UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

ROUTINE EXPRESSIONS IN ANUM

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DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I, RITA OBENG-OFOSU, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotation and reference contained in published works, which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work and it has not been submitted, either in part or in whole for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE: …………………………

DATE: …………………………………

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidance on supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.
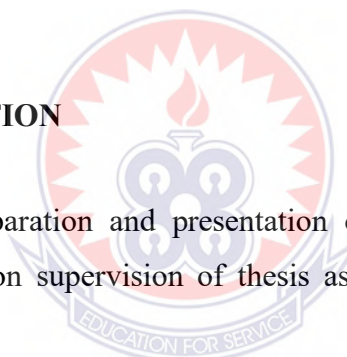
NAME OF SUPERVISOR: **DR. CHARLOTTE FOFO LOMOTEY**

SIGNATURE: …………………………

DATE: …………………………………

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Obremponba Kwaku Obeng Ofori

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Routine expressions have been regarded among others as specific and standardized expressions which are universal in nature and are used for cultural and socio-economic interactions in speech communities. This study examined the linguistics of routine expressions in the Anum community. Taking a cue from earlier studies (e.g. Ameka, 1987, 1994; Dzameshie, 2008, Agyekum, 2010), the study employs the ethnographic design using a qualitative approach to gather data from three different Anum communities using the cluster, random and purposive sampling techniques. Through observation, recordings and focus group discussions with 60 indigenes, Anum routine expressions were identified to align with the universality of the phenomenon, although some of their meanings are language-specific. The analysis also revealed some aspects of the culture and socio-economic practices of the Anum people. One major significance of the study is the observation of how routine expressions reveal aspects of the history of the Anums. Based on the results, it is recommended that the study of routine expressions should go beyond the cultural and socio-economic aspects to assess the historical dimensions so as to project the rich socio-cultural as well as the history of the people.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the study

Routine expressions are specific standardized expressions which are universally used for socio-economic interactions within language communities (Davis, 2007). Anum is therefore not left out in this language universality and hence, the people observe them with all the religiosity required. This is so because these routines have been observed to be used to affirm the rapport the communal community shares. Anum, which is also called Gwa, is one of the Hill-Guan languages (Painter, 1967). Anum (Gwa) is spoken within three language clusters within the Eastern Region of Ghana. The first cluster with the highest number of speakers (about 70%) is the Anum township and its sister town, Anum-Boso. The second cluster is the nearby Anum speaking towns, and the third cluster comprises a suburb of Asamankese and the Anum Apapam township. Anum which is largely a less-studied language is a Kwa language of the Niger-Congo language family (Williamson and Blench, 2000).

As a result of their historical close association with the Akwamus, an Akan speaking group, and their current location among Akan speaking communities, every Anum is bilingual in the Anum language and the Akuapem variety of Akan. It is therefore significant to note that most of the routine expressions in Anum are similar to what pertains in the Akan speaking communities. Additionally, the knit communal life of the people in the past, the nature of the environment and their experiences are encapsulated in the routine expressions they used which have remained with the people to date. Routine expressions have been found to reveal important pragmatic and socio-cultural aspects of speech communities (Ameka, 1991; Davis, 2007). They are also considered to be an interface between a people's language and their cultural practices (Agyekum, 2008). Ferguson (1976) and Caffi (1984) also consider them as illocutionary acts whose meanings are amalgams of feelings, assumptions and thoughts of a

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people. There is therefore the need to explore how these routines are used in Guan speaking communities to add to the literature.

1.2   Statement of the problem

Routine expressions have been perceived from different perspectives by different researchers. For example, Ameka and Terkourafi (2019) have identified linguistic routines as the core aspect of the socio-cultural and historical life of every group of people. Hiu (2011) also considers them as tools of polite behaviour, and Ameka (1991) and Firth (1972) regard them as forming part of a speaker's communicative and pragmatic competence. However, Searle (1969) regards routine expressions as having 'no propositional content'. Sacks (1975) largely considers them as *meaningless*, and yet Youssouf et al (1976) see routine expressions as utterances with *zero referential value*. The need therefore arises to examine and determine the school of thought that routine expressions in Anum belong.

Communication in the daily social intercourse in the Anum speech community is basically manifested by way of routine expressions which are enacted both verbally and non-verbally. A speaker who ignores the use of routines or does not make appropriate use of routines is considered as a non-native speaker of the language. This is because the Anum use these routines to a large extent to reveal some intricacies of their verbal communication (Drazdauskiene, 1981). Furthermore, the expression of these routines is so much aligned with the culture of the people as well as the social environment of the people. Ameka (1987, p. 299) therefore observes that the use of linguistic routines constitutes "one problem area in cross-cultural and inter-ethnic communication". However, little attempt has so far been made to reveal the explicit meaning culturally, and pragmatic content of routine expressions in Anum. This in a way conceals very important aspects of the life of the people. This study therefore comes in to address this problem and by extension provide some insights into aspects of the socio-cultural life of speakers of Guan in the southern part of Ghana.

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Additionally, there has not been any in-depth study of routine expressions on any of the Guan varieties in Ghana. This to a large extent shelves the pragmatic and socio-cultural life of the Anum people which are expressed through their routine expressions. Studies on routine expressions in Kwa languages including Agyekum (2006), Dakubu (1981), Dorvlo (2008) and Dzameshie (2008), among others, are focused more on the descriptions of the routines rather than the socio-cultural and historical past of the people. Meanwhile, routines in Anum depict a lot about the socio-cultural and historical past of the people and hence the need to examine them. Similar works on other Ghanaian languages include Ameka (1987) and Agyekum (2008, 2010). This is an indication of the limited literature on routine expressions in Ghanaian languages and on any Guan language. Furthermore, apart from Ameka, other studies focus on specific types of routines. Agyekum, for example, studies greetings in Akan separately from thanking while Dzameshie (2008) focuses on greetings in Ewe. This study therefore, apart from adding Anum, a Guan language to the literature on routine expressions, also combines several of the routines in one study. Data collected through observation, recording and focus group discussions are used to discuss routines such as greetings, expressing sympathy, thanking, apologizing and disclaiming among others.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study seeks to:

1. to examine the types of routine expressions in Anum.

2. to investigate the meanings of Anum routine expressions that inform their pragmatic use.

3. to discuss the socio-cultural and historical aspects of the people which are embedded in the routine expressions.

1.4 Research questions

The questions used to guide the study are:

1. What routine expressions are found in Anum?

2. What pragmatic meanings are revealed in Anum routine expressions?

3. What are the socio-cultural and historical aspects of the Anum people embedded in their routine expressions?

1.5   Significance of the study

This study is significant in several respects. The study contributes to the literature on routine expressions, especially on Kwa languages and specifically, Guan languages. It also serves as a guide to anthropologists who may have interest to conduct studies in the Anum communities. The study also informs visitors to the Anum communities about the kind of routines to observe. Overall, the study determines the school of thought in which Anum routines could be placed.

1.6   Organisation of the study

The rest of the study is organised as follows: Chapter 2 makes an in-depth review of literature relevant to the discussion on routine expressions. The review covers articles, book chapters and dissertations on linguistic routines. The chapter also assesses the Language Socialization Theory (LST) by Schiefflin and Ochs (1986) which serves as the major theory for the study. Since routines are often accompanied by politeness strategies, the ideas of Brown and Levinson (1987) will also be discussed in the chapter. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology used to gather data for the study. It identifies the study as a qualitative one with the ethnography design. The cluster, purposive and random sampling techniques are discussed in the chapter. Chapter 4 presents and analyses the data gathered for the study. The routine expressions are transcribed, coded and discussed under themes. The chapter brings out the pragmatic meanings of the routine expressions and how they reveal the socio-cultural and historical life of the Anum people. The findings affirm the universality of routine expressions in the languages of the world. These routines also provide a lot the socio-cultural and historical life of the Anums.

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Chapter 5 presents a summary of the findings of the study and also provides some recommendations for future studies.

1.7   The position of Guan within Niger-Congo

The position of Anum within the Niger-Congo language family and its sub classification among the other Guan varieties are respectively shown in Figures 1.7 as follows:
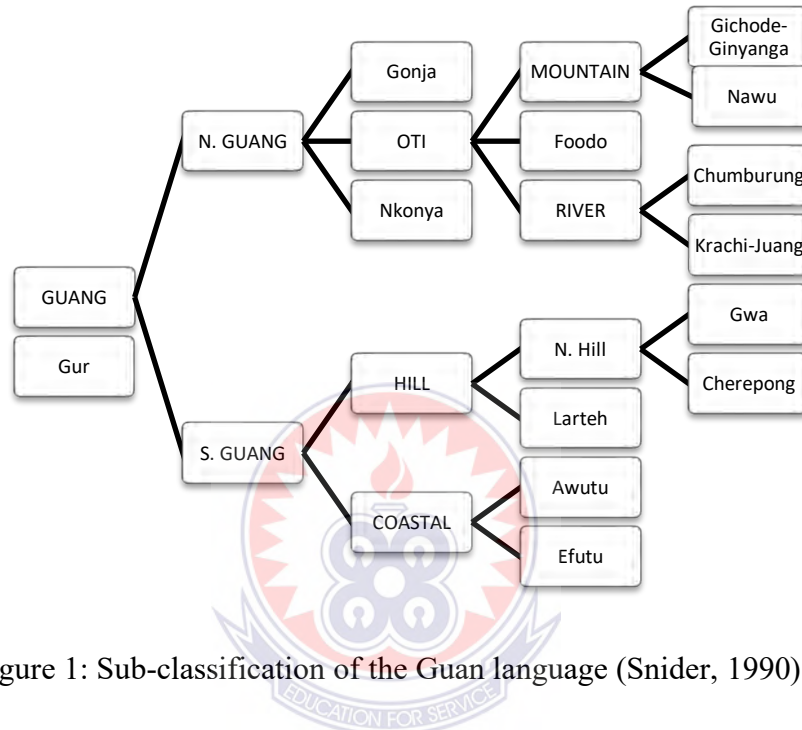
Figure 1: Sub-classification of the Guan language (Snider, 1990)

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

Pragmatic routines are generally the recurrent words or phrases employed for particular social purposes, including thanking, apologizing, requesting, greeting, complimenting and offering (Davis, 2007). In our daily lives, we greet, thank, apologize, request, or invite people. In doing this, there are conventionalized pre-patterned expressions whose occurrence is highly context-dependent. The expressions used in the pragmatic routines are realized in specific social contexts which are shared by members of a particular speech community. These expressions also reveal some politeness strategies employed in the language community as well as some socio-cultural practices of the speakers of the language. This chapter reviews relevant literature on routine expressions, some concepts and major theoretical issues informing the study. The chapter also discusses some definitions of routine expressions, types of routines in languages, and sociolinguistic issues regarding routines. The concepts of face and politeness are also discussed, and this is followed with a discussion of the theoretical framework. In addition, some routine expressions in languages are examined. The chapter ends with a discussion of some related studies on routine and routine expressions.

2.1   Routines

Routines are automatic sets of consecutive actions which are a common part of everyday existence and exemplify the adaptive function of learning (Avni-Babad, 2011). Pragmatic routines are the recurrent words or phrases employed for particular social purposes, including thanking, requesting, greetings, apologizing and offering (Davis, 2007). Bonvillain (1993, p. 103) states that "linguistic routines combine verbal material and social messages in patterns expressive of cultural values and sensitive to interactional context". Hymes (1968) considers linguistic routines as recurrent sequences of verbal behaviour, whether conventional

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or idiosyncratic. He further argues that linguistic routines are not formula-fixed recurrent expressions but also the full range of utterances which require conventional significance for an individual group or whole culture. Coulmas (1981) also sees linguistic routines as highly conventionalized pre-patterned expressions whose occurrence is tied to more or less standardized communication situations.

Ameka (1991) however assumes that linguistic expressions occur in predictable environments and in specific social situations or in particular types of interaction and are relatively conventionalized. He further adds that linguistic routines are also "creatively constructed expressions which are automatically produced in predictable environments" (p. 400). Consequently, linguistic routines are expressions which could be conventionalized or occur in a conventional situation. This study therefore considers the degree of formality of linguistic expressions as relative as they could be fixed or otherwise. The study also takes cognizance of the view that linguistic routines are almost automatically produced in the appropriate context and that they are determined by the formality of the settings, the nature of the relationships between the participants, social variables, and their communicative goals (Agyekum, 2010; Ameka, 1991).

2.1.1 Routine expressions

Routine expressions are specific standardized expressions which are used for socio-economic interactions. Such standardized expressions comprise greetings, invitations, expressing sympathy and get-well greetings and encouragement, among others. They therefore act as phatic expressions which serve social functions such as social pleasantries. These expressions are used with the concept of face in mind, and they are therefore part of speech acts as postulated by Austin (1962).

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2.2   Speech act theory

The concept of speech act was first introduced by Austin (1962) in his major work *How to do things with words*. Austin divides each speech act into three different smaller acts. These are locution (or the locutionary act), illocution (or the illocutionary act), and the perlocution (or the perlocutionary act). According to Leech (1983, p. 199), "an utterance's locution, illocution and perlocution are the three basic components with the help of which a speech act is formed". Cohen (1996, p. 384) also explains that a locution (or locutionary act) performs the act of saying, that is, the basic linguistic expression (the utterance). Thus, the locutionary act consists of the physical combination of words and sounds uttered for a purpose. For example, the utterance *close the door*! is a locutionary act.

The perlocution is the effect that the speaker wishes to exercise over the hearer. For example, the utterance *would you sit down*? is supposed to have a certain effect on the hearer; that is, it could result in someone sitting down. The illocution consists of the real actions that are performed by the utterances. That is, the communicative function or force of the utterance. Thus, illocutionary act is the core of the utterance (Dada, 2004). In order to find out which illocutionary act is performed, one has to take a look at the way the locution is used. This might be answering or asking a question, giving information and others (Austin, 1962).

Searle (1969) describes the illocutionary act as the production of the sentence taken under certain conditions and as the minimal unit of linguistic communication. While illocutionary acts relate more to the speaker, the perlocutionary acts are centred on the listener. Perlocutionary acts always have effect on a listener. This could affect the listener's thoughts, emotions or even their physical acts. For example, if someone uttered the sentence I'm *hungry*, the perlocutionary effect on the listener could be a persuasion to make a meal for the speaker. Greetings, for example, are produced under certain conditions with specific choice of words depending on the interlocutors involved. Therefore, the type of greetings and how, where and

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when it is performed will achieve the right illocutionary effect on the hearer. The manner in which an apology is rendered will make it to be accepted or rejected. In speech, the verbal expressions are complemented by non-verbal communication, especially facial expressions and gestures that help the addressee to better interpret the intention of the speaker. Greetings, apology and request, for example, are usually performed with combination of both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication. The non-verbal aspect may include a bow, or removal of sandals among others. An apology may be rendered with a squat and the holding of the leg of the offended.

From the view of Searle (1969, 1979), there are only five illocutionary points that speakers can achieve on propositions in an utterance, namely, the assertive, commissive, directive, declarative, and expressive illocutionary points. Speakers achieve the assertive point when they represent how things are in the world, the commissive point when they commit themselves to doing something, the directive point when they make an attempt to get hearers to do something, the declaratory point when they do things in the world at the moment of the utterance solely by virtue of saying that they do, and the expressive point when they express their attitudes about objects and facts of the world. As a type of speech acts, routines can be described as belonging to more than one category, depending on the speech community. However, results of studies on individual routines in languages suggest that they lean more towards expressives. As speech acts, routine expressions are made up of locutionary, perlocutionary and illocutionary acts.

2.2.1 Expressive speech acts

Expressive speech acts are those that represent the interpretations of the psychological or inner state of the speaker, either to himself or to the addressee. This state is usually specified in the sincerity about a prior action or state of affairs expressed in the proposition. They denote the speaker's experience by the use of statements of pleasure, pain, likes and dislikes, joy,

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sorrow, love or hatred (Mey, 1993, p. 165; Yule, 1996, p. 53). In this category, speakers do not intend to match the words to the world or, neither do they try to exert any influence on future events or course of action. The only requirement here is that the truth of the proposition is taken for granted. Routine expressions are an embodiment of such expressives. Expressive verbs include apologise, thank, console congratulate, complain, lament, protest, deplore, compliment, praise, welcome and greet (Duranti, 1997; Holmes, 1995).

