a child or an adult, some cultural rites are performed.
- Researcher:** Please, in your present situation, how do you fill as you just lost your spouse?
- Widow:** It's not easy at all. I'm now lonely with these kids. From now on we can't see ourselves anymore. These days, I'm not able to sleep. I always stay awake till daybreak.
- Researcher:** Please, be steadfast because it's the work of God and our ancestors.
- Widow:** That's true but it's difficult. But then, we have no control over it.
- Pallbearer:** From which source do we have the capacity to prevent these deaths, and on daily basis we hear of deaths upon deaths everywhere? The earth is a market place, and if you go and finish with your transaction, you leave for home. As you're born, you come to this earth with your 'count of millet' to feed on, and when it's finished, you pack your bag and baggage and leave. Please, be strong because I know that my brother is in the bosom of God and our ancestors. Physically, yes, he isn't present with us but he's with us spiritually. The spirit comes home everyday to feed.
- Researcher:** And what necessitates the performance of funeral rites of the deceased?
- Pallbearer:** As I indicated earlier on that the spirit of the deceased returns home to feed, but if the rites are not performed the spirit can't

return home to feed. It would be wandering around in the wilderness. Even if a deceased's funeral rite cannot be performed immediately, the divination rites would be performed so it can be permitted to return home spiritually to feed.

**Researcher:** Alright, mum, do you have anything else you wish add?

**Widow:** No, but then, I pray that the Almighty God and our ancestors receive him into their kingdom peacefully so he would always remember to bless us.

**Researcher:** Okay, I'm very grateful to you all. May God continue to bless and comfort us in this trying moment.



## APPENDIX D(ii)

### Death and Mourning of a Spouse

**Participants:** *Yidaana*, ‘Family Head’, *Yikima*, ‘Family Elders’ *Azaarema* (*pokuure*), ‘Widow), *Kuuma Neɲa daana* (K. Neɲa daana), ‘Mourners’ spokesperson.

**Audience:** Community members

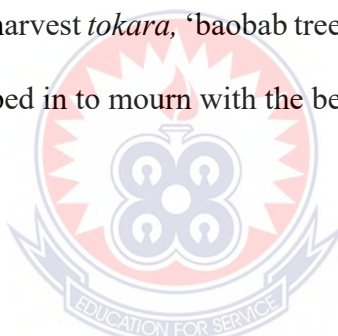
**Place:** Akunduo

**Date:** February 18, 2019

#### Context

A 47-year-old woman (*Azaarema*) lost her spouse in an accident when he fell from a baobab tree in a bid to harvest *tokara*, ‘baobab tree leaves’ for her to sell. As custom demands mourners trooped in to mourn with the bereaved family.

#### Gurenɛ rendition



**Kuuma Neɲa daana:** Ya gaafara ti tu pa’asera ya na. 1

**Yidaana:** Naa, pa’asera ya na.

**Kuuma Neɲa daana:** La tu bobeyine.

**Yidaana:** Naa, ya zaare.

**Kuuma Neɲa daana:** Guum boi? 5

**Yidaana:** Guum boi. Ya goonin ani ɲwani?

**Kuuma Neŋa daana:** Tu ka wum se'ere dee gee la yeledina wa ma'a. Tu wum la bala n soi ti tu paara na ti tu bo ya fara la ya gogara. Yele san pae ya, la lagum pae la tu za'a waabi. Nyama boi me ti tuma bona yoi? Tu de la buyila. 10

**Yidaana:** Nyaa bona yima yima ŋwani? La de la tu pu'usera taaba. Se'ere n iŋe, bala n ani suŋa. Tu tari la Wine paŋa yoi? Beere n wiiri woo ti la tara ŋwana gulam gulam wa, tu nyanŋe perege base me yoi?

**Kuuma Neŋa daana:** Ndugema Naawine wan bugele tu so mia suure ti a tara 15

imma'asum daarewoo. Dee diinduma n make se'em la;

*“Saa ka ŋmi'iri pogeŋiŋa bia muen.”*

**Yikima:** La ko'om dena la sira.

Dee tu tari la di paŋa yoi? La de la Ndugema Naawine tuuma. Eŋa n boti se'em ti A ita. 20

**Kuuma Neŋa daana:** Sunke'ene, tu kan le tulege, ko'om di'ise suure bala dee tu yaabeduma la Ndugema Naawine boi fu pooren.

**Pokuure:** N pu'use zo'e zo'e la ya ka'aŋo. Wine ka maale ya.

### English version

**Participants:** Family Head, Elders, Azaarema (widower), Sympathisers' Representative

**Audience:** Community members,

**Place:** Boonjo-Zaasi

**Date:** February 18, 2019



- Sympathisers' Representative:** Excuse us.
- Family Head:** Alright, join us.
- Sympathisers' Representative:** Have our condolences.
- Family Head:** Thank you, and welcome.
- Sympathisers' Representative:** How are things?
- Family Head:** All's well and how about your family too?
- Sympathisers' Representative:** We haven't heard of anything bad except this unfortunate incident. When we heard the news, we couldn't have stayed back other than coming to mourn with you. We all share the pain and loss together. Are you different from us? We're the same people.
- Family Head:** How can we be different? Yes, we share the pain together. Whatever happens is good. Can we avert the wishes of God? On daily basis, we have people passing on, are we able to prevent it?
- Sympathisers' Representative:** The Almighty God would comfort our dad and grant him abundant health always. As our elders say, "misfortune does not affect only one person."
- An Elder:** Exactly! Do we even have the powers to prevent it? It's the work of the Almighty God. He decides what to do.
- Sympathisers' Representative:** Father, we have no more words for you. Just remain steadfast because the Almighty God would see you through.
- Widow:** I express my appreciation for your words of consolation. May God richly bless you.

## APPENDIX D(iii)

### Bereavement and the Bonds of Lineage

In the case of funerals, the issue of family lineages comes to mind. Among the Gurene speaking people, it is not everyone who is designated to speak during funeral occasions. Therefore, special attention is given to establish the ancestral relationship between the potential speaker and the deceased. Let us consider the following interactions below:

#### Background

A family lost a 73-year-old male relative. The deceased had several daughters; some being biological and others, associated daughters. Note that among the Farefari people, any daughter, whether biological or not, belongs to all parents in the family. When these daughters get married to a community and a parent or a relation passes away, all the in-laws would be expected to be in attendance to mourn with their in-laws. Therefore, when the man passed on, the in-laws attended the funeral to mourn their father-in-law and it was the *sobia*<sup>8</sup>, 'a neighbour' who received them. It should be added that, usually, when in-laws get to the funeral ground, exchange of greetings would have to be done with the bereaved family; an elderly person is often chosen to be the spokesperson for the group. This is because the elderly person has vast experiences and knows much about the cultural norms and values of the community. This is a brief exchange of pleasantries between the bereaved family and their in-laws.

**Participants:** *Sɔbia*, ‘Neighbour’ *Kima* ‘Elders’, *Dɛɛnduma*, ‘in-laws’  
**Audience:** Community/family members  
**Place:** Apatana, in the Upper East Region of Ghana  
**Date:** August 19, 2017

### Gurenɛ rendition

- Dɛɛnduma:** Ya gaafara ti tu pa’asera ya na. 1
- Elders:** Tɔɔ.
- Dɛɛnduma:** La tu bɔbeyine.
- Elders:** Naabaa, la ya zaare.
- Dɛɛnduma:** Tu baɲɛ guum. 5
- Sɔbia:** Tɔ, tu yi baɲɛ.
- Dɛɛnduma:** Ya n isege, guum boi ya?
- Sɔbia:** Guum boi, dee nyama me?
- Dɛɛnduma:** Tu ka wum se’ere dee gee la yeledina wa ma’a. Tu tubere  
wum ti la iɲɛ la bala. Tu nyaa wan ta’am zi’a mɛ? 10  
Bala n sɔi ti tu yeti tu pae wa bise, la de la sira bii pumpɔreɲɔ.
- Sɔbia:** Aai, ya kɔ’ɔm wum bu se’em la, la siren iɲɛ la bala.
- Dɛɛnduma:** Tɔ, nyama n sɔi fara.
- Sɔbia:** Aato, ya san wum ɲwana dee pae na ti ya nye, tu lagum bo taaba fara.
- Dɛɛnduma:** Naa, sɔna fara, sɔna fara la ya maalegɔ. 15  
Yaabeduma la Winna’am wan to’e e nu’usi siyi dee bo e ga’aresuɲɔ zi’an.
- Sɔbia:** Wine sake fu nuure. Sela n iɲɛ n ani suɲa. Tumam n paari  
eɲa dee eɲa wan le pae tumam me na yoi?
- Dɛɛnduma:** Sira. Wine bɔ’ɔra ya sudi’isego la paɲa. Wine wan ma’ɛ tiɲa bo e ti  
a ga’are. Ndugema Naawine la tu yaabeduma gu ti tu da le wum 20

gɔgara goone wa puan.

**English rendition**

**In-laws:** Excuse us to join you.

**Elders:** Yes, you're permitted.

**In-laws:** We all share the sorrow.

**Elders:** Yes. You're all welcomed.

**In-laws:** Shall we exchange some greetings?

**Neighbour:** Alright.

**In-laws:** How is everyone?

**Neighbour:** All is well. And how about you?

**In-laws:** Nothing bad except this unfortunate incident. We heard of the incident, and how can we stay back without coming for confirmation. It's the reason we've come for confirmation.

**Neighbour:** Well, what you have heard is exactly the case.

**In-laws:** Alright. Please, have our condolences.

**Neighbour:** Well, if you've heard and have come to mourn with us, then, we're in it together.

**In-laws:** Sir, we express our appreciation for shouldering this task. Our ancestors and the Almighty God would give him peaceful rest in their bosoms.

**Neighbour:** May your prayers be answered. Whatever happens is good.

We shall meet him there but not the reversal.

**In-laws:** Perfectly so. May God protect you, strengthen you and offer you eternal consolation. May his soul rest in perfect peace. May God, Almighty and our ancestors forestall similar happenings in future.

## APPENDIX E

### Severe Drought in the Community

#### Background

Drought is a prolonged period of time within a rainy season in which rains may cease abruptly thereby, affecting crops, plants, animals, and humans. In fact, the entire ecosystem is usually under serious threat. To that extent, let us consider the following calamity that occurred in the case of Bɔgereɔ community in the Boonɔ District of the Upper East Region. Rainy season had set in and farmers cultivated their crops, weeded and were waiting for the crops to yield. Unfortunately, the rains seized abruptly. The crops were therefore withering and all water bodies within the catchment areas were drying up. This affected both humans and livestock. Domestic birds were not spared either. As a result, the phenomenon alarmed the *tindaana*, ‘the land priest’, and *naba*, ‘the chief’. Per the traditional protocol arrangements of the community, they invited the *sadaana*, ‘the chief priest in charge of the rain-god’ and formally petitioned him about the calamity that has hit the entire community. The entire community was summoned to *Ate’elegua*, ‘shrine of Bɔgereɔ.’ The object was to offer libation prayer to the Almighty God through their ancestors for immediate intervention.

**Participants:** *Sadaana and Tindaana*

**Audience:** Community members

**Place:** Bɔgereɔ, in the Upper East Region

**Location:** (At the shrine)

**Date:** 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 2018

## Gurenɛ rendition

*[The rain maker removes his sandals and fez, picks a calabash and fills it with millet flour and starts the libation prayer. In a trembling voice, he invokes the spirit of the ancestor with a high pitch to register his displeasure of the state of affairs facing the community. He haphazardly throws his left hand about as he speaks to the divinity. Intermittently opens his eyes wide and frowns the face as if he has seen a beast].*

N yaaba Ate'elegua!	1
Wi'a wa n wi'iri wa	
Dagi pupeelum wi'a	
La de la <b>nimbaalega</b> wi'a!	
Dena <b>kumpiino</b> wi'a!	5
Dena <b>nɔyalegere</b> wi'a!	
Dena <b>bugum!</b>	
Dena <b>kum!</b>	
Dena <b>kabega</b> wi'a!	
N yaaba Ate'elegua!	10
Isege dee fu kɔma	
N taɛ zi'an woo ŋmabera <b>zigi zigi</b> la	
Mɔga la kulesi lebege la <b>dagelesi</b>	
Goto me lebege la <b>pɔgentɛɛsi</b>	
Ti duɲa yaanɛ yaanɛ ka le puta	15
Hali ti pɔgesi pugum	

Ka le nysta **vireba** tu'ura  
Oom! kōma, pōgesi  
La tarenduma za'a wa  
Wan tōgele la be? 20

N yaaba Ate'elegua!  
Fu san siren ke'em me kankaŋi  
Wuu nasaara kurego  
Isege to'e zompuko  
Dee ko'om kai n bo'ori fu 25

Tu'ura vibera  
dee nyeta ko'om la be bo'ora fu?  
Da base ti tu ne ke'ēŋa kule  
Ti tu baŋe ti fu siren tari kinkasi!  
To'e! to'e! to'e! 30  
Kom yee! kum yee!  
Kom yee! kum yee!

### English version

Ate'elegua, the great ancestor!  
Wake up because your kids  
Are wailing everywhere  
Dams and all water bodies are dried up  
Forest lands turned into arid ones  
Not even a blade of pasture for the cattle  
To graze

Even women

No longer get *vireba* (vegetable roots)

Oh!, children, women

And all the vulnerable

Where would they head to?

*Ate'elegua*, the great

ancestor! Wake up and

receive flour Because

there's no water for you

Where do we get food to

feed you When we are

starving?

Do not let us get home in dryness

So we can attest that you're indeed

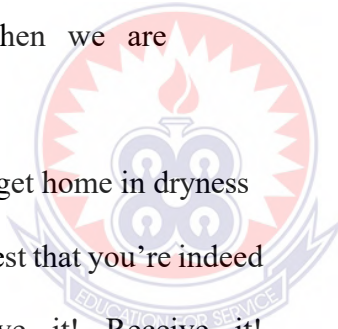
great! Receive it! Receive it!

Receive it!

Ooh! Hunger!, Ooh!

death! Ooh! hunger!

Ooh! death!





## **APPENDIX F(i)**

### **Marriage Issues**

Marriage is a union between two families where a man and a woman fall in love with each other and get married to become wife and husband. They usually promise to stay together as a couple for the rest of their lives. When the man brings the woman to his house as his wife, certain initial processes would have to take place. Therefore, let us consider an interaction that took place between the families of a bride-to-be and bridegroom-to-be.



## APPENDIX F(ii)

### Day 1 Visitation: At the In-law's House

#### Background:

Mr X's son married a lady in a certain town during *Azambene*, 'a seasonal

Fire Festival celebrated by the people of Boonjo called *Bɔɔsi*.

A *pɔgekigera*, 'marriage negotiator' is usually chosen and is responsible for all negotiations between the bride's family and that of the groom's as far as marriage arrangements are concerned. Therefore, he was tasked to go and inform the lady's family that their daughter was married, and also to negotiate well with them for acceptance of the marriage. As such he went and met with the family of the bride and this was the ensuing interaction below:

**Participants:** *Pɔgekigera*, In-law and Family Head  
**Audience:** Neighbours  
**Place:** Dua, in the Upper East Region  
**Location:** In-law's house  
**Date:** November 17, 2017

#### Note:

*Pɔgekigera* 'Marriage Negotiator'  
*Dɛɛmpɔka* 'Mother-In-Law'  
*Dɛɛndɔɔ* 'Father-In-Law'  
*Yizukiima* 'Head of Clan'

#### Gurenɛ rendition

**Pɔgekigera:** N pa'asera ya na ya. Ya bulika. 1

**Dɛɛmpɔka:** Naabaa. Fu zaare.

**Pɔgekigera:** Naabaa. Dɛema, tu pu'use.

**Dɛɛmpɔka:** Tɔ, dee ana bala. Nyu ko'om dee.

- Yizukiima:** Ya bulika. 5
- Dɛɛndɔ:** Naaba.
- Yizukiima:** Bia n wa'am wa wi ti saama n boi.
- Dɛɛndɔ:** Eɛ, la de sira. Saana n boi. A yese la Dua-Tankuo.
- Pɔgekigera:** Guum boi ya?
- Yizukiima:** Ai, kɔ'ɛ yɛm. 10
- Pɔgekigera:** Tɔ, la ani suɔa. Konyuuro n kuuri mam, ti nera me ka bɔna n wan ita ko'om bɔ'ora mam. Bala ti mam gue fu poyua la ti a wa ita ko'om bɔ'ora mam. Ti tu wan zi'a me kan wa tie fu. Bala inya ti tu paara na.
- Yizukiima:** Fu ka wum sɔsega la? 15
- Dɛɛndɔ:** Eɛ, N wum ya dee tara bɔ'ora mam.
- Yizukiima:** Tɔ, N pu'use ya. Zaa zaam, fum yese la be?
- Pɔgekigera:** Dua-Tankuo.
- Yizukiima:** Awoo, Dua-Tankuo? San dena Dua-Tankuo, tu de la saama?
- La n dagi yele dee sela n boi bini la de la koka'are yele n boi bini. 20
- Pɔgekigera:** Koka'are yele wuu bem?
- Yizukiima:** Pugela la koka'are yele n boi bini.
- Ka sigere ko'om yele n boi nara ka'are dee ti ka ta'am kiɛ sira yire.
- Pɔgekigera:** Tɔ, N pu'use fu kɔa la, dee di sugeri. 25

- Yizukiima:** Sugerɛ boi dee koka'asegɔ la n de sɛla n boi nɛɲa.
- Pɔgekigera:** Dɔ'ɔ n bala, dee sugerɛ la n kelum bɔna nɛɲa.
- Yizukiima:** Mam diɲɛ yele se'em la, tu dagi saama la taaba.  
Tu mi taaba suɲa suɲa mɛ dee fu me mi suɲa  
suɲa ti ki'in-yela ka de'eni. 30
- Pɔgekigera:** Yelemiɲɛrɛ n kɔ'om bala, dee sugerɛ la n kelum bɔna.
- Yizukiima:** Fum bɛɛ, fu san bɔta maalegɔ, da base ti tu tulesera taaba.  
  