Expressives are subjective and depend on the speaker and the participants. According to Mey (1993), expressives are subject to limitations and changes according to different conceptualisations of social guilt behaviour. An expressive speech act must presuppose an embedded true proposition to indicate that the speaker is expressing an inner feeling towards something which she/he deems to be true in the world and which she/he is sincerely giving his/her state of mind. Hence, the impact of the expressive should move from the individual to the societal level (Rosaldo, 1982).

2.2.2   Indirect speech acts

In the course of performing speech acts, we communicate with each other. The content of communication may be identical, or almost identical with the content intended to be communicated. However, the meaning of the linguistic means used may be different from the content intended to be communicated. One common way of performing speech act is to use an expression which indicates one speech act and indeed performs this act but also performs a further speech act which is indirect. One may, for instance, say, *Peter, can you close the window*?, thereby asking Peter whether he will be able to close the window, but also requesting that he does so. Since the request is performed indirectly, by means of (directly) performing a question, it counts as an indirect speech act. The hedging of blunt expressions and the use of idiomatic expressions by way of routine expressions are kinds of indirect speech acts.

An even more indirect way of making such a request would be to say, in Peter's presence in the room with the open window, *I'm cold*. The speaker of this request must rely upon Peter's understanding of several items of information that is not explicit: that the window is open and is the cause of them being cold, that being cold is an uncomfortable sensation and they wish it to be taken care of and that Peter cares to rectify this situation by closing the window. This depends much on the relationship between the requester and Peter. Indirect speech acts are commonly used to reject proposals and to make requests. For example, if a speaker asks, *Would you like to meet me for coffee*? and the other replies, *I have class*, the second speaker has used an indirect speech act to reject the proposal. This is indirect because the literal meaning of *I have class* does not entail any sort of rejection. Searle (1979) notes that in order to understand an indirect act, the hearer should bear in mind that the speaker communicates more than what he/she actually says through a reliance on their mutually shared background information, both linguistically and non-linguistically, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer.

2.3 Types of routines in languages

Communication in daily social intercourse in speech communities is largely manifested through the enactment of routines done both verbally and non-verbally. These routines include pleas, thanks, excuses, apologies, requests, greetings and sympathies among others. A few of these are discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.3.1 Greetings

Greeting is one of the most frequent linguistic interactional routine among the people of Ghana. Schottman (1995, p. 489) states that "greetings are the essential 'oil' of encounters of all types and a reassuring confirmation of human sociability and social order". Holmes (1992, p. 308) observes that "greeting formulas universally serve as an effective function of establishing non-threatening contact and rapport but their precise content is clearly culture

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specific". In Ghana, greetings are the general rituals of beginning an encounter. There are some socio-religious rules for initiating greetings in general: the younger should greet the older; the smaller group should greet the larger group; the walking person should greet the sitting person and so on.

According to Firth (1972, p. 30) greetings are "a system of signs that convey covert other than overt messages". Greetings are important daily routines which occur very frequently in social interactions. Therefore, appropriate greeting behaviour is crucial for the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships. Firth (1972) suggests that greetings should not be treated as spontaneous emotional reaction to the coming together of people. Laver (1981) also intimates that greetings as conversational routines are part of the linguistic repertoire. He explains that from the pragmatic point of view, greetings can be regarded as illocutionary acts. The people of Anum take every opportunity to greet as it performs a number of functions in maintaining cordiality and mending of relationships.

2.3.1.1 Greeting accompanied by terms of address

Greetings usually encompass proper forms of address associated with them. When the level of intimacy between the interactants is low, some social titles such as Doctor, Professor, Honourable, Nana, Reverend, to mention but a few, are added to show respect. Greetings which are associated with a proper term of address are considered more polite than those without.

2.3.1.2 Forms of greeting

Routine greetings are categorized mainly into three based on the time of the day. There are greetings in the morning, afternoon and evening. These greetings are coded in such a way that they have a correlation with the time of the day.

2.3.1.2.1 Greetings in the morning

The concept of time is sometimes heavily dependent on the rising of the sun. Apart from the time of the day which forms the main criterion for this form of greeting, it is also the

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case that the weather conditions of the area also inform what forms of greeting can be used. For instance, because it is generally cold in the morning and warm during the afternoon, greetings within these times may reflect these weather conditions. The greetings are generally not sensitive to gender. Both males and females use the same greeting patterns.

2.3.1.2.2 Greeting in the afternoon

Afternoons are generally very warm with high temperatures in the Anum communities. The greeting is therefore performed with the weather in mind and the manual activity that goes on at that time of day. In contemporary times, afternoon greetings are mostly initiated by the younger ones when they meet the elders in passing after school. Age and social status play important roles in this form of greeting.

2.3.1.2.3 Greeting in the evening

This form of greeting takes place when the sun is setting. During this time most people have closed from their various workplaces and farms and are returning home. The greeting therefore takes cognizance of the cool weather and also the tiredness associated with hard work. There might be differences in the response to greetings based on the time of the day and other social variables. For example, respondents may ask about the greeter's place of work after responding to the normal evening greetings.

2.3.2 Apology

Apology is universal in the general human need to express regret over offensive acts and they have always accompanied human communication. Apology is the social behaviour performed by the offender or apologizer to an offended person in order to repair damage or show politeness (Ahmed, 2017). Oishtain (1989, p. 21) defines an apology as "a speech act which is intended to provide support for the hearer who was actually or potentially malaffected by a violation". In an apology, the speaker is ready to degrade himself/herself to a degree that the apology is a face-saving act for the hearer and a face-threatening act for the speaker.

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Apologies fall within expressive speech acts (Searle, 1969). For an apology to have an impact on the hearer, the speaker should be sincere and have true and honest feelings of sadness. There are three reasons for an apology: regret, responsibility and remedy (Engel, 2001).

2.3.3 Request

Making a request is an important act in peoples' daily life. House and Kasper (1987, p. 252) define requests as directives by which 'S' (speaker) want 'H' (hearer) to do 'P' (\P is at a cost of H). Requests have been viewed as face-threatening speech acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Since requests have the potential to be intrusive and demanding, there is the need for the requester to minimize the imposition involved in the request. Requesting something is an act that is socially understood as a way through which people tend to express their feelings to support and help each other and thus be connected. However, the act of making a request may vary from culture to culture and that different cultures have different views of what is considered a polite request. In the case of making a request, the speaker infringes on the recipient's freedom from imposition. The recipient may feel that the request is an intrusion on his/her freedom of action or even a power play. The requester may hesitate to make requests for the fear of exposing a need or out of the fear of possibly making the recipient lose face (Blumkulka et al, 1989). In this sense, requests are face-threatening to both the requester and the recipient.

2.3.4 Thanking

Thanking is one of the speech acts and it is realized from culture to culture in different ways. Speech acts are very culture-specific and people from different cultures have different norms to express their gratitude, apology, compliments, and refusals. As Grant and Gino (2010) point out, gratitude is ubiquitous in our social life. In most societies, expressing gratitude properly has important social value, which attends to the positive face of the benefactor. However, the way the gratitude is expressed is mainly determined by socio-cultural values and

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conventions governing each society. According to Agyekum (2010, p. 2), thanking is a particular, culturally defined form of expression of gratitude. He further states that "thanks are rituals employed in communicative encounters as conversational closers to encounters or meetings". Thanking is also an institutional act performed in accordance with the societal, organisational, and institutional demands of the Akans (Agyekum, 2010). The indigenous education and acculturation emphasise the essence of gratitude and appreciation for services and gifts. Once a gift is accepted or services are rendered, the recipient must as a rule thank the donor or service provider, irrespective of its nature and the magnitude. Sarpong (1974) states that:

> The recipient of a gift may have to thank the giver more than twice for one and the same gift and may have to make the good gesture of the donor known in public. He may have to ask other people to accompany him to render thanks. This is a common feature in most cultural communities in Ghana. (p. 67)

Refusal to do this indicates that the beneficiary is not appreciative and well educated in the culture and is looked on with scorn. Gifts and services followed by thanks are signs of deep and affectionate relationship, especially when they are between peers.

Some situations and communicative events for thanking include:

- thanking after child birth

- thanking in joyful occasions: e.g. weeding

- thanking after arbitration

- thanking during and after funeral

- ironical thanking (indirect thanking)

- thanking at the shrine   (Agyekum, 2010)

Generally, some expressions of thanking in Akan include;

– meda wo ase, "I thank you"

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- w'aseda ni, "here are your thanks"

- mema wo amo, "I give you well done/I congratulate you."

- Waku me, "you have killed me"

- Mewu a didi, "when I die eat"

- Mema wo adware "I give you bath."

As part of the Akan cultural system, donors at funerals are thanked for attending the funeral and consoling the bereaved family, and presenting drinks, food items or cash donations. The women in the bereaved family are tasked to track the benefactors and donors to thank them by shaking their hands. Three months after delivery, the nursing mother, her child, friends and relatives wear white cloth and ornaments to church and offer some money to the church and render thanks to the Almighty God. When individuals are experiencing joyful moments, they thank God and all those who had contributed to their success or survival. Examples of joyful moments are achievements, marriage, survival from accidents, promotions, or bequeathing of properties. Some forms of thanking expressions are very ironical. For example, If one does something wrong against the other, the offender can use *thank you* or *well done*. In saying *thank you*, the offender means *thank you for putting me into such a state of affairs*. It could be some false allegations against the speaker or that the addressee has failed to fulfil a promise, has stolen the speaker's property or money, or has acted wrongly against him.

Thanking such as ironical thanking is an imposition (Mey, 1993). This is because while the utterance is thanking, the pragmatic implication is rather a curse and the adjacency pair of thanks and acceptance is absent. An individual, a family or a community, go to the shrine and thank the deity and the traditional priest when a deity does something tremendous for them. Usually, people thank deities for protecting them, helping them to prosper in life, healing them, or performing some miracles for them. The ability to say thank you in any form is a mark of communicative competence among the Akans and the Anums. It also depicts how polite one is

and creates a bond of social cohesion and solidarity among the benefactor and the beneficiary. Such ritual of thanking shows that the recipient recognises both the gift or services and the personality of the donor (Ackah, 1988; Sarpong, 1974).

Agyekum (2010) further discusses the ethnographic situations and communicative events of thanking, which is one of the linguistic routines among Akans. Agyekum focuses on six types of thanking expressions which include situations of childbirth, occasions that call for celebrations like wedding achievements etc., sorrowful situations like funerals, calamities etc. and appreciative events like thanking after birth and after arbitrations. Thanking in Akan is considered as rituals which are employed at the end of certain communicative encounters. Citing Sarpong (1974) and Ackah (1988), Agyekum indicates that Akans regard one who refuses to render thanks after benefiting from a favour as a very ungrateful being. This is because the expressions used for thanking in Akan have deeper pragmatic and socio-philosophical meanings. These observations are very similar in the Anum culture (e.g. Ofori, 2014).

The analysis for the present study covers aspects of thanking with regard to funeral activities, and ironical thanking, among others, as discussed by Agyekum. Thanking is an expressive speech act that states what the speaker feels (Agyekum, 2010). Thanking is a universal linguistic routine. However, the way they are employed and structured may differ from language to language. Thanking in Akan involves the verbal communication, plus a handshake or sometimes a kneeling down to show appreciation. This is similar to thanking in Anum in all aspects, where thanking usually involves verbal communication and sometimes a handshake.

2.4 Routine expressions in languages

Languages across the world use routine expressions. Every speech community expresses their routines in one way or the other. Apart from routines like greetings, thanking,

requesting, apology and so on there are several other forms of routine expressions.. For example in Akan and Anum the common expression used in daily greetings is *I give you…* (**Mɪma wʋ..** and **Mɪnɛ wʋ..** respectfully) followed by a word suitable for the time of day. In Ewe, it is only the time of the day that is mentioned (**ŋdi** "morning" **ŋdɔ a'**, afternoon, **fi.** "evening"). English also like Ewe uses the time of day as in Good *morning*, *Good afternoon, Good evening* etc. Generally, daily greetings cross -linguistically focus on the times of the day.

There are others such as interjections. For example, *Aizuchi* is a routine expression in Japanese. Miller (1983) notes that *Aizuchi* are the frequent interjections during a conversation that indicate the listener is paying attention or understands the speaker. She further explains that they are considered reassuring to the speaker, indicating that the listener is active and involved in the discussion. Aizuchi are frequently misinterpreted by non-native speakers as the listener showing agreement or fully comprehending what is being said. Similar interjections are also used in communicative situations in Akan and Anum to indicate approval, interest or doubt among others. These include expressions like **yoo, saa, agyawaadwo, agyeii ahaaa, kʋsʋ etc.**

2.5   Features of routine expressions

A speaker's communicative or pragmatic competence could be achieved **by** the use of routine expressions. This is so because these expressions have some unique features which every society religiously adheres to. One's avid knowledge and appropriate use of routine expressions in culturally accepted situations is therefore very vital. Among these features are the formality of the setting, the rapport between the interlocutors, the sociolinguistics of the communication and the purpose of the communication.

2.5.1   Formality for the setting

Formality in terms of linguistics is defined as a kind of social deixis that expresses the setting or social activity in which language use takes place (Crystal, 1980, p. 219). Labov

(1972, p. 113) explains "formality of situational context as what makes a speaker pay increased attention to his or her speech". Laver (1981) concludes that the selection of a linguistic routine is determined by the formality of the setting and the nature of the relationship between participants. There are two kinds of setting in every speech community, thus; formal and informal setting. Agyekum (2008) lists the following as the formal places in an Akan community.

- the palace

- the shrine

- the chapel/church

- formal public gathering e.g. funeral grounds, family gatherings, and arbitrations.

Social setting is the surroundings or environment in which social activities occur. A formal situation requires a display of seriousness, politeness and respect. Other informal settings like the market, the farm and playgrounds may require a less display of such courtesies.

2.5.2   The kind of rapport between the interlocutors

Rapport is a connection or relationship with someone else. It can be considered as a state of harmonious understanding with another individual or group. Building rapport is the process of developing that connection with someone else. Sometimes rapport happens naturally between interlocutors. Rapport enables greater communication to make the entire communication process easier and always more effective. It also makes the individual feel valued understood and feel that their views are respected. This is demonstrated in the response one receives in an interaction. For example, responses like **Yaa me deɛ. Yaa ɔdɔ. Yaa agona** among others, heighten the intimacy between the interlocutors and demonstrates how one's cultural background is known. The use of routine expressions without considering the rapport between the interlocution could lead to social friction. Therefore, the use of the appropriate verbal and non-verbal means in expressing routines like facial expressions, tone of voice and

eye contact, will ensure the maintenance of rapport. The level of rapport among the interlocutors goes a long way to determine how routines are used in Anum. Children for example, are not supposed to directly accuse the elderly of wrong doing; women and children are to bow before greeting the elders in the society and irrespective of one's status, one is to bow when greeting the chief.

2.5.3   Sociolinguistic aspects of routine expressions

Since there are several social and cultural underpinnings associated with routine expressions, sociolinguistic aspects of the phenomenon need to be considered. These sociolinguistic variables include gender, rank, age, power and distance (GRAPD) (Agyekum, 2008). These are discussed as follows:

2.5.3.1 Gender

The terms gender and sex have been used interchangeably over the years but their uses are becoming increasingly distinct. Gender tends to denote the social and cultural role of each sex within a given society (Newman, 2018). The World Health Organization (WHO) defines gender as the socially constructed characteristics of women and men, such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed. Giddens (1989) views gender as a kind of cultural social differences that exist between man and woman and is psychological in nature. He explains that gender is a social property: something acquired or constructed through our relationships with others through an individual's adherence to certain cultural norms and proscriptions. He says gender is not something we are born with and not something we have but something we do – something we perform.

Gender is a socially constructed role in society for males and females but not just biological sex (Mills, 2003). Sometimes, there are very clear differences between the form of language typically used by women and those typically used by men. For instance, Japanese

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men and women traditionally use different lexical items to express the same meaning. The following examples are from Smith (1997), as cited in Philips et al (2012).

Men's form	Women's form	Gloss
Hara	onaka	stomach
Tukemono	okookoo	Pickles
Mizu	ohiya	water
Bentoo	obentoo	box lunch
Kane	okane	money
Hasi	ohasi	chopsticks
Kuu	taberu	eat
Umai	oisii	delicious
kutabaru/sinu	nakanaru	die

All the traditionally female nouns have the polite or honorific prefix /o-/: this is one of the many ways in which Japanese female speech has been characterized as being more polite than male speech. These differences in language use with regard to gender reflect in the use of routine expressions, especially in greetings in Anum. Women for example have to virtually squat when greeting a chief whereas men are just expected to bow and pull down their cloth partially.

Linguistic behaviour of men and women across languages, cultures and circumstances have specific differences. Quite a few languages show lexical and morphological differences. In some Native American languages, grammatical forms of verbs are inflected differently according to the sex of the speaker. Examples from the Muskogean language Koasati are given below.

Women's form	Men's form	English gloss
Lakaw	lakaws	he is lifting it
Lakawwitak	Lakawwitaks	let me lift it
Mol	mols	he is peeling it
i:	i:ps	he is eating it
Tacilw	Tacilws	you are singing

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Trudgill explains that linguistic sex varieties arise because language is closely related to social attitudes. Men and women are socially different in that society lays down different social roles for them and expects different behaviour patterns from them. This phenomenon is very prevalent in the Anum community and consequently reflects in the use of language among the people. Traditionally, men are expected to talk about manual work and other developmental issues whereas women talk about food and children related issues.

2.5.3.2 Rank

Rank is defined as a position higher or lower in relation to others. Rank is closely related to social status and one's social status is the measurement of his/her social value (Sauder, Lynn & Podolny, 2012). Social position, together with social role, determines an individual's place in the social environment. The rank of an individual will determine the kind of social interaction one must have with the individual. Sometimes the social rank reflects more than the material conditions of people's lives and it usually deals with the person's prestige, social honour, or popularity in a society (Weber, 2015). The ranks of people are broadly shared among members of a society. For example, the rank of a chief in an Akan community is higher than that of a linguist and the linguist is higher than the sword bearer.

Rank or status hierarchies are present in all societies, be it formal or informal. Rank as a social variable is very important during social interactions (Agyekum, 2010). Agyekum argues that rank is devoid of age as far as routine expressions are concerned. He further explains that no matter the age of a chief, queen or traditional priest, he or she qualifies to be addressed accordingly during interaction. Therefore, for example, irrespective of the age of a chief, even the Member of Parliament or the District Chief Executive in the community has to bow and follow all the other cultural norms in greeting him.

In expressing routines like greetings, one must consider the rank of the person being greeted. Consequently, titles of people in authority are usually used to hedge greetings. For

instance, the people of Anum like to address people of high rank or people in authority with honorific as a sign of respect, especially chiefs, elders, traditional priests, pastors, queen mothers and people who belong to the royal family. Usually, it is people of low rank who give people of high rank accolades. During funerals, people of high rank are introduced and paraded. They are also given special places to sit during gatherings and as a sign of respect, people of low rank go and pay their respect in the form of greeting.

2.5.3.3 Age

Age is defined is an advanced period of life. Jerome (2004) explains the ages of man as the stages of human existence on earth. His explanation is according to Greek mythology and its subsequent Roman interpretation. Age is an important sociolinguistic variable that interlocutors must consider during interactions. Since routine expressions are performed in relation to the socio-cultural norms and networks of the society, interlocutors are expected to follow certain accepted societal and cultural formulas and conventions. Many speech communities hold their elders in high esteem and therefore, children are expected to interact with elders in a certain manner that show respect for the elders.

No matter the nature of the relationship between interlocutors, respect must be given to the elderly. For example, in some communities in the northern part of Ghana, children are required to bow, squat or kneel before greeting an elder. Similarly, age is highly respected and acknowledged in Anum communities. Children for example, are always expected to offer their seats to elders and also carry the load of an elder whenever the need arises. In Akan and Ewe societies, children are not expected to enquire about the health of an adult interlocutor or his loved ones in a greeting exchange (Dzameshie, 2008). According to Agyekum (2005), children need to use strategies that differentiate them from the elderly when both parties are engaged in any verbal interaction. For instance, in Anum, a child is not permitted to greet an elderly with one word as in **Anyi oo** – morning. As a result, the Anum child is trained from infancy, to use

the full form of greeting during an encounter with an adult as in **Me ma wo anyi** – I give you morning.

2.5.3.4 Power

According to Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson (2003), power is "a basic force in social relationships" (p. 265). It is also explained as the ability to do what one wants, regardless of the will of others. It is also defined as the possession of control, authority or influence over other It is the ability or right to control people or things. In every speech community, elders are more powerful than children. The German sociologist Max Weber developed a theory proposing that stratification is based on three factors that have become known as "the three Ps of stratification': property, prestige and power. He claims that social stratification is a result of the interaction of wealth, prestige status or stand and power. Power is usually related to rank. As such. people with high position, status or rank have more power than people with low position, status or rank.

Power is one of the factors that must be considered in expressing routines. One must not overlook a person's power during interaction because they have more bargaining power, especially in ranked communities that are based on ideas of lifestyles and cultural beliefs. People in authority possess power. For example, at a gathering of chiefs in Akan, the seats are arranged hierarchically in terms of political power and might. The more powerful chiefs are seated on a dais and smaller chiefs and public members go to greet the authorities. The subjects who are greeting bow down, lower their cloth and remove their sandals either fully or half way before being allowed to greet the king (Agyekum, 2008). This is done to show respect to authorities. The same courtesy is accorded the traditional priest at the shrine.

In greeting the authorities, one has to channel the greetings through the *Ɔkyeame*, the chief's spokesperson. The Akan custom demands this of any person who wants to talk to a chief. Forms of address are required during interaction with people in authority. The people of

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Anum have a similar culture; they do not talk directly to a chief or a traditional priest during public gatherings. One has to channel the conversation through the spokesperson, and anyone who fails to do so is regarded as disrespect and uncultured.

2.5.3.5 Distance

Distance is one of the sociolinguistic variables based on which speakers vary their strategies. Social distance can be understood as differing degrees of familiarity between interlocutors (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In other words, it refers to the differential relationships between interlocutors such as close and distant relationship. It can be considered a continuum with two ends, one of which is the closest such as parents and relatives while the other is just the opposite such as strangers. The closer it is between the interlocutors in their relationships, the more indirectly speakers will possibly express themselves. We tell others what we think or feel by first considering how well we know them or the social context in which we find ourselves.

Social distance can be influenced by the culture in which a person lives. It exists in all societies. Distance in communication is also influenced by age and gender. Individuals typically engage in social relationships with people who are close to them in age. Also, individuals may easily interact with people who are the same sex as they are. For example, the social norms women follow in greeting men are not strictly observed when greeting other women or men who are close acquaintances. Social distance as a sociolinguistic variable is highly considered in expressing routines among the people of Anum. For example; an Anum child can greet or thank a family member without titles or honorifics and other address terms but cannot do same with a stranger or a distance relative. In this sense, children tend to be more respectful to strangers because of the distance, hence the use of the address forms as a sign of respect.

2.5.4   The purpose of the communication

Purpose is the reason for which something is done or created. The purpose of a speaker has a great effect on his/her communication strategies. Some of the purposes communication serves are to inform, to express feelings, to influence and to meet social expectations. The purpose is reflected in a form of communication as people have strong expectations about how others should act in a wide range of social situations. To relate well with others, one must adhere to the rules and customs of social interaction in order to achieve his/her purpose of the communication. In expressing routines, one must take into consideration the purpose for which he/she is expressing that routine. For instance, expressions used to congratulate a mother after childbirth cannot be used at funerals in Akan. If a speaker tells someone who is bereaved that "wo tiri nkwa" – *your head life* (or congratulations), automatically the person will be regarded as a stranger in the community or a social misfit because the purpose is out of context. Also, if one mentions the name of a deadly disease without hedging, the person will be regarded as a deviant. Thus, because language is highly contextualized, one has to use appropriate expressions to achieve the purpose of communication.

2.5.5   Summary

This section has focused on some sociolinguistic variables which impinge on the use of routine expressions. The variables discussed are gender, rank, age, power and distance. These variables are to a large extent, have to be observed to indicate one's communicative as well as cultural competence. They are also observed to ensure that one does not sound offensive or appear disrespectful. The adherence to these variables has some cross-linguistic features and are virtually automatized in the Anum community.

2.6   Classification and types of routine expressions

Routine expressions may be classified mainly according to the pragmatic functions they perform in the community and among the interlocutors. Consequently, routines could be identified based upon the time and event that occasion them. There are times of day greetings as against childbirth and funeral greetings. The classification could also be done based on routine expressions used to congratulate for example in times of manual work, the successful organization of funerals or coming back home after a journey. Greetings and thanking could be classified under routine expressions used to ensure social cohesion and harmony. Certain expressions in times of bereavement ill-health and other calamities could be classified under sympathy and empathy in the highly communal society. The hedging of blunt expressions as a politeness strategy is seen as a form of respect and social harmony.

2.7   Politeness and the concept of face

Crystal (1997, p. 297) believes that politeness in sociolinguistics and pragmatics, is a term that signifies linguistic features associated with norms of social behaviour. This is seen in relation to notions like courtesy, rapport, deference and distance. Such features involve the usage of specific discourse markers, suitable tone of voice, and tolerable forms of address. Watt (2003, p. 85) states that the first theory of linguistic politeness made by Brown and Levinson appeared in 1987 and it is referred to as the "face-saving" theory of politeness. Brown and Levinson's model of politeness seems to be an endeavour to formulate a theory that reflects an individual's way of producing linguistic politeness, i.e. a production model. In their model, they focused on the speaker rather than the hearer.

Yule (1996, p. 60) believes that politeness can be treated as a fixed concept, as an idea of "polite social behaviour" or etiquette, within a culture. To be polite in social interaction within a particular culture, some general principles can be determined such as being tactful, generous, modest, and sympathetic toward others. Politeness, within an interaction, is defined

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as the means employed to show awareness of another person's face (Yule, 1996). Gleason and Ratner (1998) observe that being polite is acting so as to take care of the feelings of others and involve both those actions associated with the positive face and the negative face. Lakoff (1990, p. 30) also defines politeness as "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange". Yule (2010) further argues that politeness is defined as "showing the awareness and consideration of another person's face". Politeness has been defined by different linguists, yet their definitions show that all of them agree that "face" is the most relevant concept in the study of politeness.

2.7.1 The concept of face

Brown and Levinson use the concept of face to explain politeness. To them, politeness is universal, resulting from people's face needs. Routine expressions are closely tied to the concept of face. Routines such as greetings, apology and thanking are actually performed to promote positive face. Face manifests itself in two broad types; positive and negative face. Positive face is the desire to be liked, appreciated, or approved while negative face is the desire not to be imposed, intruded or otherwise put upon. The concept of face is originally borrowed from Goffman (1967). Goffman claims that everyone is concerned to some extent, with how others perceive them.

Public self-image is what we project when we interact socially. To lose face is to publicly suffer a diminished self-image and so maintaining it is accomplished by taking a line while interacting socially. A line is what the person says and does during that interaction, showing how they understand the situation at hand and the person's evaluation of the interactants. Positive politeness addresses positive face concerns, often by showing prosocial concern for the other face. Negative politeness addresses negative face concerns, often by acknowledging that the other's face is threatened. In the expression of routines in Anum, face

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is highly considered. Wrongdoers are reprimanded and made to apologise. The words used to reprimand seriously promote negative face while the apology is a positive face for the one who has been wronged.

2.7.2 Face threatening act and politeness

Brown and Levinson claim that many communicative acts entail imposition on the face of either one or both of the participants. They argue further that many communicative acts are inherently face threatening acts. Politeness is defined as a redressive action taken to counter-balance the disruptive effect of face-threatening activities. Acts that appear to impede the addressee's independence of movement and freedom of action threaten their negative face, whereas acts that appear as disapproving of their want threaten their positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Examples of acts that threaten the addressee's negative face include orders, requests, advice, warnings, threats, and offers. On the other hand, acts that threaten the addressee's positive face include expressions of disapproval or disagreement, criticism and the mentioning of taboo topics. In some circumstances, certain routine expressions are used to attack the face of the addressee, especially in the event of some omissions or deviant behaviour.

2.7.3 The concept of face in routines

Face can be said to be the dignity, reputation, honour and prestige of an individual person in relation to the person's value from the point of view of others in society. Face is a combination of the individual's sense of belonging as an important and accepted member in the society, and his/her social opportunities such as credibility and community support. Face constitutes a very important aspect of the Anum community. There is a constant effort on an individual's part to maintain face in daily interactions with other members of the society, and routine expressions are no exception. As already indicated, the term *face* is historically linked to Goffman (1967), who seems to have derived it from Chinese usage (Ho, 1976; Hu, 1944). Goffman (1967) defines face as the "positive social value a person effectively claims for

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himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 5). Known for his observational research, Goffman claims that there are three features of a person's face: a person desires to be seen as consistent, as having wroth and as worthy of respect. He claims that there are two basic rules of social interaction; be considerate and be respectful, both of which exist for the maintenance of face. Following this view, all the different facets of Anum routine expressions exhibit similar qualities. Greetings for example, are almost always prefixed with the appropriate address terms to indicate respect for the addressee. A child or a woman greeting an elderly person has to prefix the greeting with **Anumde** 'elder' and the elder also reciprocates by prefixing his response with an appropriate endearment term to indicate that he knows the family background of the child or woman.

2.7.4 Summary

The section has looked at the twin concept of face and politeness. This is so because the two concepts are linked such that one could be used to explain the other. Face could be positive or negative and acts like disapproval, criticism and taboo topics, among others, promote negative face. Face is highly considered in the performance of routine expressions among the Anums. This could be evidenced by the courtesies that are associated with even greetings in the community.

2.8 Theoretical Framework: Language Socialization Theory

The major theory underpinning this study is the language socialization theory as discussed by Schiefflin and Ochs (1986). In this theory, language is considered as a dynamic social practice that is constantly *contested* and *fluxed* among its users (Duff & Talmy, 2011). The language socialization theory therefore provides a "theoretical and methodological framework for understanding how linguistic and cultural competences are developed through everyday interactions within communities of practice" (Schiefflin & Ochs,1986, p. 3). The theory is therefore based on the traditions of human development and linguistic anthropology,

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associated with "socialization through the use of language" (Schiefflin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163 as cited by Lee and Bucholtz, 2015). The theory envisages a cross-cultural perspective to making visible the intersections between language and culture in the process of learning and teaching. The theory thus, importantly, recognizes the considerable variations due to cultural factors and socio-historical conditions. The theory further sheds light on the close interconnection between the structures of language. This is also connected to the social world by demonstrating how such structures are reflective of and emergent from natural, social, and ideological forms of knowledge that are learned in and through language.

Without doubt, the tenets of the language socialization theory are very critical to a study on routine expressions considering the emphasis on language use, culture, socialization, and socio-historical issues among others. Routine expressions in Anum embody a lot of the social, cultural, and historical life of the people. Language socialization presupposes that community members desire and expect children and other novices to display appropriate forms of sociality and competence. Language becomes instrumental in effectuating these ends through symbolic and performative capacities that mediate human experience. Thus, this end, language socialization is rarely explicit, relying instead on novices' ability to infer meanings through routine indexical associations between verbal forms and socio-cultural practices, relationships, institutions, emotions, and thought worlds (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986).

Socialization is sometimes cast as the passive transmission of knowledge from experts to novices. Language socialization, instead, is viewed as an outcome of communicative entanglement of novices with sources of knowledge, human or otherwise. Communities that routinely align infants as partners in dyadic conversations predominantly use simplified speech in their presence. Routine expressions are thus used as part of the development of language in children and by so doing transmit the culture of the society to the children. Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) observe that language socialization encompasses socialization through language and

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socialization into language. The term draws from Sapir's classic 1933 article on "language" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, in which he states, "language is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists" (p. 6).