Mam n ku'ɛ se'em bo fu n bala
- Dɛɛndɔɔ:** Sira! La de la bala.
- Pɔgekigera:** Tɔ, la de la pu'usegɔ, dee diinduma make yeti, "fua ka ke'em 35  
la ka data" Bala la, N wum ya. N wan tari fu kɔa mia lebe ta bo  
yidaana mia ti dabesere le bɔna.
- Dɛɛndɔɔ:** Fu ka wum?
- Yizukiima:** N me pu'use a nuure la dee mam yele se'em la,  
tu kan le tulesɛ. 40
- Pɔgekigera:** Tɔ N fukera ya.
- Yizukiima:** Tɔ, pu'use goone daana la bo mam.
- Pɔgekigera:** Tɔ, a tubere wan wum. N dɛema la bɛɛ ti N keese e?
- Dɛɛndɔɔ:** Ba n keeseri la.
- Dɛɛmpɔka:** Base ti N iɲɛ kɔ'om bo fu. 45

**Pɔgekigera:** Dɛɛma, di sugeri dee ko'om nyua dabesere boi.

**Dɛɛmpɔga:** Aato, yi pae ya la ya konyuuro.

**Pɔgekigera:** Ai, la dagi konyuuro.

### English version

**Marriage Negotiator:** Excuse me. Good morning.

**Mother-In-Law:** Good morning. You're warmly welcome.

**Marriage Negotiator:** Thank you. In-law, shall we exchange greetings?

**Mother-In-Law:** Alright, but then, wait a bit. Quench your thirst before.

**Head of Clan:** Good morning.

**Father-In-law:** Thank you.

**Head of Clan:** A child came to inform me of the presence of the visitors.

**Father-In-law:** Yes, it's true. Here they are. They're from Bɔgerego.

**Marriage Negotiator:** How are you?

**Head of Clan:** Well, well. No problem at all.

**Marriage Negotiator:** Well, there is nothing bad. I'm dying of thirst and there is no one to fetch water for me. As a result, I have detained your daughter to do me that favour. It is therefore, proper and dignifying to inform you.

**Head of Clan:** Have you heard the message?

**Father-In-law:** Yes, I have heard, but handle it.

**Family Head:** Alright, thank you. Please, where do you come from?

**Marriage Negotiator:** Dua-Tankuo.

- Head of Clan:** Okay, Dua Tankuo? If it's Dua Tankuo, are we strangers to each other? There's no problem but what is at stake is the issue of rituals (libation) to be performed.
- Marriage Negotiator:** What type of ritual?
- Head of Clan:** It's a ritual for my daughter. Libation is to be offered to her guardian spirit before she could get married.
- Marriage Negotiator:** Alright, thank you. However, I plead with you to exercise patient.
- Head of Clan:** No problem but the ritual takes centre stage.
- Marriage Negotiator:** That's perfectly true, but then, patience must still reign.
- Head of Clan:** As noted earlier, we aren't aliens to each other, but you're pretty aware that spiritual issues are not to be compromised.
- Marriage Negotiator:** Exactly the case but patience must still rule.
- Head of Clan:** Wait a minute, if you really want things to be settled amicably, then do not let us continue to talk about the same issue over and over. That's all I have to let you know.
- Father-In-law:** Sure! That's it.
- Marriage Negotiator:** Alright, thank you so much, but as our forebears say, "one does not challenge his dependant."
- Father-In-law:** Have you heard him?
- Head of Clan:** I have heard him but as I indicated earlier, we do not have to be repeating ourselves.
- Marriage Negotiator:** Alright, I want to ask for leave of you?
- Head of Clan:** Okay, extend our greetings to the landlord.

- Marriage Negotiator:** Alright, your message would be conveyed to him.  
Please, call my mother-in-law for me to goodbye her.
- Father-In-law:** They want to goodbye you.
- Mother-In-Law:** Let me get you some water.
- Marriage Negotiator:** No, thank you, in-law. That would be another time.
- Mother-In-Law:** Alright, then leave with thirst.
- Marriage Negotiator:** Not at all.



**APPENDIX F(iii)****Day 2 Visitation: At the In-law's House****Background**

This is a follow-up of Day 1 visitation. The *pɔgekigera* went to the lady's parents to inform them that she was married to them and needed their approval but this request was turned down. The parents demanded that their daughter be brought back for ritual performances before she could marry. The *pɔgekigera* persuaded the family head to consent to it but to no avail. Therefore, the elders of the groom's family had to send the *pɔgekigera* back for further interactions and persuasion.

**Participants:** *Pɔgekigera* (Marriage Negotiator), In-law, Family Head

**Audience:** Neighbours/Elders of the family

**Place:** Dua, in the Upper East Region, Ghana

**Location:** In-law's house; in the morning

**Date:** November 20, 2017

**Gurenɛ rendition**

<b>Pɔgekigera:</b>	N dɛɛma, N pa'asera na ya.	1
<b>Dɛɛmpɔga:</b>	Zaare, N dɛɛma. Ai! Ai! Da zi'ire bilam. Kɛ boen	
<b>Pɔgekigera:</b>	N pu'use ya. N dɛɛma, tu pu'use.	
<b>Dɛɛmpɔga:</b>	To, tu wan pu'use.	
<b>Dɛɛndɔɔ:</b>	Fu zaare.	5
<b>Pɔgekigera:</b>	Naaba. Guum boi?	
<b>Dɛɛndɔɔ:</b>	Sela n zoe piɛ ma'a	



- Pɔgekigera:** Tu n boti se'em n bala.
- Yizukiima:** Fu zaare.
- Pɔgekigera:** Naaba. Migira, tu baɛ guum dee. Fum isege, 10  
guum boi fu la fu goone wa za'a?
- Yizukiima:** La de la guum ma'a. Dee fagafaga boi?
- Pɔgekigera:** Guum boi. Dee deema, puti'ire la n daa ka ko'e la ti  
suke'ema le isege da'e mam base na.
- Yizukiima:** Fu wum sosega la? 15
- Dɛendɔ:** N wum ya dee tara.
- Yizukiima:** Soke e bise, N poyua la be'e? Sosega la za'a n bala.
- Pɔgekigera:** Naa, yele e ti, N wum ya dee a di sugeri.
- Dɛendɔ:** Fu ka wum a koa la?
- Yizukiima:** Sosega n boi bii? Mam yeti a tara n bia la na ti 20  
N ka'ase N ko'om. Sosega la za'a n bala.  
Fu ka le wum?
- Pɔgekigera:** N wum ya dee sugeri n kelum bona neɛa. Tu san maale  
ba'ase, tu wan kelum dike yeledine me base.  
Imma'asum la ti tu za'a eera. 25
- Yizukiima:** To, a san kelum zea la bala, N wan yeti bo? Tu de la saama  
La taaba ti tu tara taaba zaalena yuura yoi? Yi ko'e bo e ti a

san kule, dabesa ata wa puan, a mina ti nu’o nua san kina na,

N nii ita (nagesara ayi la lɔlega) n boi bini. A kelum mina ti

banaa la ka kurelane la zuvaka. A san nyaɲe yeke-ana wa, a 30

sɔi a pɔga me. Mam sɔsega za’a za’a n bala.

**Dɛɛndɔɔ:** Fu wum sɔsega la?

**Pɔgekigera:** Ɛɛ, N wum ya. Yele e ti N pu’use e zo’e zo’e. Tu

yaabeduma la Wine boi bini, dee diinduma make ti,

“fua ka ke’em la ka data,” “Adibuuro me ka zi Naba 35

yire.” Bala, N kelum ŋmi’ira la nupu’ɔ.

### English version

**Marriage Negotiator:** In-law, excuse me to come in.

**Mother-In-Law:** You’re warmly welcomed. No! No! Don’t sit there. Come in, please.

**Marriage Negotiator:** Thank you. In-law, let’s exchange greetings.

**Mother-In-Law:** Alright, we’ll do that.

**Father-In-law:** You’re warmly welcomed.

**Marriage Negotiator:** Thank you. How are things?

**Father-In-law:** Everything is alright.

**Marriage Negotiator:** Great to hear this.

**Head of Clan:** You’re warmly welcomed.

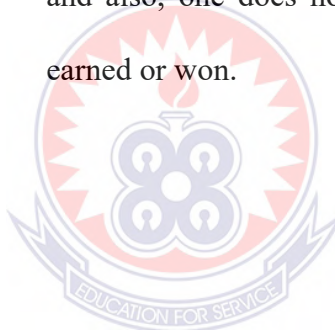
- Marriage Negotiator:** Thank you. Please, let's exchange pleasantries before anything else. How are you and the entire family?
- Head of Clan:** Everyone is in good health. And is everything okay?
- Marriage Negotiator:** All is well. But in-law, my elders have asked me to come back for the outstanding issues to be sorted
- Head of Clan:** Have you heard the message?
- Father-In-law:** I've heard, but then, it's over to you.
- Head of Clan:** Ask him of the whereabouts of my daughter. That's all the message I've for him.
- Marriage Negotiator:** Please, tell him that I've heard him but he should exercise some patience and reconsider his decision.
- Father-In-law:** Have you heard his response?
- Head of Clan:** Is there any argument? I asked him to bring my daughter to me to perform some rituals. That's all the message.
- Father-In-law:** Again, have you heard?
- Marriage Negotiator:** I've heard but there's still the need for reconsideration. When we're done with the ratification of the marriage, we'll deal with all the other issues deemed so necessary. All what we desire is good health.
- Head of Clan:** Okay, if he's still pleading, what would I have to say? Are we aliens to each other that would warrant us to be making things difficult for ourselves? So, inform him of the following conditions: When he goes home, the next three days, he must return with the ratification

cock and three cattle (that's, two cows and a bull). In addition, he must include a smock, its trousers and a fez. He must also remember that there would be a wedding. If he's able to fulfil these conditions, then he owns his wife. That's all I've for him.