Language socialization as a framework uses both the context of interaction and the culturally sanctioned roles of the participants as major determinants of language forms and strategies used in given situations. Language socialization theory has traditionally focused on how young children are socialized into the norms and patterns of their culture by and through language. Language socialization (LS) research concerns itself with two identified components of the socialization process: socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). It examines the grammatical properties evidenced in language development and the use of language in situated and culturally appropriate contexts. This approach to the study of language and context, or rather of language in context, was made explicit with the constitution of two closely related fields of study, sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking. The first language socialization studies were conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s and sought to connect the analysis of the properties of language development to the study of child learning. The increasing acceptability of the notion that language and learning were local and situated processes motivated a number of ethnographic studies aimed at documenting child language acquisition and development across social and cultural groups.

2.8.1 Ethnography of communication production of routine expressions

The ethnography of speaking is concerned with the ethnographic documentation and analysis of language use in social life (Bauman & Sherzer, 1975; Gumperz, 1968; Hymes, 1962, 1972). Ethnography is the systematic, qualitative study of culture, including the cultural bases of linguistic skills and communicative context (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1995). Ethnography of communication is the study of communication within the background of social and cultural

practices and beliefs (Hymes, 1962). Hymes (1964) describes the term *ethnography of communication* as the different features of an approach that is taken towards understanding a language from an anthropological perspective. The term was originally termed as *ethnography of speaking*, however, Hymes broadened it in 1964 to include the non-vocal and non-verbal aspects of communication.

Ethnography of communication has two main purposes, according to Hymes. The first one is to investigate directly the use of language in context of situations so as to discern patterns proper to speech activity. The second one is to take as framework a community, exploring its unrestrained habits as a whole. He further proposes a model of ethnography of communication. According to him, language cannot be studied in isolation. It has to be studied in the wider context of cultural and social aspects. Language is not limited to a mere technical set of grammatical rules. In fact, it has a specific context, both in terms of the individual and the cultural norms and beliefs. Hymes divides speech into two components, thus; *means of speech* and *speech economy*. Means of speech means the features that enter into styles, as well as the styles themselves, and speech economy refers to the relationship within a speech community where the people use their means of speech.

Hymes also developed the SPEAKING model which analyses speech in its cultural context. The SPEAKING model has eight categories. They are as follows:

S – setting and scene: the physical location where the speech takes place

P – participant: the people who take part in the speech

E – ends: the purpose and the outcome of the speech

A – act sequence: the speech act and the sequence in which they are carried out

K – key: the tone and the manner in which the speech is carried out

I – instrumentalities: the medium of communication that is used

N – norms of interaction: the rules of speech, interaction and interpretation

G – genres: the type of speech and its cultural contexts

All these inform the use of routine expressions in Anum. The people's rich cultural past of respect for age power and rank among others are vividly revealed in their routine expressions. Added to these are their appreciation of hard work and communal fraternity.

The greatest contribution of the findings of Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) to the study of child development and to learning theories in general, is the notion that adults' expectations regarding child development are culturally organized and realized. Accordingly, social groups organize and determine how communicative roles are taught and learned, and which knowledge is worth acquiring and which is not. Language is in this way the medium to acquire social roles and cultural knowledge. The ideas concerning routes to socialization proposed by Schieffelin and Ochs are built on earlier socialization process, in particular the relationship between language use, class background and schooling.

2.8.2 Scope of language socialization

Ochs and Schieffelin (1979) argue that language socialization arose out of an anthropological conviction that language is a fundamental medium in children's development of social and cultural knowledge and sensibilities. This domain is not captured by the field of language acquisition. They further explain that the scope of pragmatics tend to be limited to what Malinowski (1935) called the *context of situation* with an interest in verbal acts, activities, turns, sequences, stances, style, intentionality, agency and the flow of information. From this, the study of language socialization examines how children and other novices apprehend and enact "the context of situation: with an interest in verbal acts, activities, turns, sequences, stances, style, intentionality, agency and the flow of information" (p. 7). The study of language socialization examines how children and other novices apprehend and enact "the context of situation" (p. 8) in relation to the context of culture.

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Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) again posit that "language socialization is the process in which children are socialized both through language and to use language within a community". In the opinion of Ochs (2002) and Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), language human beings are socialized into using language and socialized through language so as to understand the historically and culturally grounded social beliefs, values, and expectations of the people and of the immediate local discourse. These are the socio-culturally recognized and organized practice associated with membership in a social group. This assertion clearly emphasizes the socializing effect of language, not just only in everyday discourse, but also focusing on the historical past of a people as well as their socio-cultural beliefs, values and expectations that ensure one's membership in a community. These are the exact functions of routine expressions in Anum.

Shi (2006) further argues that language socialization is not just an experience in early language development but a continuous experience throughout life. This continues even when one finds himself in new socio-cultural contexts, joins new communities like workplace, or school and also when we assume new roles in society or acquire a new language. Thus, one needs to acquire the routine expressions in both the immediate and external environment in order to feel belonged. Ochs (1996) affirms this by indicating that any expert-novice interaction involves language socialization. The realm of language socialization which initially focused on first language acquisition has now expanded into the study of bilingualism, multilingualism and second language acquisition (Shi, 2006). Also, studies in language socialization initially were based in small-scale societies which were relatively homogenous monolingual communities; the focus has recently been extended into linguistically and socio-culturally heterogeneous settings with contact between two or more languages and cultures. This goes to attest to the tenability of the theory.

Some recent studies that make use of the language socialization theory include that of Lee and Bucholtz (2005). Kim and Duff (2012) in a longitudinal multiple-case study of two female students, discuss *The Language Socialization and Identity Negotiations of Generation 1.5 Korean-Canadian University students*. Their analysis revealed that through the complex interplay of their past, present and future imagined experiences, the students were socialized into various beliefs and ideologies about language learning and use. Schecter and Bayley (2017) also conducted a study on *Language Socialization in Theory and Practice* in a long-term ethnographic investigation of home language practices in Mexican-background families in the United States. The study confirms that language socialization is a dynamic and interactive process. Children and even novices to the language could be helped to prates the routine expressions and by that get to learn the language and subtlety imbibe its culture. The discussion above underscores the point that the language socialization theory has been used in the study of foreign languages outside of Africa. The time is therefore opportune to use the theory to study a Ghanaian and for that matter an African language. This study therefore comes in to use the theory to discuss various types of routine expressions in Anum to contribute to the discussion.

2.8.3 The relationship between language socialization and the production of routine expressions

Language is basically concerned with how people, especially children, are socialized through the use of language. Almost all communities in Ghana use routine expressions. Children are also trained to use routine expressions in order to function effectively in the community. Language is therefore the tool that is used in the production of these routines. People express themselves during encounters with other people and routines play a major role as people interact with one another. The relationship between language socialization and the production of routine expressions is also seen in the second language classroom. According to

Poole (1992), second language learners are guided to interact through the use of routines and as they do that they socialize. Social roles are played daily in speech communities, as such, one cannot play these social roles without the use of language. Language and social meanings reflect social and cultural norms. Therefore, children become linguistically and culturally competent members of their community through interactions with caregivers and other more competent members of their community. Through language socialization, children learn the behaviour that are culturally appropriate in their community (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

2.8.4 Language socialization and the sense of belongingness

Sperry, Sperry and Miller (2015) define language socialization as the study of the socialization of language and socialization through language. It is a theoretical approach which also deals with a method for studying human development in cultural context. Humans become "socialized to act and interact culturally through the use of language" (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015, p. 319). Hall and Cook (2014) admits that belonging means acceptance as a member or part while a sense of belonging is a human need, just like the need for food and shelter. She further argues that feeling that you belong is most important in seeing value in life and in coping with intensely painful emotions. She said some people find belonging in a church, some with friends, some with family and some on social media. Some people too struggle to find a sense of belonging because they feel they do not belong anywhere and their loneliness is physically painful for them.

A sense of belonging to a greater community improves one's motivation, health and happiness. People build a sense of belongingness through socialization by the use of routine expression. As people interact with each other they socialize and as they do that, they express themselves and show love for one another. In the expression of culture and language, routine expressions are a fundamental aspect. This is so because members of a community use routine expressions to communicate among themselves. For example, greetings are used to initiate

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conversations so one may not be able to have a conversation with a person who does not greet him or her. If one lives in a community where members greet them, they feel respected and belonged.

2.8.5 Summary

This section has looked at the theoretical framework of Language Socialization. It has considered language as a socializing element which promotes linguistic and cultural practices in society even among children and novices. This language phenomenon is however achieved through routine expressions which are used to promote the sense of belongingness and social cohesion. Routine expressions are therefore not just the use of mere words and grammatical units, but the expression of the culture of a people.

2.9   The pragmatics of routine expressions in languages

One of the pragmatic functions of routine expressions is also to mark the boundaries of conversation. For example, greetings are used to initiate conversation and farewells are used to end conversation (Locher & Jucker, 2017). Additionally, routine expressions are used in language as a means of creating or promoting social relationships (Dzameshie, 2008). One may use 'apology' to maintain social ties thereby promoting social relationships and one may also express thanks to enhance communalism. Furthermore, most of the routine expressions are used to promote communal affinity (Agyekum, 2008). Social cohesion is very important in every speech community. Communities use routine expressions as a socializing tool so children are virtually guided and encouraged in practicing these routines right from their infancy.

Routine expressions can also be studied socio-linguistically. Hymes (1962) describes sociolinguistics as the study of verbal behaviour in terms of the social characteristics of speakers, their cultural background and the ecological properties of the environment in which they interact. The people of Anum have their own social characteristics and cultural background just like any other speech community. Routine expressions are used to express

these sociolinguistic aspects of the people. Linguistic interaction, as Bernstein (1964) points out, can be most fruitfully viewed as a process of decision-making in which speakers select from a range of possible expressions in accordance with the meaning they wish to convey. Every society has a finite number of relationships. They are abstracted from everyday behaviour somewhat the same way that linguistic forms are derived from language text. Some common examples are the father-son relationship, salesman-customer relationship, husband-wife relationship, or teacher-student relationship. All such types of interaction are carried on by individuals. An individual occupies a number of such statuses. He may be a father, an employer, a passenger on a public vehicle, or a member of a club.

As Goffman (1995) has shown, social acts always form part of the broader social setting – more or less closely defined behavioural routines which are regarded as separate in a society. Our usual round of activities is segmented into a number of such routines: we eat breakfast, travel to the office, participate in meetings, or go out on dates. Social occasions limit the participants and more importantly limit the kinds of social relationships that may be brought into play. They are in turn divisible into subroutines, encounters, or speech events (Goffman, 1964; Hymes, 1961). Routine expressions are therefore part of the norms the Anums use to identify themselves.

Gumperz (1968, p. 37) considers these expressions as *verbal repertoires* which are the "totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction". He adds that verbal repertoire has a structure since all kinds of spoken communication are *describable by a finite set of rules*. This shows that different forms of routine expressions in Anum have their specific structures, some of which defy the normal structures in the language. Gumperz affirms this by indicating that the structure of verbal repertoire differs from ordinary descriptive grammars to reflect the contextual and social differences in speech. However, grammaticality, it may not be compromised as it determines

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the intelligibility of sentences but social restraints determine acceptability. Routine expressions in Anum are therefore not the idiosyncratic preserve of individuals, as this may lead to misunderstanding. They are rather commonly agreed-on conventions of the people, paying attention to co-occurrence restrictions.

Gumperz in his study of the two communities of Khalapur and Hemnesberget concluded that verbal repertoire (routine expressions) is a sociolinguistic concept which bridges the gap between grammatical systems and human groups. He therefore challenges the anthropological view that language stands apart from social phenomena. He however establishes that the linguistic resources of human groups are "divisible into a series of analytically distinct speech varieties, showing various degrees of grammatical overlap and allocated to different social relationships" (p. 151). This provides a valuable index for the study of society and social structure. This study aligns with these observations since they are very obvious in the Anum community. The socio-cultural interactional view on pragmatics considers pragmatics as "a general cognitive, social and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour" (Verschueren, 1999, p. 7). According to Mey (2001, p. 214), human activity is not the privilege of the individual, rather, the individual is situated in a social context, which means that s/he is empowered, as well as limited by the conditions of his/her social life. He further argues that, this is quite a deterministic view that gives limited space for individual initiatives.

Mey's (2001) Pragmatic Act Theory (PAT) originates in the socio-cultural interactional view emphasizing the priority of socio-cultural and societal factors in meaning construction and comprehension. For Mey, it is the situation and extralinguistic factors such as gestures, intonation, rather than "wording" that defines pragmatic acts. He argued that "there are, strictly speaking, no such 'things' as speech acts per se, only acts of speech in a situation (Mey, 2012). Mey (2001) is therefore right emphasizing the importance of situation, environment and

extralinguistic factors in meaning construction and comprehension, because it is not "wording" that solely defines pragmatic acts. Mey further reiterates that "indirect speech acts derive their force, not from their lexico-semantic build-up, but instead, from the situation in which they are appropriately uttered" (2001, p. 194). Kecskes (2010) agrees with all the views expressed by Mey but however adds that 'wording of linguistic expressions is as important in shaping meaning'. He explains that words, expressions, speech acts encode the prior experience of the individual together with other linguistic elements in social situations.

Kecskes and Mey, in advocating a Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA) in the analysis of 'situation-bound utterances as pragmatic acts', argue that communication is driven by the interplay of 'cooperation' required by societal conditions and 'egocentrism' rooted in prior experience of the 'individual (Kecskes & Zhang, 2009). This phenomenon is evidenced in Anum routine expressions, especially, in daily greetings. Kecskes explains *situation-bound utterances* (SBUs) as "highly conventionalized, prefabricated pragmatic units whose occurrences are tied to standardized communicative situation" (Kecskes, 2000, p. 606). Anum routine expressions have exact similar features. Kecskes outlines some characteristics of SBUs which are of great relevance to this study. Among others, he indicates that SBUs are transparent, have psychological reality and are idiomatized. He agrees with Nattinger, Jeanette, and DeCarrico (1992, p. 128) that SBUs are "idioms with a pragmatic point" and that "the weaker an SBU is motivated, the stronger it is idiomatized". Kecskes identifies three types of SBUs which are **plain**, **loaded** and **charged** (e.g. Kecskes, 2003). Plain SBUs have situational meaning that differs slightly from their propositional meaning because their meaning can be computed from their compositional structure. Loaded SBUs are closest to semantic idioms since they are usually semantically opaque. Therefore, their pragmatic function is more important than their literal meaning. They are thus loaded with pragmatic functions.

Kecskes places charged SBUs between plain and loaded SBUs because they exhibit pragmatic ambiguity. These issues would be examined in Anum routine expressions. Kecskes further agrees with Capone and McGregor (2005) and Mey (2001) that certain non-defeasible aspects of meaning derived from the interaction between the context, the type of discourse and the type of utterance in question SBUs are therefore a socio-cultural concept that may have several possible realizations. This study also shares this view. Kecskes finally affirms that SBUs are not only linguistic but also socio-cultural units that become conventionalized because of their frequent occurrence in the same or similar situational context. This observation would be proved to be very true of routine expressions in Anum. Lee and Bucholtz (2015) in an article 'language, socialization across learning space' raise some pertinent issues about the use of specific language in specific contexts. They indicate that the use of language in specific physical, temporal, cultural and ideological space is a necessity for the successful functioning in a community. By extension, specific routine expressions in Anum are used by the people to ensure successful functioning in the community.

Some very relevant observations made by Lee and Bucholtz which are key to this study include the assertions that language is inseparable from culture, culture is dynamic and constantly changing, power and inequality are central to language socialization processes, individual agency of all participants is central to language socialization processes and identities are produced through language socialization processes. These issues will greatly influence the analysis of routine expressions in this study. Additionally, the varied methodologies used by Lee and Bucholtz to examine the development of linguistic and cultural competence and practices across settings are quite informative. These include participants–observation to interview and to audio and video recordings of interactions. These are done through field-based data collection and analysis of linguistic and embodied socializing interactions.

2.10   Related studies

Pragmatic routines have been investigated mainly in cross-sectional studies addressing knowledge of routines. For example, Roever (2005) examined pragmatic performance by a group of German students of English as a Second Language (ESL) in the US, in comparison with a control group of EFL learners in Germany. In this study, he addressed the effect of proficiency and exposure on learners' recognition of pragmatic routines, comprehension of implicature, and production of speech acts. Similarly, Kecskes (2000) analysed learners' ability to recognise and produce pragmatic routines which he labelled *situation-bound utterances*. Three tasks were presented to international students at a US university using a DCT, a dialogue–comprehension task, and a problem-solving task. Additionally, Kecskes examined how previous experience in the second language context influenced their use of routines, providing evidence that lengthier previous experience abroad did not imply higher production of routines. Taguchi (2011, 2013) also refers to conventionality as a determiner of acquisition of routines and provides further evidence of learners being more successful at recognising and producing routines. In a related study, he addressed issues relating to the comprehension of conventional and non-conventional implicature, including pragmatic routines. He used 64 Japanese students of English in an immersion setting in Japan. His findings supported the work of Kecskes (2000).

On production of routines, both Roever (2005) and Kecskes (2000) measured it in terms of appropriateness, planning time, and speech rate. Here, students produced functional routines more accurately than situational routines. Bardovi-Halig (2008) reported further evidence that it is easier for international students to recognise than to produce pragmatic routines. She provided explanations for the low production of pragmatic routines in her 2009 study as follows: lack of familiarity with expressions, overuse of familiar routines, subsequent underuse of more target-like expressions, level of development, and lack of socio-pragmatic knowledge.

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Additionally, Bardovi-Harlig and Bastos (2011) explored the effect of proficiency, intensity of interaction and length of stay. They found a positive influence of proficiency on production of routines. Measuring knowledge and performance of pragmatic routines while abroad, Barron (2003) and Taguchi, Li and Xiao (2013) addressed actual gains on pragmatic routines focusing on production. Barron (2003) also examined the acquisition of discourse structure, pragmatic routines and internal modification by 33 Irish students of L2 German in a 10-month study abroad programme in Germany. Regarding routines, it was confirmed that it was difficult for L2 learners to acquire full native-like pragmatic performance.

Much as these studies discuss routines in the context of second language usage; they create the opportunity for a study of routines in the context first language or native language usage. Smith (1987a) as cited in Kumagai (1994), points out that among others, forms of address and expressions of speech acts like apologies, requests, agreement, and disagreement are more important to effective cross-cultural communication than grammar texts or phonology. He argues that this so because forms of address and expressions of speech acts are very varied across cultures. He buttresses his claim with the contrast between Japan and America. This assertion goes a long way to affirm the relevance of the current study on routine expressions. Kumagai further indicates that for the Japanese, routine expressions are dictated by social rules rather than by individual choice. This observation is very similar to the use of routine expressions in Anum. For example, in Anum no individual creates his or her own routine expressions irrespective of the communicative situation. These routines are the preserve of the entire society and they are more or less, fixed expressions.

Daloiso (2009) conducted a study on the role of linguistic routines in early foreign language learning. In the paper, Daloiso explains that teachers stimulate pupils' implicit memory by exposing them to expressions which are associated with recurring actions and procedures. He argues that linguistic routines play an essential role in early foreign language

learning. He further lists some of the benefits of linguistic routines thus; preschool/kindergarten are based on routines. Some of these routines are welcoming pupils in the morning, helping them take off their jacket, having lunch, and walking them to the toilet. Some other routines in the primary schools are calling the register, taking a break and changing subject. He talks about how language is always connected to actions and procedures during routines which allow pupils to learn abstract notions through concrete experiences. Cultural routine expressions are similar to school routines since they both have moment of group socialization. School routines are made of rules of conduct that children need to accept and follow. For example, waiting for one's turn, learning that there is a time to be silent and a time to speak, allowing classmates' expression, or following the teacher's instructions. Routines therefore play a social role, since they train children to uphold mutual respect and adherence to community rules.

Routine expressions have not been relatively much studied in African languages and the Ghanaian situation is no exception. The few works on routine expressions in some Ghanaian languages are captured in chapters in PhD Thesis or other similar write-ups. These include that of Dakubu (1981) on Ga in the book, *One voice: the linguistic culture of an Accra lineage*. Ameka (1991) looks at interactional-specific formulae in Ewe in the fourteenth chapter of his PhD thesis. Dorvlo (2008) also discusses routine expressions in Logba in yet another PhD study on that language. Mention could also be made of Ofori (2014) who takes a brief look at routine expressions in Anum in a PhD study. These works are however very relevant to this study as they present the Ghanaian and for that matter, the African perspective to the discussion on routine expressions. This study however, makes a deeper introspection into routine expressions using Anum as the focus.

Furthermore, Ameka and Terkourafi (2019) propose a three-step approach to the study of pragmatics to make the discipline a more inclusive discipline respecting and reflecting patterns of language-in-use irrespective of where they are located geographically. This is an

approach which this study finds worthy of adopting. Ameka (1985) states that linguistic routines are certain fixed and sometimes frozen forms of verbal behaviour that have become associated with standardised communicative situations in a speech community. Hymes (1968, p. 126), as cited in Ameka (1985), characterizes a linguistic routine as "a recurrent sequence of verbal behaviour whether conventional or idiosyncratic". He further states that such forms are produced almost automatically as soon as the appropriate situation shows up. For example, in English *Thanks* and *Thank you* could be automatically said by a speaker to express gratitude to an addressee for something good, be it material or non-material that has been done. Routine expressions in Anum follow the same trend and embody a lot of social, situational and cultural underpinnings. Thus, to understand, interpret, and explain them, one needs to understand the socio-cultural system of the Anum speech community. For a learner of Anum to use routines felicitously, s/he must be aware of the appropriate situation which requires that convention.

Studies of routines in many languages place emphasis on their socio-cultural significance, identification of the expressions, as well as description of the expressions. The focus of Ameka (1985) was to explore the cultural basis of linguistic routines in a couple of African languages. Another point of his paper was to demonstrate that aspects of African thought and reality are encapsulated in routines in African languages. This in a way goes to support the idea that "language is the means by which men create their conception, understanding and values of objective reality" (Ameka, 1985, p. 1). Ameka thus points out that the era in which routine expressions were regarded as *trivial*, *empty* and *meaningless* forms of communication just for the purpose of phatic communion has now given way to a stronger recognition of the social, situational and cultural dimensions to these expressions. This gives much credence to the current study that will delve deeper into the cultural and social life of the Anums through their routine expressions.

Ameka further laments the failure of researchers on routine expressions to discuss the cultural meanings which are enshrined in these expressions. This concern would be given the due consideration in this study to unearth the wealth of information that routine expressions reveal about the Anum people. Ameka further contends that the religiosity, beliefs, superstitions, the communal life, respect for authority, among others, of the African are encapsulated in routine expressions .The people of Anum are no exception to this observation. Agyekum (2010) takes a look at *The sociolinguistics of thanking in Akan*. In the paper, he explains linguistic routines as a kind of "sequential organisation beyond the sentence either as activities of one person or the interaction of two or more" (p. 77). Among others, Agyekum considers linguistic routines to include gestures, paralinguistic features, topics, and rituals which are frequent in everyday communicative situations.

Among the Akans, the most prominent of these linguistic routines are greetings, apology, request, gratitude, thanking and the recounting of one's mission. The Anums as a result of their long contact and relationship with the Akans have virtually assimilated the Akan culture to a very great extent. The expression of these linguistic routines in Anum is therefore not very different from the Akan situation. This study will therefore attempt to identify some commonalities between the specific linguistic items used in these routines and their accompanying performance between the Akans and the Anums. Emphasis would however be placed on the uniqueness of the Anum perspective.

Agyekum further states that linguistic routines are occasioned by the formality for the setting, the kind of rapport between the interlocutors, the social variables and the purpose of the communication at a point in time. This will go a long way to affirm the socio-cultural dimensions of routine expressions in Anum. Agyekum argues that routine expressions are speech acts (cf. Yule, 1996, Mey, 1993) which combine verbal expressions with non-verbal communication like facial expressions, kneeling, handshake and other gestures. These are very

similar in the socio-cultural life of the Anum. Using the acronym 'GRAPD' – G – gender, R – rank, A – age, P – power and D – distance, Agyekum further indicates that linguistic routines involve face and politeness strategies. These would be exemplified in this study.

This study to a large extent will also partly adapt the methodology used by Agyekum which includes recordings at several social gatherings and places and occasions of high repute as well as interviews. The study also agrees with some findings made by Agyekum about Akan linguistic routines. These among others include the assertion that linguistic routines depict the Akan socio-cultural values, communicative competence, politeness strategies and also establishes a bond of social cohesion and solidarity. Agyekum (2010) discusses the language of thanking in Akan in the realm of expressive speech acts and linguistic routines. He explains linguistic routines as "the sequential organizations beyond the sentence either as activities of one person or the interaction of two or more" (Agyekum, 2006, p. 53). He further indicates that such linguistic routines include gestures, paralinguistic routines include gestures, paralinguistic features, topics and rituals in everyday interaction.

This study aligns itself with Agyekum's assertion that greetings, apology, request, gratitude and recounting of one's mission are outstanding daily routines among the Akans. This is because the same could be said about the Anums. Agyekum emphasizes the performative and speech acts associated with these routines which are done with a cognizance of the socio-cultural norms of the Akan society. Since the Akan society and culture are very similar to that of the Anum, the current study hopes to draw a lot of similarities between the two communities. This is so especially because routine expressions are ensured social cohesion and peaceful co-existence in all communities.

The cohesiveness of the Anum community is virtually dependent on these variables. For example, in the performance of greetings in Anum communities, women and children have to bow when greeting men of some age and/or rank in the society. However, in greeting a chief,

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especially when he is sitting in state, women and children have to squat, whereas men have to lower their cloth from the shoulder downwards to show reverence (e.g. Ofori, 2014). Failure to engage in such a performative act would attract sanctions. This is because in terms of gender, the Anum community is more male chauvinistic and with respect to age, the Anums have a very high regard for 'age'.

The word 'Anum' translates as 'elders' to honour the elders who brought them to their current location. The Anums regard their chiefs as more of super-human beings and therefore accord them special dispensation. Rank and distance are also respected by the Anums to encourage hard work and responsible life in the community. This study also benefits immensely from the methodology employed to gather data. This includes recordings at several social and family functions as well as places of worship, observations and interviews to unravel the socio-cultural significance of the linguistic routines. Additionally, the analytical style of grouping the different linguistic routines and the citing of examples from real communicative encounters will inform the current study. Ameka (1991) in a PhD thesis discusses linguistic routines in Ewe, a Ghanaian language spoken in the Volta region of Ghana. He considers routines as part of a speaker's linguistic and pragmatic competence which needs to be accounted for in a linguistic description. This is because routines are an essential aspect of the speech habits of a community and that every speaker has a repertoire of these expressions because they are easily accessible.

Citing Ferguson (1976), Ameka however indicates much as routines are used in every linguistic community, the *character* and *incidence* of routines vary greatly among communities. This goes to further affirm the relevance of the current study in discussing some unique features of routines in Anum to add to the universality, and culture-specific nature of routines. Ameka looks at some types of linguistic routines which are universal but produced from the socio-cultural perspectives of Ewe speakers. He looks at formulaic syntactic

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constructions which are conventionally used to codify specific speech acts. These have different illocutionary force that are not predictable from their surface forms. He describes them as *speech-act idiom* or pragmatic idioms comparable to *whimperative* and *queclarative* structures in English. He regards these expressions as language specific illocutionary devices that may not have the same equivalent translations among languages. such expressions may have a structure like:

Another linguistic routine type Ameka identifies is that of *interactional speech formulae*. He considers these as relatively fixed expressions conventionally associated with specific interactional situations like greeting, taking leave, thanking, apologizing and expressing wishes, among others. He also discusses discourse routines which are linguistic signs used to signal the structure, flow, content, and organization of discourse as well as the speaker's state of consciousness or attitude in the discourse content. He divides these discourse routines into *gambits* and *back-channel markers*. Gambits are the verbal signals used to structure the flow of discourse, for example, introducers such as "Tell you what", "generally" or forms like "anyway", "actually" used to signal the logical development of an argument. Back-channel markers on the other hand, sign the speaker's state of consciousness and provide cues to the addressee that she/he is following the interactions. They therefore have a communication control function. There are lexical ones like "well", "you know", "I mean", and "you see" and phonological ones like "oh", "ah", and "eh" which may also be considered as pause fillers or hesitation markers. All these types of linguistic routines are aptly discussed and illustrated using Anum examples in this study. Ameka further hints on the sociolinguistic aspects of routines. He points out that the usage of linguistic routines by speakers is heavily influenced by sociolinguistic variables like age, sex, relative social status, personal beliefs in religion, authority and politeness relations between interlocutors. The sociolinguistic

dimension of routine expressions is a core component of the current study, looking at the hierarchical structure and chauvinistic nature of the Anum society (cf. Wang, 2017).

2.11   Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed some relevant literature on the discussion of expressions used for regular communication in different societies. It looked at the relationship between routine expressions and the culture of people in relation to the language. The chapter also discussed the concept of politeness as proposed by Brown and Levinson's (1987) and its relationship with face as well as the production of routine expressions. The chapter further discussed the theoretical framework adopted in the study; Language Socialization Theory as proposed by Schiefflin and Ochs (1986). Some sociolinguistic issues discussed in the chapter include gender and age, distance, power, and rank, with some types of routines discussed including greetings, apology, request, and thanking. Some foreign- and Ghanaian-related studies on routine expressions have also been discussed. The common view expressed in most of these studies is the need for a socio-cultural perspective to the discussion on routine expressions. However, whereas the foreign studies look at routine expressions in the context of language acquisition and second language learning, the local studies situate the discussion on the socio-cultural as well as the historical past of the people.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0   Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology employed in the study. The chapter thus describes the research design and approach and justifies the choice. It further looks at the research site, the population and the sampling technique used for the study. The instruments used to collect data, the data collection procedure, data analysis plan and ethical considerations are also discussed in the chapter.

3.1   Research approach

De Vaus (2001, p. 6) points out that the research approach deals with the overall strategy that a researcher chooses to integrate the various components of a study into a coherent and logical form. This is done to ensure that the research problem is effectively addressed. The research approach therefore constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data for the study. Atindanbila (2013) in a similar vein looks at the research approach as a strategy which a researcher uses to solicit answers to the research questions posed in a study. There are three basic types of research design which are qualitative, quantitative and mixed method. Considering routine expression as a topic, this study adopts the qualitative approach for the discussion.

Qualitative research is mainly exploratory in nature. It is used to acquire "an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations" (DeFranzo, 2011, p. 36). The approach is also used to uncover trends in thoughts and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem under study. Thus, it helps to gain insight, explore the depth, richness and complexity inherent in a phenomenon. Since this study is descriptive in nature, the qualitative approach is very appropriate. Walden (2012, p. 51) explains that a descriptive study is "concerned with the relationship that prevails, beliefs, points of view held, on-going processes, effects that are being

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felt and trends that are developing". Walden's view is much at home with qualitative research. This study is meant to delve into the underlying opinions and motivations as well as the cultural underpinnings of routine expressions in Anum and hence the appropriateness of the descriptive method of the qualitative approach.

3.2   Research design

The research adopts the ethnographic design in the collection of data. Ethnography is the art and science used to describe a group or culture (Fetterman, 1998). Also, according to Angrosino (2007), ethnographers search for predictable patterns in human experiences by carefully observing and participating in the lives of those under study. An ethnographic study is therefore conducted on-site or in a naturalistic setting in which real people live. Since ethnography has its roots in anthropology, the researcher is immersed within the target participants' environment to understand the goals, cultures, challenges and themes that emerge. Ethnography was therefore employed to help the researcher gather empirical data on routine expressions from the native speakers of Anum.