**Father-In-law:** Have you heard the message?

**Marriage Negotiator:** Yes, I've heard. Express my deepest appreciation to him. May our ancestors and the Almighty God bless us all. As our forebears

have said, a vulnerable does not challenge his superior, and also, one does not abuse a favour that he/she has earned or won.



## APPENDIX F(iv)

### Witness to Payment of Bride Price

#### Background

Akagerɛ's (pseudo name) daughter gets married and his in-laws come to pay the bride price and he invites family members to bear witness to the occasion.

**Participants:** *Sɔbia* 'Neighbour', *Dɛɛnduma*, 'In-laws', *Yidaana*, 'Family Head

**Audience:** *Yikima*, 'Family Elders'

**Place:** Apatana, in the Upper East Region, Ghana

**Date:** May 23, 2019

#### Gurenɛ rendition

**Dɛɛnduma:** Ya gaafara, tu pa'asera ya na ya. 1

**Sɔbia:** Pa'asera ya na

**Dɛɛnduma:** Ya bulika.

**Sɔbia:** Naabaa, la ya zaarɛ.

**Yidaana:** Tɔ, tu dɛɛnduma wa n pae na ti mam tum wi ya ti ya du 5  
na ti tu sɔsɛ.

**Sɔbia:** Aatɔ, daaŋa ka boi.

**Yidaana:** Yele tu sɔbia la ti tu dɛɛnduma la pɔgeyua la n boi tu nu'usin la ka  
ŋwonti tu tari la ba sanɛ n bala? Bala ti mam nye nagesara ayi ti ba  
wa'am wa bise. Bala inya ti mam wi'ira ti ya lagum wa nye. 10

**Yikima:** Tɔ, tu lugerɛ ki'a, fu ka wum sɔsega la?

**Sɔbia:** N wum ya. N pu'use a nuure la. Dee a nɔŋɛ a wi'ira ma bo?

**Yikima:** Fu ka wum lebesego la?

**Yidaana:** N wum ya dee yele e ti nɛreyine ka soi bia; ka de la tu za'a poyua.

**Sɔbia:** Ai, nɔke'ene ka boi bini. Yele la de la tu za'a yele. La san dena 15

sum, **tu** za'a bunɔ, la san kelum dena be'em **tu** kelum tara bu  
la bala. Tu yi tari tu dɛenduma la ke nagedenin ti ba ta nye  
**nagebileero** tuyi wa ti tu nye ti tu pa'ale ba wa.

**Dɛenduma:** U-uuuu! **wɔberɔ bii nagebileero?** Ya ku tu. Tɔgum pugum ka le  
bɔna. Mam isege daare, mam nan ka nye pɔgesule nii ina taaba. 20  
Ndugema Naawine base ti tu tara taaba bala.

**Sɔbia:** Tu pu'use ya zo'e la ya n ka nme nɔke'ene wa. Tu tara taaba bala.

**Dɛenduma:** Ai, tu kule ya.

**Sɔbia:** Tɔ, pu'use ya yidaana mia tu ti dabesune bɔna ti tu le vure lem taaba.

### English rendition

**In-laws:** Please, excuse us to join you.

**Neighbour:** Please, join us.

**In-laws:** Good morning to you all.

**Neighbour:** Thank you, and you're warmly welcomed.

**Family Head:** Alright, it's because of the visitation of our in-laws  
that I've invited you to be present.

**Neighbour:** Alright, there's no problem.

**Yidaana:** Inform our neighbour that, once we asked the hand in  
marriage of our in-laws' daughter means we're indebted to  
them. As a result, I've gotten two cows and invited them  
to come and assess them for their acceptability or  
otherwise. It's on the basis of that I invited you to come  
and bear witness.

**Family Elders:** Okay, neighbour, that's the message before you.

- Neighbour:** That's okay, and it's my pleasure. But why would he be inviting me?
- Yikima** That's the response.
- Family Head:** That's alright, but let him know that no single person owns a child. She's a daughter to all of us.
- Neighbour:** Very well. There's no argument about this. The issue concerns all of us. If it's joy, we rejoice in it together, and if it's sorrow, we equally share it together. Now, let's invite them in to inspect the calves that we have gotten.
- In-laws:** Waa! Are these elephants or calves? You've killed us. There's no issue at all between us. I've never in my life witnessed such type of cows meant for payment of bride-price. May the Almighty God bless us and continue to bind us together.
- Neighbour:** We express our profound gratitude to you for not rejecting the offer we put before you.
- In-laws:** Oh, no! there's no thanks. We'll like to leave of you.
- Neighbour:** Alright, express our profound gratitude to the family head so that, another good opportunity would avail itself for us to meet.

## APPENDIX G

### Dispute over a Parcel of Land

In very human society there is bound to be disagreements, misunderstanding that may lead to petty quarrels and sometimes degenerating into wars. Conflicts could be among nations, societies, families and even within an individual. Indeed, disputes are inevitable but it depends on how they are managed in order to flatten them before they escalate into serious issues. This type of deliberative oratory occurs when two or more people are involved in a dispute and are allowed to make their arguments and counter-arguments before a jury and or audience. Here, there is no judgement that is passed on the disputants because their argument is based tactically on probability of their cases. Listeners or audience are then left to form their own opinions about the facts which have been presented to them.

#### **Background:**

Two people had a dispute that resulted into a serious fight. They dragged themselves to their traditional chief for settlement. Each of them tried to convince the jury (i.e., the chief and his elders) that the other started the fight. The participants were the chief, his spokesperson, council of elders, community members and the two litigants. The two disputants wanted to remain anonymous. Therefore, ‘Asəkə’ and ‘Aboko’ represent each of them respectfully. The event took place on 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 2017 at the Biio chief’s palace in the Bongo District in the Upper East Region of Ghana. At the chief’s palace, the chief, speaking through his spokesperson asked each disputant to give their narrations.



**Kana:** Asoko, la iŋe la ŋwani? Tarema ka pu'useri ti fu tara ti a selese. 1

**Asoko:** Naa, N pu'use ya. La ani suŋa. Mam la Aboko n zɛbere kua zuo.

Duna ti saa daa ta pɔra nia la ti Aboko yele mam ti saa san tɔke tiŋa

n da make si'ile saabega kua la puan. A daa yeti kua la de la eŋa

sɔyaaba kua. Naa, la daa iŋe mam la pakere bem zuo, kua la de la 5

mam sɔyaaba kua. Bala zuo la, Mam daa ka name a sɔsega la dee

daa gura la saa sige tiŋa ti tu bise sela n wan iŋe. Naa, sira, saa

sirum sige tiŋa ti nera woo daa yese la a saabega ti a pi a seberɔ.

Nera woo yi yese ti Mam nuu wan zi'a mɛɛ? Bala ti Mam me la

n pɔga pi'ira tu seberɔ. La daa ka yue ti Aboko n bala n zeɪ mam 10

zuon, tase mam ti, eŋa daa yele mam yeti bo la? Mam n ta ya'ara

nuure la ti a pugum iŋe mam peka 'kim'ti mam nini iŋe 'biram'.

Bilam ti Mam me daa kɔ'om zɛɛ n zaane bise a zuo ŋme kiie.

Naa, Mam n zeɪ wa, ya mi ti N de la gile. Dee bise ya eŋa n zeɪ la

kinkasi se'em wa, a san zɛ mam a kan fabe mam wuu kuyire bua? 15

ŋwana wa, N yeti N iŋe la ŋwani ta'am tie nu'o lobe a peka wia?

Naa, N nuure za'a n bala.

**Kana:** Naa, Asɔkɔ n uke a kɔa se'em la n bala.

**Naba:** Tɔ, N wum ya dee base ti Aboko me uke a kɔa ti tu wum.

**Kana:** Aboko, fu me tara ti tu selesera. 20

**Aboko:** Naa, la ani suɲa. Asɔkɔ sɔsega la ti a sɔse la de la pumpɔreɲo.

Kɔkani n de a yaaba kua? Mam sɔyaaba n yuum biɛ weeleɲo

la bo a sɔyaaba ti a kɔra ugera a pɔga la bia. Ti la wan naam

la ɲwani ti a nyaa isege zina beere wa wa sɔna kua?

Naa, Asɔkɔ sɔ n yuum vɔi la a nyuure la, yuune yuum ka boi 25

ti a ke ki dee kan vi la pitɔ wa pu'use mam sɔ. Naa, soke

Aboko mia bise, beni inya ti a sɔ n ga tiɲa wa yuum ita bala.