3.3   Research site

Data for the study were gathered from Anum, a town in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Anum is found north of Akosombo on the eastern part of the Volta River. Close to about seventy percent of native speakers of the language (Gua) are found in Anum. Subsequently, data were collected from the few native Anum speaking towns like Nkwakubew, Asikuma, Tosen, Nanyɔ, Anum Asamankese, Anum Apapam, and Sankare. These are about the only towns in which Anum is the major language of communication. Much time was however spent in Anum, the indigenous home of the language.

3.4   Population

Kumekpor (2002) explains that the population of a study is the total number of all units of the phenomenon to be investigated that exists in the area of investigation. Walden (2012)

also refers to population as every individual who fits the criteria (broad and narrow) that the researcher has laid out for the research. The population of the study was all native speakers of Anum in the Anum speaking communities.

3.5   Sample and sampling technique

A sample for a research is the selected elements (people or objects) chosen for participation in the study. The people selected for the study are referred to as participants. Sampling is the process of selecting a group of people, events, behaviours or other elements with which to conduct a study. That is, a predetermined number of observations are taken from a larger population. As Kalton (1983) indicates, sampling is the process of choosing actual data sources from a larger set of possibilities. This study makes use of a combination of three sampling techniques. These are cluster sampling, simple random sampling, and purposive sampling. In all, a sample of sixty (60) native speakers of the language was used for the study.

3.5.1   Cluster sampling

Cluster sampling is the type of sampling in which the researcher divides the population into separate groups called clusters. A simple random sample of the clusters is then selected from the population. This technique is used when naturally homogenous yet internally heterogeneous groupings are evident in a statistical population. This technique was employed due to the spread of the Anum speaking communities in separate blocks and also the decision to form separate focus groups from the blocks. The researcher decided to put the Anum speaking communities into the following three clusters: The Anum township formed one group, the Anum speaking towns near Anum formed one group and Anum Asamankese and Anum Apapam formed the third group. One focus group was formed in each cluster. This gave the researcher the opportunity to ascertain similarities and potential differences in the collected data due to the different locations.

3.5.2   Simple random technique

This is the technique in which every item in the population has an even chance and likelihood of being selected. Thus, it is a kind of unbiased representation of a group which depends on chance or by probabilities. This technique was used to record data from social functions like funerals, recreational activities and other general communicative situations.

3.5.3   Purposive sampling technique

This is a non-probability technique in which the researcher relies on his or her own judgement when choosing participants for a study (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). This technique was used in the formation of the focus groups. Consideration was given to age, native speaker status and the length time one has remained in the Anum speaking community. Those selected to form the groups were those who were above the adolescence age and were mostly monolinguals. They were also those who have stayed in the Anum speaking communities for virtually all their lives. This to a large extent helped in the recording of less adulterated Anum variety in the face of global influences and the phenomenon of language contact.

3.6   Instruments and data collection

Konar (2011) indicates that data collection instruments are used to gather and measure information related to study variables in an established and systematic manner that helps in answering research questions, help in testing hypotheses and evaluating outcomes. Considering the ethnographic nature of the study, the three main instruments used to collect data were observation, focus group discussion, and recordings.

3.6.1   Observation

Observation is a data collection method which is used to gather knowledge of the researched phenomenon through observations of the phenomena as and when it occurs. It is also used to collect data about people, processes and cultures. Consequently, it is one of the typical methodological approaches of ethnography (Kramer, Adams & Allen, 2017; Berg,

2007; Mann & Stewart, 2000). The two major types of observation are the participant observation and the direct observation. With participant observation, the researcher is in the setting and acts as both an observer and a participant whilst in direct observation, the researcher observes without interacting with the objects or people under study. This study made use of the direct observation mainly with some instances of the participant observation are used by every speaker of a language, the study targeted every native speaker of Anum domiciled in the traditional Anum communities. Samples for the study will however be taken from an accessible population sampled from the target population. This is due mainly to the researcher's limited usage of the Anum language in communication. The direct observation was however done overtly with the awareness of the participants. This to a large extent helped in the collection of empirical and material data.

3.6.2   Focus group discussions (FGD)

Focus group discussion is used when participants who are have similar backgrounds and experiences are brought together to discuss specific topics of interest (Berg, 1989; Nyumba et al, 2018). Some of the participants were thus purposively selected based on age and language background and put into groups for discussions. Several topics on traditional occupations, customary rites, festivals, common daily routines among others, were discussed in the groups. Certain issues that emanated from the observations were also discussed in the groups. Three groups of five members each were formed to ensure the cross-checking of data. The likely and natural discussions were effectively moderated by the researcher. The researcher introduced the well-prepared topics and ensured an even participation through prompts. In the midst of the disagreements and agreements that characterized the sessions, great insight was brought to bear on the ideas of the participants on routine expressions.

3.6.3 Recordings

Spontaneous language recordings and conversations were mainly audio recording, with a few video recordings in some cases. All the focus group discussions were also audio and video recording for playback and analysis. The recordings involved discussions on traditional occupations, customary rites performance, festivals, short stories, speeches at social, religious and recreational functions and other routine interactions.

3.7 Data analysis

Data analysis is used to bring order, structure, and meaning to the data collected. The recorded data from the various interactive situations including the focus group discussions were transcribed and thematized for the analysis. The data collected for this study were analysed using the Language Socialization Theory (Schieffin & Ochs, 1986), Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962) and also with Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of linguistic politeness in view. The analysis was done in line with the three research questions for the study. The routines found in Anum were analysed focusing on their structure and types. These include greetings, thanking, apologizing, expressing sympathy, congratulating and using hedging as a form of immunity to be blunt. Next, the pragmatic meanings derived from the expression of those routines are analysed under themes to affirm the native speaker competences exhibited by the use of these expressions. Finally, the socio-cultural and historical underpinnings of these routine expressions are analysed. The recorded data from the various interactive situations include the focus group discussions were transcribed and thematized for the interpretation.

3.8 Ethical considerations

In view of the cultural, religious and social implications of the study, a lot of ethical issues were addressed. The issues involved in the research were thoroughly explained and discussed with the participants and their consent sought. They were assured of the confidentiality of their identities and responses. They were also assured of their freewill to

withdraw from the research when they felt so. Permission was also sought from some chiefs and religious leaders, including fetish priests, before data were collected from their outfits. Recordings at the markets, funerals, and other social and customary functions were done overtly with the utmost consent of the people involved.

3.7   Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodology used for the study. The qualitative research approach has been explained as the most suitable for the study. This was handled descriptively using the ethnographic design. The population for the study focused on the entire Anum speaking communities, but the cluster, simple random and purposive sampling techniques were used to select participants for the study. Observation, focus group discussions and recordings were the instruments used to gather data for the research. Hints on how the data would be analysed were given and issues on ethical considerations were also provided.
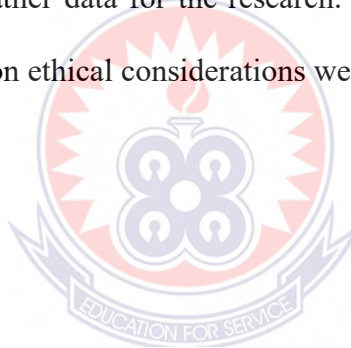
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the data collected on some routine expressions in Anum. The qualitative analysis is guided by the Language Socialization Theory (LST) (Schiefflin & Ochs, 1986) and the Speech Act theory (Austin, 1962) to answer the research questions. The recorded and observed routine expressions are grouped under types and themes after the focus group discussions and analysed according to the research questions. The types include forms of greetings, expressing gratitude (thanking), congratulating, occupational routines, expressing sympathy, apologizing, making request, welcoming and bidding farewell, seeking attention and issuing disclaimers among others. The discussion will also take into consideration the gestures and other paralinguistic features as well as the concept of face and politeness strategies associated with the expression of the routines. Additionally, the pragmatic implications of the routines as well as the socio-cultural and historical underpinnings will be assessed. Linguistic routines are very essential in human existence and communication. Ameka (1987, p. 299) considers them as the "embodiment of the sociocultural values of a speech community and that the knowledge and appropriate use of these routines form an essential part of a speaker's communicative competence". Houtson (2015) affirms this in part and indicates that these mundane regularities of life contribute to a large extent, one's overall sense of meaning.

4.1   Types of Routine Expressions in Anum

This section discusses different types of routine expressions as gathered from the data from the study. The routines discussed are selected from many others that prevail in the Anum communities because they are the most frequently used. Greetings have been given some extended attention because they are so pervasive and are often used to precede other routines.

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4.1.1   Greetings

Agyekum (2008, p. 995) considers greetings as part of the norms of interaction which are "conventionalized, predictable, commonly owned and shared communicative daily activities that use certain linguistic items and performances in routinized encounters". This assertion holds perfectly for the Anums whose culture and communicative practices are similar to the Akans as a result of language contact. Agyekum's observation which this analysis shares, challenges some views that greetings are verbal formulas with virtually no propositional content (Searle, 1969) or *zero referential value* (Youssouf et al, 1976). Sacks (1975) for example, indicates that people do not believe or mean what they say during greetings. The analysis of greetings in Anum will rather affirm the view of Duranti (1997) that not all greetings are devoid of propositional content and that greetings are an important part of the communicative competence necessary for being a member of any speech community. Foley (1997) points out that greetings are used to establish social contact among interlocutors, and Agyekum emphasizing the importance of greetings among the Akans, indicates that all communicative activities are suspended once someone enters to greet. Actually, greetings seem to serve as a pre-requisite for any form of interaction among the Anums.

4.1.1.1 Simple greetings

Agyekum (2008) affirms that Akan greetings are of two types – simple and complex. Anum also exhibits a similar phenomenon which will be exemplified in the course of this discussion. Observations in the Anum communities which are also affirmed by the focus group discussions reveal that Anum simple greetings may have a full form and a shortened form. Syntactically, the full forms make use of the ditransitive verb nɛ́ 'give'. Such greetings are preceded by the expression **Mínɛ́ wʋ** … 'I give you …' followed by a word or expression, which is nominal, appropriate to the time of the day or the occasion or event. The examples in (1) are some frequently used full-form greetings in Anum.

1. a) **Mínέ wó ányí**

   Mɪ   - nɛ   - wʊ   – anyɪ

   1SG   PRES-sive   2S   morning

   'I give you morning' (Good morning)

   b) **Mínέ έní yaayi**

   Mɪ   - nɛ   - ɛnɪ   - yaayi

   ISG   PRES-give   2PL   good work

   'I give you (pl) hard work' (Good afternoon)

   c) **Mínέ wó ámέ**

   Mɪ   - nɛ   - wʊ   - amɛ

   1SG   PRES-give   2SUBJ   rear

   'I give you rear (of day)' (Good evening)

   d) **Mínέ wó dùé óó**

   Mɪ   - nɛ   - wʊ   - due   - no

   1SG   PRES-give   2SG   sympathy   ENDT

   'I give you sympathy'

   e) **Mɪnɛ wʊ tiri nkwa**

   Mɪ   - nɛ   - wʊ   - tiri   - nkwa

   1SG   PRES-give   2SG   sympathy   ENDT

   'I give you head life' (Congratulations)

An analysis of the examples indicates that in the full form of greetings in Anum, both the regular and occasional types may strictly have two parts: the introductory part that serves as a salutation and the follow-up section that indicates the actual greetings (Agyekum, 2008; Dzameshie, 2002). The first part that serves as the salutation is a purely di-transitive construction with the verb **nɛ** 'give' followed by the appropriate indirect object. The second

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part which contains the main focus of the communication is made up of a noun or a noun phrase that serves as the direct object. Both the subject and indirect objects are expressed with a pronominal. The shortened forms of greetings in Anum are usually made up of single words which may be followed by an endearment term '**oo**'. The examples in (2) are illustrations of some shortened forms of greetings in Anum.

2. a) **Ańyí óó**

   Anyi – oo

   daybreak ENDT

   'Morning'

   b) Yààyí

   Yaayi – oo

   Afternoon ENDT

   'Afternoon'

   c) **Ámɛ́ óó**

   amɛ -   oo

   evening ENDT

   'Evening'

   d) **Edue oo**

   e   - due   - oo

   2PL   sympathy   ENDT

   'You(pl) have my sympathy'

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An assessment of the examples in (2) above shows a lot of elliptical forms of the greetings. As observed by Thorat (2009) for greetings in Sidama (an Ethiopian Highland language), these elliptical forms focus on the core of the greetings. The first part of the greetings which serves as the salutation is elided leaving the core message of the communication. Anum greetings therefore to a large extent tallies with the 'Universality of Greetings' idea as espoused by Duranti (1997). Duranti argues for a criterion for identifying greetings across languages. The criteria as listed by Duranti are:

1. Near-boundary occurrence

2. Establishment of a shared perceptual field

3. Adjacency pair format

4. Relative predictability of form and content

5. Implicit establishment of a spatio-temporal unit of interaction

6. Identification of the interlocutor as a distinct being worth recognizing (p. 68)

The examples in (1) and (2) above clearly share most of these universal features of greetings. With regard to the first feature, Anum greetings are mandatorily expected to occur at the beginning of every social encounter. Greetings are actually the very first words exchanged in interactions because they establish potential function of attention – getting device. Indeed, in the Anum culture, one is always reprimanded for not greeting before initiating a conversation or making a face-threatening act like request. As regards the criterion of the establishment of a shared perceptual field, Anum greetings are initiated mostly upon the recognition of each other's presence. The presence may be physical when the interlocutors involved have sighted each other. On the other hand, farmers, especially, may send greetings to a colleague farmer not physically sighted but based on merely becoming aware of some activity going on the colleague's farm.

With the criterion of adjacency pair format, Anum greetings are always a two-part sequence in which the initiator always requires a type of appropriate response from the other party. Indeed, the response should be suitable in terms of the age, rank, power or status of the addressee. It is in fact considered as a great disrespect and face threatening act for one to refuse to respond to a greeting. It could serve as enough grounds for one to be summoned before the elders. The relative predictability of form and content of Anum greetings is quite obvious. However, much as the greeting may be predictable in terms of form and content, the response to the greeting may not always be predicted in terms of content. Revelations from the focus group discussions indicated that some responses depend on the social distance between the interactants, but others consider the clan or totem of the one who greets, and in some cases the paralinguistic features that accompany the response. This gives meaning or the indication that the respondent knows much about the cultural identity of the other party in the exchange. These address terms may also serve as endearments and they are at times even added as hedges to the main greeting.

Sacks (1973) posits that the occurrence of greetings defines a unit of interaction, but greetings could also enter into the definition of larger units of analysis. The complex type of greetings in Anum satisfies this criterion of spatio-temporal unit of interaction. The complex greetings could be used to cover a lot of issues within a day or a period of time. For example, when some members of the focus group meet before the arrival of others, they engage in these extended greetings covering a lot of issues before the actual agenda for the meeting. The sixth criterion of using greetings to identify the interlocutor as a distinct being worth-recognizing is a hallmark of Anum greetings. In the socio-cultural life of the Anums, greetings are done based on the social distance between the interlocutors. Peers normally hedge greetings with the first or pet name of the addressee. It is totally unacceptable for a junior or subordinate to greet an adult or a superior without an appropriate address term. In fact, such behaviour will be met

with immediate reprimand as the Anums give much reference to age and authority. The word Anum itself means elders. These six criteria provide important socio-cultural and pragmatic dimensions to Anum greetings.

4.1.1.2 Complex greetings

Complex greetings (Agyekum, 2008) in Anum have a structure similar to that of Akan. In Anum, the complex greetings further delineate the communal nature of the society as they go beyond a mere simple greeting to enquire about the health and other social concerns of the interlocutors. The dialogue in (3) illustrates a complex greeting between two members of one of the focus groups who came before the other members of the group.

3.

FGA:	**Ányí óó, Kwame**	'Good morning, Kwame'
FGB:	**Mísɔ́ wɔ́ sɔ́, Kofi**	'I respond to you, Kofi'
	Wɔ́ àdìì sí?	'How was your sleep?'
FGA:	**Àdìì sí bààlí**	'Sleeping place is good'
	Wú ɛwí ɛ́sɛ́?	'How are your house people?'
FGB:	**ɛ́mɔ̀ yɔ̀ bààlí**	'They are well'
	Ámɛ́ kááná?	'How is back?'
FGA:	**Ǹgyí brɛ̀wɔ̀ɔ̀**	'It is fine'

In the dialogue, the greetings go beyond the simple time of day greeting to enquire about conditions in the previous night, the family and the prevailing conditions in the addressee's house. It is however pertinent to note that the complex greetings always begin with the simple form before it extends to cover other facets of life. The content and length of the complex greetings however usually depend on the time of day, setting, participants and the time available, among others. For example, a complex greeting in the afternoon or evening may not enquire about the previous night but rather occupational and domestic issues. Farmers for

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example may enquire about their farming activities as traders enquire about trends in the market. Greetings are therefore a major socialization agent through language.

4.1.1.3 Occupational greetings

Occupational greetings like other types of greetings appear to be fixed or frozen patterns of language among the Anums. Occupational greetings however do not depend on the time of day but they are rather expressed at any time of the day when manual work is being performed. One of the major traditional occupations of the Anums is farming. From the observation and focus group discussions, it became obvious that the people engage in food crops like maize, cocoyam, plantain, cassava and yam, among others. The major cash crop farmed by the people is cocoa. It was gathered from the discussions that the Anums are very hardworking people and therefore very much appreciate people who engage in manual work. The adjacency pair below exemplifies this occupational greeting and its response:

4. a) **Dahwe loo**

    da   - hwe   - loo

   There   build   ENDT

   'Congratulations'

   b) **Yoo**

   yoo

   'Accepted'

Manual work, apart from farming, is equally appreciated in the Anum community just as it is done for farming. Consequently, the cross-ethnic greeting of 'well done' **Ayekoo** is used to address one who is engaged in manual work. The same greeting is used even after the worker has finished the work. In such situations, the **Ayekoo** may be used to shower praises on the worker or as a thank you gesture from those who may directly benefit from the manual work.

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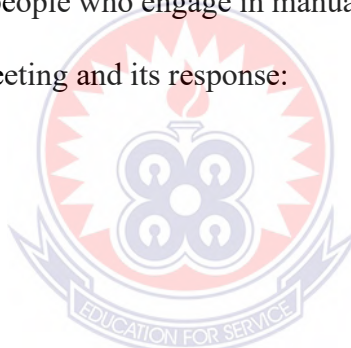
The same greeting could also be used to address a farmer. **Ayekoo** is not linked to time; it could be used at any time. The usual response to **Ayekoo** is **yaavei**.

4.1.1.4 Greetings during meals

The Anums have the conviction that eating should not be combined with lengthy talking. It is explained that this is to prevent one from being choked by the food and also concentrate on the eating to acquire the full benefits. The greeting used to address the one engaged in the activity of eating is similar to the one used in Akan (Agyekum, 2008). The expression is as exemplified in (5) below in the adjacency pair of the greeting and response.

5. a) **Kitɛ́ mú (óó)**

    Kitɛ - mu   - oo

    hold   in   ENDT

    'Hold it firmly'

RESPONSE:

  b) **Ǹdì mu óó**

    N   - dɪ   - m.   - oo

    1SG PRES-hold POSTP ENDT

    'I am holding it firmly'

  c) **Bègyí téì**

    Be   - gyi   - tei

    PRES-come   eat   Food

    'Come eat food'

4.1.1.5 Occasional Greetings

Aside the daily time-related and occupational greetings which are quite frequent in the Anum community, there are a number of other greetings that are specifically oriented towards certain social situations or occasions. This section discusses two of such 'circumstance-

oriented' greetings. The two are childbirth and bereavement, the two inevitable extremes of human life.

4.1.1.6 Childbirth

Traditional Anum communities historically considered the act of giving birth to a child as a battle for life. This perhaps may be due to the high mortality rate of pregnant women at the point of childbirth due to the lack of adequate and proper antenatal care. Therefore, a woman who comes out successfully from childbirth is considered as escaping death. The joy of the relatives of the woman and indeed the entire community is expressed in the greetings addressed to the lucky woman. This is very similar to what Dzameshi (2002, p. 199) indicates about speakers of a northern dialect of Ewe. Making reference to what Ameka (1991) observes, he claims that one who visits a woman who has brought forth greets the woman as "You have escaped it," and the woman responds as 'It is your prayers that have helped.'

In a similar vein, Agyekum (2008) points out that among the Twi speaking people of Akan, a woman who has given birth is greeted as "**afrimu**" which literally translates us "you have come out" or 'escaped'. Potentially, this implies that the woman has come out of or escaped death. This is followed by the expression "**Wo tiri nkwa'** – 'life to your head'. That is, once the woman has escaped death', the head has more life. The nursing mother then responds metonymically as '**Me tiri da ase'**. 'My head thanks you' Thus, the head is used as a metonymy for the entire body. Interestingly, my respondents indicated that Anum speakers have totally adopted a similar metonymic expression used by the speakers of Akan to greet a woman who has given birth. As with Ewe and Akan, this lucky greeting is preceded by the usual time-of-day greetings. The example in (6) below illustrates the greetings to a woman who has brought forth in the Anum community.

6. VISITOR:

   Mɪnɛ wo anyi oo

Mɪ   - nɛ   - wʊ   - anyɪ   ó:

1SG   PRES-sive   2SG   morning   ENDT

'I give you morning' (Good morning)

Mínɛ́ wò tírí ńkwá óó

Mɪ   - nɛ   - wʊ   - tiri   - nkwa   o:

1SG   PRES-give   2SG   head   life   ENDT

'I give you head life'

HOST:

Mi nɛ wʊ mwɛ (or Mwɛ)

Mɪ   - nɛ   - wʊ   mwɛ

1SG   PRES-give   2SG   thanks

'I give you thanks'

In most cases, the visitor especially close relatives, associate themselves with the lucky woman by expressing their deep affection by the use of the we – exclusive possessive pronoun. **(ɛnɪ)**. The lucky woman also responds in a similar manner. This is exemplified in (7) as follows:

7. VISITOR:

Ɛnɪ tiri nkwa oo

Ɛnɪ   - tiri   - nkwa   O:

1PL POSS   head   life   ENDT

'Our head life'

HOST: **Ɛnɪ tiri mwɛ**

Ɛnɪ   - tiri   mwɛ

1PL POSS   head   thanks

'Our head thanks'

4.1.1.7 Death (expressing sympathy)

In the Anum traditional community, the communal spirit of the people makes them demonstrate a high sense of solidarity. The demonstration of this solidarity becomes pronounce especially at the time of death or any other misfortune. In the event of death, the whole Anum community congregates to console the bereaved family and subsequently provides the needed assistance both in cash and kind. Even in some of the communities, the cash donation is virtually compulsory. This is affirmed by Ameka (1991) and Dzameshi (2002) for Ewe, Agyekum (2002) for Akan and Dorvlo (2008) for Logba. Therefore, in the event of death in the Anum community, the empathetic greetings used to address the bereaved family are exemplified in (8) – (10):

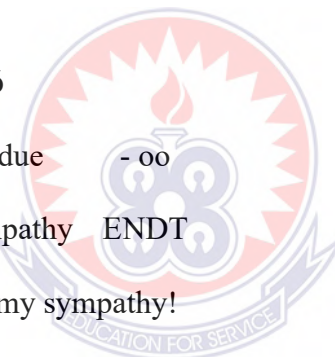8. SYMPATHIZER:

        Édùé óó

     E   - due   - oo

    2PL   sympathy   ENDT

    'You have my sympathy!

OR

9.   **Mínɛ́ ɛ́ní dùé oo**

      Mɪ   - nɛ   - ɛnɪ   - due   o:

     1SGSUBJ. PRES-sive 2PLOBJ sympathy ENDT

    'I give you sympathy'

The greeting could also be simply made as

10. **Due oo**

    due   - o

   sympathy   ENDT

'Have my/our sympathy!'

There is always a gathering of the bereaved family a day after the burial of the deceased. The people again go to sympathize with the family. The greeting from the sympathizers pragmatically changes from an expression of sympathy to that of congratulations. The bereaved family is congratulated for living up to expectation to give the dead a befitting burial. The expressions in (11) and (12) below exemplify the congratulatory message.

11. **Ɛ́yábʊ́ɛ̀ óó**

    Ɛ   - ya   - bʊɛ   o:

  2PL   PERF   do – work   ENDT

'You have done the work well'

OR

12. **Yààbʊ́ɛ̀ óó**

     Ya: - bʊɛ   o:

   PERF   do – work   ENDT

'Well done'

The usual response from the bereaved family is simply **Yoo** 'accepted'. Greetings however have a universal appeal across languages.

4.1.2 Thanking

Agyekum (2010, p. 80) indicates that thanking is a form of ritual employed in certain communicative encounters as "conversational closers." He further observes that thanking is a culturally defined form of expression of gratitude to which language communities attach great importance. The Anums express their gratitude whenever the communicative situation requires such a 'conventional closer'. Indeed, it is culturally abhorred for someone to refuse to render thanks when it is required. Such a behaviour is highly considered as ungratefulness and disrespectfulness as well as a face threatening act. Like the Akans, such a person is described

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as 'Ɔyɛ **bonniayɛ'**, which literally means 'he is one who lacks gratefulness' (Sarpong, 1974, p. 76; Agyekum, 2010). Yusefi, Gowhary, Azizifar and Esmaeili (2015, p. 211) analysing thanking strategies among Kurdish speakers of Ilam posit that "thanking is one of the most commonly used speech act and major instruments which strengthen the bonds between the members of a society."

Additionally, Farenkia (2019) discussing thanking in Cameroun French asserts that thanking is an expressive speech act and its illocutionary force is the expression of a psychological state about the speaker. He further indicates that thanking is a face-to-face interaction in which the speaker expresses his indebtedness to the addressee for a favour done, and that it can also function as a closing signal in conversations or transactions in some encounters. These assertions are very relevant among the Anums. Ethnographically, different situations call for the rendering of specific thanks in the Anum communities. The most common and usual way for one to express thanks, both formally or informally, is to use the expression in the examples below:

13. **Mɪnɛ wʊ mwɛ**

    Mí   – nɛ́   - wʊ́   – m̄wɛ́
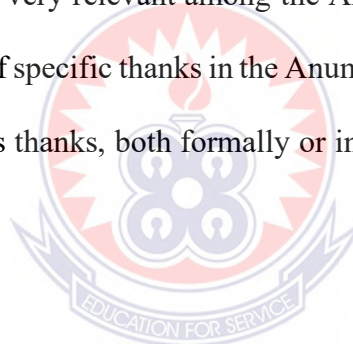
    1SG   PRES-give   2SG   life/health

    'I give you thanks'

OR

14. **M̄wɛ́ gyí wʊ́ li**

    Mwɛ   - gyi   - wʊ   - li

    thanks   COP-be   2SGOBJ   POSS

    'Thanks is yours.'

Syntactically, the focus of the communication, **mwɛ** 'thanks' is the direct object in (13) but it is topicalised in (14) for emphasis when it becomes the subject of the sentence. It is also to be noted in (13) that the ditransitive verb **nɛ** 'give' used in daily greetings is again used in expressing the thanks.

4.1.2.1 Thanking during funerals

As expressed in **Section 4.3.2,** death draws a lot of sympathy towards the bereaved family. The sympathizers therefore express thanks to the bereaved family for honouring the dead with a befitting burial and final funeral rites. As a response, the bereaved family also thank the sympathisers for their support and show of solidarity. Another show of appreciation in the traditional Anum communities occurs on the Monday after the funeral. (Funerals are organised from Saturday to Sunday). A large group of women from the bereaved family trek from house to house to thank the entire community for their support. The group of women shake hands with the sympathisers. At the same time, the adjacency pairs in (15) are expressed:

15.   WOMEN:

      Ɛ́yâbẃɛ̀ óó
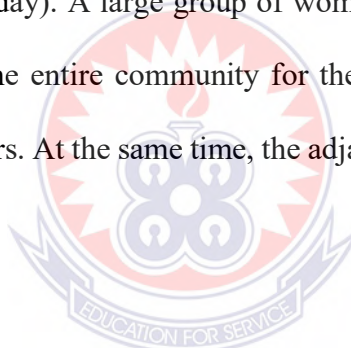
    Ɛ   - ya   - bʊɛ   óó

    2PL   PERF   Do-work   ENDT

    'You have done the work well.

SYMPATHISERS:

    16.   **Ɛ́ní gyì yâbʊ́ɛ́ óó**

   Ɛnɪ   - gyi   - ya   - bʊɛ   - oo

   2PL   all   PERF   work   ENDT

   'We have all done the work well.'

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4.1.2.2 Thanking after arbitration

Disputes in the traditional Anum communities were settled mainly through local arbitration especially in the palace of the chief (Agyekum, 2010). Even with the advent of the legal court system, some cases are still settled in the chief's palace. The two parties involved in a dispute are always required to pay a fee as a form of appreciation to appease the chief and elders who spent their time and knowledge in the settlement of the cases. Normally, it is the spokesperson of the chief who pronounces the fee to be paid. Depending upon the outcome of the settlement, each of the parties pay the appropriate fine as a form of thanks. In most cases, the fine paid by the party that loses the case is higher than the party that wins the dispute. In some cases, both parties pay equal amounts. This thank-you fee is always in the form of drinks and money.

It is considered disrespectful to accept the fine without requesting a form of discount (reduction). The parties involved therefore through a spokesperson appeal for a reduction of the thank-you fine which is always granted. Upon the payment of the agreed sum of money and drinks, the chief's spokesperson announces to the gathering the receipt of the items. The drinks are then served to the gathering but the money is shared later by the **ɔkyeame** according to the status of each member of the jury and other attendants. After the serving of the drinks, a spokesperson then presents a formal verbal thanking speech to the chief and the elders as a sign of appreciation. The excerpt in 171) below is a sample of such a speech to thank the chief and the elders who formed the jury.

17. *Ɔkyeame, bʊ dɛ a? Mɪ gyaɪ dɪ nle wʊ sʊ nɪ nɛ anumde mmwɛ nɪ yaabwɛ ɔlɪ akpɛ ɛnɪ alɪsʊ gyi ebei ɛnɪ ble hɛɛbɛ mʊ ɛsɛlɛ a sʊ.Mɪ nɛ mwʊɛ dɪ anyɛ ɔse nɪ adaagyɪ gyaɪ ɔlɔkanaa dɛ pɛpɛɛpɛ nɪ abɛmbwɛ mfɛnim nɪ mmom nokwani ɛda adɪ nɪ ɛbwɛ esimi. Sɛ adɪ ɛnkyɪ nɪ akrɛnɪ boa mo a mɪ nʊ mɪ ɛɛnɛ ɛnɪ kaana amo oo.*

Ɔkyeame, are you there? I want to through you thank the elders for a good work done by the way they have gone through the case brought before them. I give them thanks for the use of good ears and time, without partiality, in handling the case. You have demonstrated truth and objectivity in your work. If day breaks and the rooster crows, it is I giving you all, Well done.

4.1.3 Welcoming and bidding farewell

Searle (1969) makes the point that much as greetings (welcome) and farewells may often be ritualistic and are claimed to be devoid of propositional contact, they could be more complex. Ameka (1987, p. 323) had earlier observed that such routines reveal a number of things about the "psychological and social reality of the respective speech communities which are encapsulated in these routines".

4.1.3.1 Welcoming

In the Anum communities, the expression for welcoming people is used mainly to address people who have returned from a journey, the farm or other such workplaces. Culturally, however, at arbitrations, it is the usual practice for a party to seek permission to confer on an issue outside the 'courtroom'. It is described as going to seek the advice of the 'old lady'. On the return of the party to the 'courtroom', the same welcoming message is used to address the party. The normal cultural procedure is that, the one who returns from a journey first greets using the normal everyday greetings. This is followed by the welcome address and then the traveller enquires about what had transpired in his absence. The dialogue in example (18) below illustrates this:

18 (i) A: **Mínέ έnɪ ányí óó**

    Mɪ   - nɛ   - ɛnɪ   - anyɪ   - oo

   1SG   PRESS-give 2PLOBJ morning ENDT

   'I give you morning.'