A yuum ka boi ti a sɔ mia ita bala? Beni n sɔi ti a yuum ka

sɔkera a sɔ mia sela inya ti a ita bala. Saa n zaam ni la ti mam

isege siibe ti pɔgesi bɔna bini buta ti Asɔkɔ isege a yiren ge wa 30

paɛ samanin la na, pugum ka yeke se'ere dee kɔ'om zeke lia la

mam zuo, ha bise, pugeya! Naa, la iɲe la bala ti mam me dike

saabega la ɲme e ti a nu'o kɔ. Naa, la siren de sira ti N tari paɲa

gana e. Bala, nera woo wan ti'ise ti mam n ɲme e wia dee la

dagi sira. Bala ti tu yaabeduma make ti,

35

*“Ba ka tari tu’a lasera yire la.”*

Naa, mam kɔa n bala.

**Kana:** Naa, nereba la n uke ba kuusi la se’em n bala.

**Naba:** Kana, yele ti n pu’use ba la ba sɔsega la za’a, dee ba kule ti tu

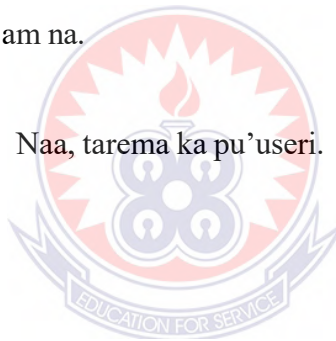
nuun nyɛ taaba. Ba lebe daasa’am na ti tu gake bo ba. 40

**Kana:** Ya ka wum Naba kɔa la? Beere de la yoo dee ya bɔna kalam

daasa’am na.

**Asɔkɔ la Aboko:** Naa, tarema ka pu’useri.

**English rendition:**



**Chief’s Sp:** Asɔka, what happened? The Overlord says you should present your case so he listens.

**Asɔkɔ:** My Lord, I thank you for the opportunity. I have a rift with Aboko over a parcel of land.

**Chief’s Sp:** Aboko, is it true?

**Aboko:** My Lord, exactly so.

**Chief’s Sp:** Asɔkɔ, then continue so we listen.

**Asɔkɔ:** My Lord, it took me aback because the land belongs to my dad.

**Chief’s Sp:** Then why would Aboko want to claim the land?

**Asɔkɔ:** It is the reason we are before you.

- Chief's Sp:** My Lord, that is the narration of Mr. Asokɔ.
- Naba:** Kana (spokesperson of the chief), I have heard. Now allow Mr. Aboko to also narrate his side of the story.
- Chief's Sp:** Mr. Aboko, we are listening to you.
- Aboko:** My Lord, thank you. What Mr. Asokɔ narrated is not true. Which of the lands is his grandfather's. Is it the parcel of land my grandfather offered to his grandfather to till and feed his family, or which land is he talking about?
- Chief's Sp:** What is the evidence of claim of ownership of the piece of the land?
- Aboko:** My lord, Mr. Asokɔ's father was alive, he paid homage to my father with basketfuls of millet to show appreciation to my father. My Lord, kindly ask Aboko why his late father was doing that. Was he not around when his dad was doing that? Why did he not ask him the reasons for his actions?
- Chief's Sp:** What happened next?
- Aboko:** As it rained yesterday, I was on the farm with my family sowing millet and Asokɔ appeared there and without a word hacked my head with his axe.
- Chief's Sp:** Oh! Why, was he killing a dog?
- Aboko:** My Lord, in retaliation, I used the *saabega* 'digging stick' and hit his arm which resulted into a fracture.
- Chief's Sp:** Hmm! Mr. Asokɔ, over to you. What do you have to say about it?
- Asokɔ:** My Lord, look at me; you are pretty much aware that I am vulnerable. Please, contrast his physical stature with mine; if he gets me would he not mess me up like the killing of funeral

billy-goat? In this context, would it not be strange that I hit him first?

**Aboko:** My Lord, it is really obvious that I am stronger than him. Therefore, everyone would conclude that I really hit him first but that is to the contrary. As our elders put it, “the baobab tree is not used for building”.

**Chief’s Sp:** My Lord, both feuding parties have spoken.

**Naba:** Kana, tell them that I thank them but the case is adjourned and they have to report back here the day after tomorrow.

**Chief’s Sp:** That is the overlord’s message. You are returning to the palace a day after tomorrow.

**Asoko and Aboko:** My Lord, we are most grateful to you.



## APPENDIX H

### An Alleged Bewitching of a Young Lady

#### Background

An elderly woman Amunama (pseudo name) in the community was accused of being behind the many reported cases of deaths in the community in recent times. What finally broke the camel's back was a recent case that occurred when a 15-year-old girl was alleged to have been bewitched by the old woman. But for the timely intervention of one of the opinion leaders in the village who whisked the old woman away on his motorbike to the chief's palace, the youth in the community, in a mob action would have lynched her with their cudgels, clubs, cutlasses and machetes. In a furious mood, the youth massed-up at the chief's palace and demanded the chief to release the woman to them but the chief turned down their demand. The event took place on 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2017 at the chief's palace, Dua in the Upper East Region. The participants were the chief and his spokesperson, elders and the accused person while the audience included the Assemblyman and some community members.

#### Gurenɛ rendition:

**Naba:** Selese yaa!, Selese yaa! Selese ya suŋa! Ya boi? Ya n 1

gagera ŋwana sagesagi wa, zuvilega daana boi tiŋa wa puan? Ya ka

mi ti yaaba tingane wa kiseri ziim mɛ? Asaala ziim ka tɔkeri tingane

wa zuo. Ziim san tɔkɛ tiŋa, la wan iŋɛ mi'iseɣo. Bala, yele la n diŋɛ

pae n nu'usin la, base ya di bo mam la n kima ti tu maale dee daaŋɔ 5

kan bɔna. Zama woo n boi kalam wa, di ya sugeri dee bisera ya mam!

Diinduma n pugum make di biɛe na ti,

“fu ka galeseri digere dee zeena a kine.”

Bala ya mi ti Mam n soi ya nu’usi la ya nama za’a bisera; ya zuo la

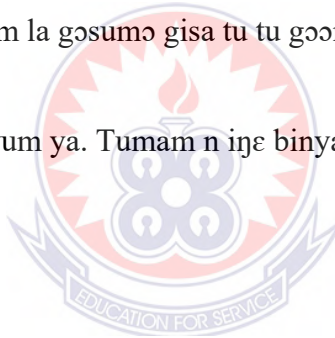
pua de la Mam yele. Ti yele san bɔna, beni n gu’uri ya sore ti ya kan 10

ta’am paɛ mam dee bɔta ti ya silege ziim biɛe tingane wa zuo?

La kɔ’om kisera me! Tu yaabeduma kan sake! Bala bia woo di sugeri

ti summa’asum la gɔsumɔ gisa tu tu gɔoma wa puusin.

**Kɔmpɔɔɔ:** Naa, tu wum ya. Tumam n iɛe binya’ate. Tu beere kan le pa’ase  
di taaba.



15

### English version

**The Chief:** Listen! listen! and listen carefully! Are you there? All these grumbling and murmuring that you make around, do you acknowledge that there is a dignified person in this community? Don’t you know that the land forbids blood? No human blood spills on this land! If blood ever spills, there would be disaster. So, once the issue is before me, there wouldn’t be any further problems. All of you gathered here, I humbly plead with you to put your trust and confidence in me to deal with the issue. As

our ancestors put it, ‘you do not choose a short leader to lead you and yet despise his pace of walking.’ As such, you know that you’re all under my care. And if there’s a problem, what prevents you from informing me about it but rather wanting to smear the land with blood? It’s an abomination! Our ancestors wouldn’t accept that! All of you gathered here, put your utmost trust in me and I would never fail you; not even a child would experience headache in this community.

**The Youth leader:** Alright chief, we cannot challenge your authority. We are under your tutelage and care. We are your children. We cannot and would never defy your command.





## APPENDIX I

### Farewell Incantation to a Deceased

During my research, I was fortunate to have witnessed the burial ceremony of one of my grandparents (the late Apika) at home on 4<sup>th</sup> February, 2018. Whilst the pallbearers carried the corpse to the *yaŋa nuuren*, ‘the main entrance to the house’, the chief pallbearer invoking the spirits of his ancestors, sacrificed a fowl and spoke directly to the deceased with the following incantations:

*(Delivered by Bayake’ema, ‘Chief pallbearer’)*

#### Gurenɛ rendition

*Apika woooooi! Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!* 1

*Fu boi?*

*Wi’a wa n wi’iri wa daga be’em wi’a*

*Fu yire kulega la de la zina*

*Fu daa de la ani dunia wa zuo?* 5

*N san le wi fu, sake bo mam*

*Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!*

*Fu daa san dena la putɔya*

*Ti fu puure nyɔ ana wilam*

*Wuu bugum la* 10

*Ti fu dena ɲmelenɔ*

*Ka bɔta fu tadaana bia*

*Fu tole yese*

*Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!*

*Ti bo?*

15

*Fu ka yeseri?*

*Fu gini bo?*

*Aato!*

*Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!*

*Fu yi daa san dena la pupɛɛla*

20

*Ti fu puurɛ pelege ana fa'a*

*Wuu ηmarepeelego la*

*Ka bɔta azagela lɔkɔ*

*Dee bɔta la fu tadaana bia*

*Yi tole yese pae fu yaabeduma!*

25

### English rendition

Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!' Are you there?

This call made is not with evil intention' Today is the day you're returning home' How did you live your life on this earth?' If I call you the next time, please, answer'

Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika woooooi!!!' If you were wicked' And so cruel'

That you hated your neighbour's child' Come out!'

Apika woooooi!, Apika woooooi!!, Apika  
woooooi!!!' Are you there?

Aren't you  
coming out?'

Why are you  
hesitating?'

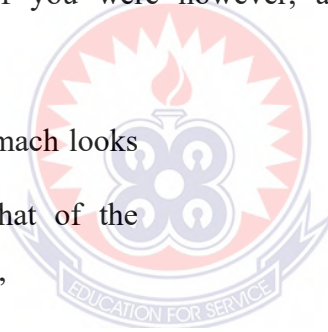
Alright!'

Apika woooooi!', Apika woooooi!!, Apika  
woooooi!!!' If you were however, a peace-  
loving person'

That your stomach looks  
pure'' Like that of the  
brighter moon'

Did not envy a neighbour's property'

But rather interested in the well-being of your neighbour's  
child' Then, come out and join your forebears'



## APPENDIX J

### Health Pandemic

#### Background:

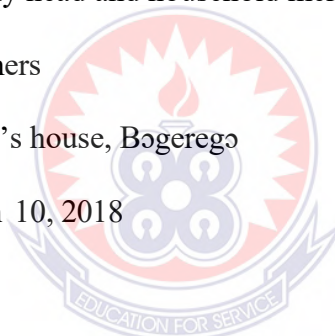
There is an outbreak of measles at Bɔgereɔ in the Boonjo Dritrict of Upper East Region of Ghana. Abuto's house is the most badly hit; a woman losing her twin sons the same day. What a shock and misery that it sounded. The family head offers libation prayer to the gods and ancestors to intervene and calm down the tides. Apart from placing emphasis on the points raised, it would also afford the opportunity for the audience to follow what the speaker presents.

**Participants:** The family head and household members

**Audience:** Mourners

**Place:** Abuto's house, Bɔgereɔ

**Date:** March 10, 2018



#### Gureɛ rendition

#### English rendition

<i>Yaaba Akazuuri, isege!</i>	'Akazuuri, my ancestor, wake up!'	1
<i>Isege!, isege!!</i>	'Wake up!, wake up!!'	
<i>Isege saazuo la fu to'e ko'om wa</i>	'Wake up and receive this water'	
<i>La dagi zonko'om</i>	'It's not flour water'	
<i>La me dagi kozana</i>	'It's not also ordinary water'	5
<i>La de la nanzu'a ko'om</i>	'It's pepper solution'	

<i>Nanzu 'a ko 'om n siren de bu</i>	'It's real pepper solution'	
<i>Yire wa n taε ana wilam wa</i>	'This house that is plagued with calamities'	
<i>Ai!, mam ka mi</i>	'Ah!, I do not know why'	
<i>Mam ze! la n sagebo puure ma 'a</i>	'I have a clean 'stomach''	10
<i>N ka tari nera nera taale</i>	'I do not have malice against anyone'	
<i>Ti mina san yeti a sɔgelum goone wa</i>	'And if someone wants to destroy this house'	
<i>Wire a nini la nanzu 'a ko 'om wa</i>	'Wash their eyes with the pepper solution'	
<i>Ti wi 'iŋɔ wa tulege e</i>	'To reverse the spell'	
<i>Ti N baŋε ti fu siren ani kankaŋi</i>	'To prove that you are really strong'	15
<i>To 'e, to 'e.</i>	'Receive it, receive it'	



## APPENDIX K

### Health Care and Oratory

#### Background

Pregnant women including teenagers went to the Boonjo Ante-Natal Healthcare facility for their monthly routine healthcare services. We therefore, want to consider the interactions that ensued at the healthcare facility between one of the nurses and the pregnant women.

**Participants:** Nurse and Teenage pregnant women  
**Venue:** Boonjo Hospital, Upper East Region  
**Date:** 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2018

#### Gurenɛ version

**Nɛɛsi:** Ya bulika, N suuro: 1

**Pɔgepuusi duma:** Naabaa, fu me bulika

**Nɛɛsi:** Naabaa. Mam puure pee me paa la tu n seke taaba  
 bulika wa la. Wine paɲa mam mi ti guum boi ya.

**Pɔgepuusi duma:** Tu ka wum se'ere. 5

**Nɛɛsi:** Tɔ, tu bo Ndugema Naawine fara. Dee tu zina zi'izrego wa,  
 tu boti ti tu baɲe la yelesi'a la yelesi'a n de daaɲe bo'ora tu  
 yesera tu pɔa wa puan. Ani n tari daaɲɔ a puure ze'elego  
 wa puan?

**Pɔgepua daana:** Mam sia n ni kɔ'om ɔsegera ti masim kana ti kine 10  
 dena la ye.

**Nɛɛsi:** Bala n soi ti fu ni nalegera bala wuu nua n yeti a lobe gele  
 wa?

**Pɔgepua daana:** Hahahahaaa! Eei, nɛɛsi! La n kɔ'om bala. Fu ka parum.

**Nɛɛsi:** A! Mam de la bia bii. Mam n vubɛ kɔma vubɛ vubɛ wa zɛa

zina wa la ti beni n boi ti n bu'ura? Base nyama n de saresi 15

wa zuo. Ya yagesi la nan ka yalese. Ya pɔ'ɛ mɛ.

**Pɔgepua daana:** Yeleminɛrɛ nuuri. Tu sɛba ka pire pɛɛ dee nyɔge pɔa wa zɛa  
ɲwana sambai wa. Mam n zɛi wa, mam ka mi mam n pugum  
ita mmiɲa se'em. sela woo kɔ'om ana me ɲwana wilaam!

**Nɛɛsi:** Ai!, N pu'use zo'e la fu yelesum la. Bala n yi sɔi 20  
ti ba yeti ya nyɔkera yamisi la budaasi puan. Budaasi ka  
we'eseri zi'an. 20 Ba boi la bala saɲa woo. Fu sira boi la  
bɛ? A tuni la bem tuuma?

**Pɔgepua daana:** Mam ka tari sira dee wa mina a tuuma yu'ure yele.

**Nɛɛsi:** Maan yele! Fu yeti fu ka tari sira, dee nyu la kɔ'om 25  
zɛa wa?

**Pɔgepua daana:** La dagi la bala dee mam n yele se'em la de wuu mam  
zɛbeduma la za'a zagese puure la mɛ. Nɛra woo zagese  
puure la mɛ. N me kan saaɛ puure la base.

**Nɛɛsi:** Mam mi ti ya zo'e zo'e n zi kalam wa, tu la bala zɛa wa. 30

**Pɔgepuusi duma:** La de la bala. Budaasi la dagi sela n tuti nuuren. Ba de la  
buyila, sira ka boi ba puan.

**Nɛɛsi:** Dee ani n ka boti zaɲa bunɔ. Ba ni nɔɲɛ me dita  
wɔlegɔ?

Bala ti diinduma make ba makɛrɛ ti, *Suɲa de la kaam  
nyelegera*. Bala, ya san kule, ya ta tara yamisi suɲa 35

suŋa, ti beere ya ta'am me ka'am dee kage ya koma suŋa  
ti ba me da ne ya tagete wa taaba.

**Pogepuusi duma:** Tɔ, tu pu'use zo'e la fu ka'arɔ.

### English rendition

**Nurse:** Good morning, my sisters.

**Pregnant women:** Good morning, sister.

**Nurse:** Everything is alright. By the Grace of God, I hope you're also doing well. I'm so happy that we've been able to meet this morning to have a conversation.

**Pregnant women:** Nothing bad at all. We're also very grateful being with you this morning.

**Nurse:** Okay, let's give thanks to the Almighty God. In our discussion this morning, we want to find out the challenges that we go through during this pregnancy period. Do you face any challenges as far as your pregnancies are concerned?

**Pregnant woman:** Yes, I have been experiencing very severe pains in my waist. Walking is something else.

**Nurse:** And you walk or wobble like a laying hen, abi?

**Pregnant woman:** Hahahahaaa! It's true. Exactly the case! You know every secret about us.

**Nurse:** Ah! Am I a child? After going through the experiences of procreation over these several years, what is left that I don't have an idea of?



**Pregnant woman:** Well, that's true. Some of us aren't matured, yet we're fully pregnant, now sitting here wearing miserable faces. As I sit here, I don't know what to do with myself at all. Everything is bad.

**Nurse:** Okay, I'm grateful for your contribution. It's the reason they always advise that you should be wary of men, especially, when you're not mature. The men aren't going anywhere. They'll always be there for you. By the way, where is your husband, and what work does he do?

**Pregnant woman:** I don't have a husband, and let alone knowing the work that he does.

**Nurse:** Say it again. You claim you don't have a husband, and is it water that has bloated you like that?

**Pregnant woman:** That isn't the issue, but all my boy friends have denied being responsible for the pregnancy. I can't also abort it.

**Nurse:** I suspect all of you here are facing similar problems.

**Pregnant women:** That's it. Men aren't trustworthy. They're the same, not being truthful.

**Nurse:** But who doesn't want cheap things? Do you think it's their wish to be struggling around? If you make yourselves cheap, they'll treat you as such. As our elders say, "beauty is sheabutter that melts." Therefore, as you experience the challenges in life, be careful so that in future you may be able to offer better pieces of advice and cautions to your children.

**Pregnant women:** Alright, we express our appreciation to you for your kind gesture.

## APPENDIX L

### Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a global phenomenon. No nation, group or individuals can be said to be self-sufficient in every aspect of human life. The needs could be economical, social, cultural or spiritual. Therefore, at one time or the other, there would be compelling reasons that one has to reciprocate what others have offered or done. It strengthens good relationship among individuals or groups of people.

#### Background

Two friends who had been together for quite some time, have had their relationship turned sour. Anytime they went outing or attended a function, only one of them sponsored the expenses while the other colleague played tricks and thought that he was playing a fast one on his colleague. The colleague who felt he was being cheated by his friend stopped going out with him which their parents were not pleased with. After finding out the reason for the sudden break in friendship their parents decided to intervene. Incidentally, the parents of the young men were also friends even from childhood. It was therefore, during the interaction that one of the parents made such utterances as a way of offering them a little piece of advice.

**Participants:** Akukere and Agɔɔɔ (the two friends), family elders, parents

**Audience:** Family members

**Venue:** Akunduo in the Boɔɔ District of Upper East Region

**Date:** 14<sup>th</sup> May, 2018

**Note:**

*The two friends said they wanted to be anonymous so pseudo names were used to represent them, thus, Akukere and Agɔɔɔɔ respectively. Adukɔ represents Akukere's father while Abaa represents Agɔɔɔɔ's father,*

**Gurenɛ rendition**

**Adukɔ:** Ya bulika. Mam n wi ya buligema'asere wa na. La dagi yele dee 1  
dena yele. Beni n soi ti n yele nwan. Akugere, tu n isege di beeren  
dena zɔɔ wa zi'a zina wa, nɔke'ene boi tu puan me yo?

**Abaa:** Bɔna be!

**Adukɔ:** Ti la wan ije la nwan ti binya'asi wa bɔta ti ba sa'am tu 5  
tihasuka? Tu n isege, tu doose taaba la bala tu bumbilemi hali ti tu  
sɔduma nan voi, tu ka nye taaba taale. Dagi bala zuo ti koma wa me ta'am  
tabelle taaba ti nyelum bɔna wa? Dee beni n nyaa ta'ase ba bura bura wa?

**Abaa:** Aato, tu wan soke la koma la banje, dee diima n make ba make ti,  
*"mina n tu a ziuro n mi tu n tibege se'em."* 10

**Elder:** La kɔ'om dena la bala, dee waafɔ ga'a dee ti tu tara kinkate makera.

**Adukɔ:** Alaa, Akukere, beni n soi ti fum la fu zɔ Agɔɔɔɔ ka le zɔɔra taaba  
nama?

**Akukere:** Baaba, la ani suja. Mam tari la sɔsega bii, mam ka tari sɔsega. Ba  
nyeti azagela yu'ure doli e me dee aai, Mam zɔ yu'ure wa ka doli e. 15

"Agɔɔɔɔ", ti a tugum nie gana nera woo. Tu ka ke da'a bii kiye zi'an ti a  
tuna a funifuen ita sela. La san dena daam a ni li'ise me ta ije kapi

dee duuse nuure lebe na zea wuu noa n di dee dike nuure duuse tiŋa se'em la.

Dee mam san da dia bii daam a wan po di dee nyu. Bala ti mam yeti,

a tara a niyu'ure bɔna ti n me bɔna, bem zuo, tu nyaa ni ke da'a 20

bii kiŋe la de'enseko, tu ta'am ni e kom la bala ta kule.

**Elder:** Ehe! Dagi bala ti diima make yeti, yenduma bayi san ke da'a ba kule  
la kom" la?

**Akukere:** Ee, bala n soɪ ti mam yeti, a bɔna ti n me bɔna.

**Abaa:** Agɔɔŋɔ, fu me nyaa tara ti tu selesa. Agɔɔŋɔ, let's listen to you too. 25

**Agɔɔŋɔ:** Migira, N pu'use zo'e. Akukere n sose a sosega wa za'a la,  
n yeti a parum me bii a ka parum? A san yeti tu bɔna tu bɔna, daaŋɔ n  
boi bii? Daaŋɔ ka boi.

**Elder:** Fum beɛ, maalego zuo ti tu wa zi'a kalam wa dee dagi la tu ke la da'a  
ti tu ta sose. Tu boti la yelemiŋere la. 30

**Agɔɔŋɔ:** Migira, yelemiŋere, mam zo la n ye le se'em la, pumpɔreŋɔ ka bini.  
Mam daa siren tuni la binya'ate. Tu n tosege taaba base daare, la  
ko'om dena la kumpiino bo'ora mam. Mam ka le tana ki'ira da'a bii  
de'eŋɔ bem zuo, mam funini la fuse la za'a.

**Abaa:** Bala inya ti tu soɔduma yeti, "ɲme miŋa koŋe kuunɔ" la. 35

**Agɔɔŋɔ:** Migara, ai, fu ba'ase sosega. Mam wan yeti sugeri n boi neŋa.  
A di sugeri bo mam.

**Elder:** Ya ka wum bia la n ye le se'em la? Bala ti tu baduma ni make ti,  
"zuo nu'o peeri goɔbega nu'o me ti goɔbega nu'o me peera zuo nu'o" la.

**Adukɔ:** Akukere, fu ka wum? 40

**Akukere:** Eε, N wum ya dee tara, dee mam ka tari daarɔ.

**Adukɔ:** Tɔ, tu boti ti tu wum la ɲwana. N pu'use ya zo'e.

### English version

**Participants:** Akukere and Agɔɔɲɔ (the two friends), family elders, parents

**Audience:** Family members

**Venue:** Akunduo in the Boonɔ District of Upper East Region

**Date:** 14<sup>th</sup> May, 2018

**Adukɔ:** Then why would these kids want to sow seed of enmity among us?

As we grew up from childhood, our relationship was solid even when our parents were even alive. Is it not as a result of that that influence our children to also become friends? So, what has suddenly gone wrong that influences their relationship to be sour?

**Abaa:** Well, we have to find out from the kids themselves, for our elders say, "It's the person who carries the load that feels the heaviness of it."

**Elder:** Exactly the issue, because a snake wouldn't be there while we use a stalk as a tape measure.

**Adukɔ:** Yes, Akukere, what has happened that you and your friend are having problems?

**Akukere:** Baaba, that is okay. Do I have anything to say? I have none. It is often said that one's name portrays his/her character but that of my friend's is different. Agɔɔɲɔ, 'Fool' but he is wiser than everyone else. When we travel to any occasion, he hardly spends money on anything. When he feels like having a drink, he excuses himself and goes alone

to drink but would return with innocence as if he hadn't taken in anything. However, anytime I buy drink or food, he participates.

I consider this cheating. As a result, we have to part company and everyone lives his life. Sometimes, we could go to the market or travel for an occasion and return without tasting anything.

**Elder:** Yeah! It is as a result of some of these things that our elders say, "if two wise men go to the market, they often return home with hunger."

**Akukere:** Yes, it is the reason I said we should separate and live our individual lives.

**Abaa:** Agɔɔɔ, let's listen to you too.

**Agɔɔɔ:** Baaba, thank you so much. All the narrations given by Akukere, I cannot affirm or contradict. If he says we should live our individual's lives, so be it.

**Elder:** Listen here, we're here because we want peace but not at the market square.

**Agɔɔɔ:** Baaba, all that my friend has narrated is nothing but the truth. In fact, I acted childishly. Ever since we separated it has not been easy at all for me. Going to the market or attending any official occasion has been a daunting task because my pocket leaks.

**Abaa:** That's why our elders say, "One cannot complain when one inflicts pain on oneself." You cannot blame others for your own mess.

**Agɔɔɔ:** Yes. You have said everything. What I want to plead is that, patience is key. He should forgive me because out of friendships, we assist each other.

**Elder:** Have you all heard the child's message? That's the truth. Our

elders even professed that, “*the right hand washes the left hand while the left hand washes the right hand.*”

**Adukɔ:** Akukerɛ, have you heard?

**Akukerɛ:** Yes, I have heard but then, handle it; I have no problem.

**Adukɔ:** Alright, this is all that we want to hear. Thanks so much.



## APPENDIX M

### Theft

#### Background:

A strayed cow was found in the community for over a year and no one was claiming ownership after several announcements. As a result, the *tindaana* kept the animal in trust for the god as the tradition of the land demands. One day, the animal went out to graze but did not return for about two weeks. The *tindaana* searched everywhere coupled with announcements but to no avail. He therefore, summoned the community members to the shrine and offered a simple libation prayer to *Ate'elegua*, 'the god of the land' in order to find the perpetrator(s) of the crime because he suspected that the animal was stolen. The officiant was the *tindaana* (land priest) of the community. The elders and youth of the community were also present at the shrine which took place on March 13, 2019.

#### Gurenɛ rendition

**Tindaana:** Naa, ya gaafara. N ka'ara ya tu ko'om la ya. 1

**Kima:** Tɔ, tara bɔ'ɔra tu.

**Tindaana:** Ya bulika, Mam mi ti guum boi ya. Yelekatɛ n lui tu yaaba

tingɔŋɔ wa zuo ti n yeti n kaase soolum ti ya za'a wum. Lɔlega wa

n ka kɛ n goone wa puan tari wuu yuune n ŋwana. Dee san dena 5

buusi yeleyele wuu butalesi la piisi, bama de la saa ko'om. Tingane

sunsɔa n nyie ta gaŋɛ ti a ni kɔ'om dame mam ta yilege beere.

La ni kɔ'om dena la kum nyuunɔ. Mam koŋɛ mɛ dee isege ɛ ti la

kɔ'om kɛ'em lebese na. Bala ti n yeti ya woo wum.

Mam ka tari nini n nyeti baŋera duŋa mia n boi zi'an. La san dena 10



la bunsela n nyɔkɛ ka, bugum tae bunsela mia. La san dena la kamiɲa  
n ɛ ta tue borege, la wee soɔ. La san darena bala me dee dena la  
asaala bia nu'o n boi bini, **tu** yaaba tingane wa n wan ze'ele kaduma  
wuntɛɲan. Bala ti n wi **ya** na ti N tɛbeɲ ti **ya** wum dee ti N ka'ɛ ko'om  
bo tingana mia ti a isege saazuo tum a tuuma. 15

**English Rendition:**

Good morning, to you all. I hope **you** are all doing quite well. An unpleasant incident has happened and that is why I've summoned all of you here to inform you. For about a year ago, I have not set my eyes on the bull which belongs to *Ate'elegua*<sup>9</sup>. As for the goats especially, the billy goats and the sheep, the less we talk about them, the better. The god is not pleased with me at all. Every night, I have been experiencing spiritual attacks, death is always knocking at my door. I could no longer bear the brunt and had to visit a soothsayer for divination, and the revelation is that the future is nothing but life-threatening. It's the reason I want **you** to hear the message. I don't have spiritual eyes to know the location of the animal. If it's a wild beast that has consumed it, it should also be consumed by fire. If it's also the case that it went astray and got lost, then it's well and good. However, if it's also the case that someone has stolen it, then, it's the god that would expose him/her. It is for this reason that I called **you** here to bear witness to the offering of libation prayer to our god in order to empower it to act swiftly.

## APPENDIX N

## An Epidemic

**Background:**

An epidemic has hit a family in Apaataŋa in which three people passed on within two months. Every now and then, the household members fall sick without much progress in their health status. In fact, according to the head of the family, they never knew what peace was within the period. As a result, the family head sought spiritual intervention from a soothsayer who directed him to offer some libation prayer and sacrifices to his god.

Any strange animal on the land is usually bequeathed to the god and kept by the *tindaana* (land priest) of the area ancestors. Therefore, he gathered the family members and performed the assignment given him. Those present were the head of the family and family members. The libation prayer took place on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July, 2019 at the family shrine at Apaataŋa in the Boŋo District, Upper East Regional capital.

<b>Gureŋ</b>	<b>English</b>	
<i>Yaaba Ayɔɔɛ</i>	‘Ayɔɔɛ (name of an ancestor)’	1
<i>Guum wa n niiri fu wa</i>	‘Waking you up this morning’	
<i>Dagi se’ere</i>	‘Doesn’t seem to be a problem’	
<i>Dee dena se’ere</i>	‘But there’s a problem’	
<i>Isege la fu to’e ko’om wa</i>	‘Wake up for some water’	5
<i>Kabega n ke yire wa puan</i>	‘A calamity has befallen upon this house’	
<i>Ti masim kana</i>	‘And there isn’t peace at all’	
<i>Kɔmpɔɔɔ kɔ’om luta me tai tai</i>	‘The youth are dying tai, tai (idiophonic)’	
<i>Fum la fu sɔduma</i>	‘If you and your ancestors’	

*San yeti bugum kabɛ goone wa* ‘Think that fire should perish this abode’ 10

*La seke ya* ‘Then it’s well with you’

*Yaaba Ayɔɔre* ‘(name of an ancestor), the ancestor’

*Be’ɛba lali la daangɔɔma* ‘Enemies are hiding around while’

*Dee bisera tu* ‘gazing at us’

*Nyama ma’ a n wan banɛ baduma* ‘It’s only you who shall fish them out’ 15

*Dikɛ ya ba ze’ele wuntɛengan* ‘And put them to shame’



## APPENDIX O

### Accusation of Adultery

**Participants:** Head of clan, family elders, parents, Alepoore, Amina and Asoke

**Audience:** Family members

**Venue:** Beo in the Boonjo District of Upper East Region

**Date:** 14<sup>th</sup> May, 2018

#### Background:

Amina, Asoke and Alepoore are all neighbours in the village. Amina accuses Asoke for going out with Alepoore's wife. The attention of the head of their clan was drawn so he summons all to appear before him for interrogation.

**Yizukiima:** Ya bulika 1

**Buuri:** Naabaa

**Yizukiima:** Mam n lagese ya kalam buligema'asere wa de la yelesabele

n lui yire wa puan. Mam wum ti Amina yeti, eja nyeti Asoke n nae

Alepoore poga era ki'ira da'asi kula sinsɔɔsi sinsɔɔsi. Bala, eja 5

mi ti ba tari la sela ita la taaba. Bala ti mam lagese ya na ti a uke

a kɔa ti tu za'a lagum wum. Mam n soke e la, a ka ki'ise dee a yeti

eja ween daa saara me dee dagi la la de la yelemiɲere. Ya n bise wa,

bama de la saari wa? Sɔsekana taaba gi'iri la yea dee sa'ana buuri.

Bala n po sɔna ti nera la ka suɔ ni lagum ki'ira 10

dee ka sɔsera la. Dee beni n sɔi ti tu du'use du'use tu yea wa zi'an

woo sai wa? La de la yele-ana taaba wa n soi bala. Aato, Mam  
belum Alepoore ti a di sugeri dee Amina nme nupu'ɔ ti eja tue me.  
Alepoore me ka nme nɔke'ene dee di'ise suure sake. Bala, N boti ti  
azagela bia woo n boi kalam mina ti Adeebia yelesum la dagi yoo. 15  
A yeti, “*de'ejo ka boi kunkɔan*”. Bala, Mam ka le bota ti beere N le  
isege wum yele wa taaba. N pu'use ya zo'e zo'e.

### English version

**Head of clan:** Good morning to you all.

**Buuri:** Good morning.

**Head of clan:** Ania, there is a serious issue for which reason I've summoned you here. I've been informed that Amina has supposedly accused Asoke of going out with Alepoore's wife to places and returning home at odd hours. Therefore, Amina suspects him of having amoral relationship with the woman. It's for this reason you've been invited here so that we would listen to his side of the story. When I asked him, he admitted to the offense but indicated that he was only making a joke. Just imagine this, is this a joke? This type of jokes can disintegrate families. It's also the reason you may find two siblings not in good talking terms with each other. Again, why is it that we find our individual houses dotted all over the place instead of living together as big families? It all boils down to some of these disparaging comments. Anyway, I pleaded with Alepoore to forgive Amina because he has apologized and promised never to repeat it. On his part, Alepoore has also accepted the apology in good faith. Therefore, I'm sounding a caution to everyone gathered

here to remember that, what the Cat said is not for the fun it. For he said, “the neck isn’t to be played with.” In the light of this, I don’t want to hear of such similar incidents again. Thank you.



## APPENDIX P

### Illness

<i>Nyaaba, Ayɔɔrɛ!</i>	‘My ancestor, Ayɔɔrɛ!’	1
<i>Mam niiri fu guumi wa</i>	‘As I wake you up from sleep’	
<i>Dagi se’ere</i>	‘Not anything’	
<i>Dee dena se’ere</i>	‘But is something’	
<i>Isege la fu to’e zonko’om</i>	‘Wake up and receive flour water’	5
<i>Kabega n ke yiren wa puan</i>	‘Danger has engulfed this household’	
<i>Ti masim kana</i>	‘That there’s no relief’	
<i>Ti kɔmpɔɔlɔ kɔ’ɔm luta tai tai</i>	‘Children just falling tai tai’	
<i>Yaaba, Ayɔɔrɛ</i>	‘My Ancestor Ayɔɔrɛ’	
<i>Fum la fu sɔduma</i>	‘You and your fathers’	10
<i>La seke ya</i>	‘It is over to you’	
<i>Tiŋa wa puan be’eba wa</i>	‘All the enemies in this community’	
<i>Nyama ma’a n wan banɛ ba yele</i>	‘You alone would know them’	
<i>Ze’ele ba wunteɛŋan</i>	‘Expose them to the public’	
<i>Ti nyane di ba</i>	‘So that they would be ashamed’	15