18 (ii) B: **Yàà nùá**

    Yaa   - nua

  response   sibling

'We respond, sibling'.

18 (iii) B: **Òní èwú óó**

    O   - ni   - e.wu   - oo

    2SG PRES-know   home   ENDT

'You know home' (Welcome)

18 (iv)

  A: **Àmɛ́ kánáá?**

    a. mɛ   - kanaa

    back   all

'Back all' ('How is back')

18 (v)

  B: **Ngyi brɛwʊʊ**

    N   - gyi   brɛwʊ:

    3SG COP-be   soft

'It is soft' (It's fine)

4.1.3.2 Bidding farewell

Just as people are welcomed back from their journeys, they are bid farewell when they have to embark on a journey or part company after paying a visit. The expression used to express farewell is as illustrated in (19) below:

19.   **Ná lɪ óó**

    Na   - lɪ   - oo

    walk   pass through   ENDT

'Walk safely' (Safe journey)

Culturally, however, before the farewell message is expressed, the one who is leaving has to seek permission from the host for the use of the footpath. The host then gives an affirmation before the farewell message. The examples in 20 illustrate such interactions:

20 (i)

VISITOR: **Mìɛ̀kòrì àkpɛ́**

        Mɪ   . ɛ   - kʊri - a.kpɛ

        1SG   PROG   beg   path

        'I am begging for road'

21 (ii)

HOST: **Yòò, àkpɛ́ ká̀**

        Yoo   - a.kpɛ   - ka

        Okay   road   be - there

        'The road lies there' (You are permitted to use the road).

        Ná lɪ óó – "Walk safely'

4.1.4 Seeking audience

One's linguistic competence in a particular language is often demonstrated through one's observance of some common social and cultural norms of the speakers of the language. Many language communities in Ghana use the simple '**Agoo**' as an attention seeking expression (e.g. Dorvlo, 2008). This is not different in all the Anum communities. In the Anum communities, **Agoo** could serve as an announcement of seeking permission to enter a house or room or any other enclosed place for that matter. The word **Agoo** is also used at gatherings to seek the attention of the audience. It is often used at funeral celebrations, performance of marriage rites, child naming ceremonies, at the palace and all other gatherings. A speaker at any of such functions always uses **Agoo** to announce his readiness to speak and therefore seeks the attention of the audience. In the Anum communities, **Agoo** is always followed by a

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unanimous response **Am**ɛɛ which is pragmatically followed by a near absolute silence. In some other circumstances, **Agoo** may be used along footpaths or crowded places to announce one's presence and thus seek permission from those ahead of him to give way. In such situations, the **Am**ɛɛ response may not be made but pragmatically the addressee almost always stands aside to make way for the speaker.

4.1.5 Apologizing and disclaiming

This section looks at apology as one of the routinized traditional norms in the Anum communities. Apology may therefore be considered as a kind of transaction between interactants informed by social purpose with the aim of achieving a cordial linguistic atmosphere to avoid *linguistic combat* (e.g. Agyekum, 2006). Another focus of the section is the issuance of disclaimers which are also apologetic forms in the Anum communities.

4.1.5.1 Apologizing

Slocum, Allan and Allan (2011, p. 83) point out that apology could be conceptualized as 'a process that consists of one or more of three components.' They identify these three components as "affect, affirmation and action." There are two categories of each of the components which are a self-focus on the part of the wrongdoer and a self – other focus on the part of the wronged. The analysis of the Anum data will reveal these components and categories. Another important observation made by Slocum, Allan and Allan (2011) about apology is what may be considered as a good enough apology that may depend on the "severity of the consequences of the wrong, the level of responsibility attributed to the wrongdoer and the perceived wrongfulness of the behaviour" (p. 83).

This important observation is to a large extent affirmed by Schumann (2018, p. 74) that "a transgressor faces an important decision regarding whether, and how to apologize to the person who was harmed". The action of the transgressor however has far reaching implications for the relationship between the transgressor and the harmed. Schumann therefore proposes

three possible major barriers to delivering high-quality apologies: These are "(a) low concern for the victim or relationship (b) perceived threat to the transgressor's self-image and (c) perceived apology ineffectiveness." These issues inform the rendering of apologies in the Anum communities as gathered from the focus group discussions.

Holmes (1995) looks at apology as a polite speech act used to restore social relations following an offence. In a similar vein, Agyekum (2006) considers apology as a redressive speech mechanism that pays attention to the face needs of interlocutors during social interaction. Sekyi-Baidoo (2016) also observes that an apology controls potential aggression and avoids disruption of interaction. In addition, it maintains social equilibrium. Apology is therefore seen as a *rapport enhancement* and *rapport maintenance* mechanism. The following in (22) is a sample apologetic speech rendered by a wrongdoer after he has admitted his guilt at one of the 'palace court' sessions:

22.   *Anumde, mepa wʊ kyɛw, blɪ mɪ kpanaa ɔfɪ mɪ bɛ. Mɛ mbwɛ ɛdɛ. Mieehyie mɪ yʊ bʊ ɛlɛɛnɪ mbele ɔbɔ wʊ a, Mɛsɛgyi de mmɛbwɛ alo kpanaa hɛ.Mbele agyanum Ntim yɛɛ begye mɪ ɛsɛlɛ mbɛpa wo kyɛw. Blɪ mɪ ɔbwɛ tɪ sɛ wubi nɛ kyinaɪ faanfu.*

This literally means:

Elders, please forgive me of my wrongdoing. I did not do it well at all. I have regretted for whatever I have done to you. I have brought elder Ntim that he leads me to apologise to you. Take me to be like your son and I will comport myself.

The wrongdoer in (26) indicates how he has been affected by his actions by accepting his guilt. He affirms his guilt by accepting that he has acted wrongly: **Mieehyie mɪyʊ bʊ ɛlɛɛnɪ mbele** *I have regretted myself for whatever I have done*. He then takes action by appealing through elder Ntim to lead him to beg the elders: **Mbele agyanum Ntim yɛɛ agye mɪ ɛsɛlɛ**. The apology therefore to a large extent fits into the framework of Slocum, Allan and Allan (2011) of 'affect', 'affirmation' and 'action'.

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4.1.5.2 Disclaiming

Closely related to apologies is the use of disclaimers in certain communicative situations in the Anum communities. This is considered as one of the yardsticks to measure native competence in the use of the Anum language. Disclaimers are used to hedge face threatening or obscene expressions or actions in the Anum communities. They are therefore used as politeness strategies to protect the face of both the speaker and the addressee. They are used to absolve the speaker from disrespect and to also show concern for the face of the addressee. All the focus groups agreed that these are aspects of the Anum culture that have to a large extent survived the pressure of modernism. Two major examples of situations that call for the issuance of disclaimers are when one makes use of what is considered to be indecent (unspeakable) language, and when one uses the left hand to offer or receive something.

4.1.5.2.1 The use of the left hand

Whereas in Anglo-Saxon culture the left hand is used for almost anything (e.g. Ameka, 1987), the exact opposite is the case in Anum. In the Anum community, and indeed most Ghanaian and for that matter, African subcultures, the left hand is almost exclusively used to perform what may be considered as 'dirty' and 'filthy' actions like ablution or cleaning the buttocks after toileting among others. Because such acts are considered socio-culturally as 'dirty', the left hand is also regarded as 'unwholesome' by the people. Therefore, just as it is for the Ewe and Akan societies (Ameka, 1987), it is forbidden to use the left hand in social intercourse in the Anum community.

Indeed, it is considered a great insult for one to use in interactions including greetings. One will be highly reprimanded if one attempts to use the left hand to shake hands with others or even wave at others, especially elders. It is equally considered rude to even point to somebody or draw someone's attention to something using the left hand. As a further indication of the Anum's abhorrence to the use of the left hand, there is an Anum proverb which goes

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like, **Asɔkʋ bɛblɪ mɔba bɪnɪ ɔkɛ mɔsɪ akura kpɛ,** which literally translates as 'No one uses the left hand to give directions to the father's village.' Much as this norm is religiously held supreme, the inevitability of the use of the left hand in certain situations is also considered. The community therefore allows the use of the left hand in certain restricted circumstances. However, this permission should strictly be hedged with the appropriate apology which serves as a form of indemnity. This apologetic excuse and its response are illustrated in examples (23) and (24) below:

23.   **Mɪ́ɛnɛ́ wɔ̀ bìnɛ̀**.

Mɪ   .ɛ   - nɛ   - wʋ   - bɪnɛ

'I don't give you left'

24.   RESPONSE: **Bɛ́bɔ̀ hwèè**

Bɛ   - bɔ   - hwee

NEG   bundle   at all

'It is not a problem'
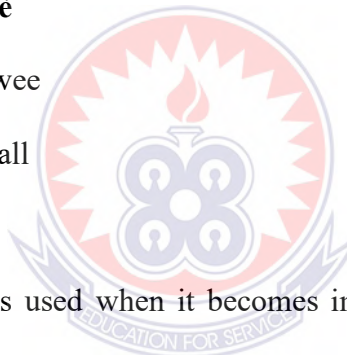
The expression in (23) is used when it becomes imperative for the speaker to give something using the left hand. It could be in a situation when the speaker's right hand is so much preoccupied, for example, in the event of the speaker eating with the right hand. Even in some of these circumstances, if the receiver of the item is an elder, or socio-culturally of some status or rank, the giver, apart from the apologetic expressions, supports the left hand with the part of the right hand that may be relatively free. On the other hand, when it becomes imperative for one to use the left hand to receive something from someone, a similar apologetic expression is used by the receiver. This is illustrated in (24):

24.   **Mɛ́sɔ̀ wɔ̀ bìnɛ̀**

M   .ɛ   - sɔ   - wʋ   - bɪnɛ

1SGSUBJ   NEG   PRES-receiver   2SGOBJ   left

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'I don't receive you with left'

The expression in (24) above permits the receiver to use the left hand to receive the item from the giver without any misgivings. Pragmatically, the use of **mɛ** 'I don't …' indicates the speaker's unintentionality of the action and therefore as a form of advice to the addressee not to be offended. It also suggests that both conversationalists agree to the suspension of the supposed 'insult' since both parties accept the offer without complaining. That is, the receiver has decided to sacrifice the principle of face, being fully aware of the prevailing circumstances.

4.1.5.2.2 The use of 'indecent' language

Some social and cognitive psychologists agree that there are certain verbal acts that attempt to explain wrongful behaviour so that it becomes acceptable. Consequently, in the Anum community, certain expressions that are considered 'harsh' or 'too raw' to the ear and therefore should not be bluntly stated but have to be hedged with some routine expressions. These expressions are similar to what Obeng (1989) describes as 'verbal indirection' among the Akans, to provide the opportunity to speak what he describes as the 'unspeakable". The expression used in the Anum community to achieve this verbal indirection is very similar to what is used in the Akan, Ga, and Ewe communities in Ghana. The expression is **Sɛbɪ** or **Tafrakyɛ**. In instances of what may be regarded as extreme obscenity, the two expressions are combined to hedge the expression. This is exemplified in (30):

25.   **Anumde, sɛbɪ oo tafrakyɛ, meegyɪ kwasea**

Anumde	sɛbɪ	- oo	- tafrakyɛ,	me	- e	- gyi	- kwasea
elders	excuse	ENDT	pardon	1SGSUBJ	NEG	COP-be	Fool

'Excuse my language, I'm not a fool'.

4.1.5.2.3 Mentioning the 'abominable'

It is the belief of the people that certain contagious or communicable diseases should not be mentioned directly for the fear of the spread of such diseases. Such diseases are therefore

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mentioned with some hedging. Certain calamities or painful experiences are also not to be revisited to bring sorrow to the people. However, when it becomes inevitable to use such expressions, it is done in a euphemistic manner to tone down the harsh effect. The examples in (26) and (27) are illustrations of such 'unspeakable' hedges:

26.   **Mɩánɔ̂ bʊ̀ ǹwʊ́nɔ̀ sɔ̂**

     M   - anʊ   - bʊ   - nwʊmɔ   -sʊ

   1SGPOSS   mouth   BE – at refuse dump   on

'My mouth is on the refuse dump'.

27.   **Mɪ́ɔ̀bá bí áyĩ bɛ̀**

     Mɪ   ɔba   - bi   - ayi - bɛ

   1SGPOSS   hand   PRESS-hold   tree   in

'I am holding a tree'

The expressions in (26) are often used to hedge expressions of death, calamities, and pandemics, among others, which one may speculate as happening. The social cultural belief is that if any such mishappening, like the corona virus, should happen to the community, it should be diverted to the refuse dump which is a receiver of all unwanted or rejected items. The expression in (27) on the other hand is used to hedge the mention of deadly diseases that are dreaded by the people. The notion is that if the disease wants to strike by the mention of its name, it should rather strike a tree and not human beings. One typical example of such a disease is leprosy which is almost always referred to as "I am holding a tree".

4.1.6 Summary

This section has discussed types of routine expression in Anum by way of answering the first research questions. The types of routines discussed are greetings, thanking, welcoming and farewell, seeking audience, apologizing and disclaiming. The various types of greetings discussed include simple, complex, occupational, occasional greetings like birth and death and

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greetings during meals. General thanking and thanking during funerals and arbitrations have been discussed. A sample apology rendered at arbitration has also been discussed. With respect to disclaiming, the use of the left hand in interactions and the use of hedging in expressing blunt ideas have been exemplified.

4.2   The Pragmatic meanings and implications of the Anum routines

This section focuses on the pragmatic meanings and implications of the routines as used in the Anum communities. Ameka (1987, p. 299) observes that the appropriate use of routine expressions "forms an essential part of a speaker's communicative/pragmatic competence". Anum routine expressions therefore have a great deal of perlocutionary effect (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) on the addressee. This is because the pragmatics of these routines enacts specific emotions and thoughts among the people. The section is therefore segmented into themes according to the pragmatic implications of the various routines. The themes among are communal affinity, encouragement, time and event, and social strata.

4.2.1   Time and event

Greetings in Anum are expressed taking cognizance of the period of day which more or less reflects the major activity for the time. Pragmatically, the types of greetings depend on the time of the day, the occasion or event as exemplified in the examples on greetings in 4.1.2. During festive times, the time of day greetings change to reflect the period (Dzameshie, 2002). The usual greeting irrespective of the time is:

Afenhyiapa = 'A good meeting of the year'

Response: **Áfĭ nde ni ɪbɛtʊ ɛnɪ hɛ̂.** 'The year should go and come to meet us again'.

These festive greetings are performed during the period of Christmas festivals and other important days like the **Akwasidae**. Discussions from the focus groups affirmed that a deviation from the use of the appropriate greeting suitable for the time and event smacks of

incompetence in the use of the language. Appropriate use of greetings is therefore a speech act used for socialization in the Anum community.

4.2.2 Communal affinity

Most of the routine expressions in Anum are used to principally promote social cohesion. One is therefore considered as a social deviant if one ignores these routines. For example, one who does not greet, thank, apologise, or reciprocate same is not respected in the Anum community. Therefore, as a socializing tool, children in Anum communities are virtually guided and encouraged to practise these routines right from their infancy. Infant language learning is one of the major aspects of the Language Socialization Theory (Schecter & Bayley, 2017).

4.2.2.1 Greetings

With regard to greetings associated with a farmer coming home after the day's work, the farmer expresses his happiness to come to meet the people in the community just as the people also express their enthusiasm to see the farmer back. When the farmer is returning home after the day's work, the farmer becomes the initiator of the greeting exchanges. The farmer inquires about what has transpired at home during his absence. The farmer is the congratulated for coming back home safely irrespective of the dangers associated with farming activities like getting hurt, and the possible attack from snakes and other wild animals. He is also congratulated for helping build the society through the feeding of the populace **Yaahwɛ oo, Dahwe** "Well done, Congratulations".

The exchanges further promote the communal life of the people. The farmer greets anyone he meets on his way home, but not only his household neighbours. The word 'home' as used by the farmer is somehow generic, referring to the entire community and not just the home of the farmer. The response from the respondent, **Yaahwɛ oo, Dahwe** is quite

motivational. The respondent is full of praise for the farmer, and hence congratulates him for work well done.

When the farmer finally gets to his home of abode, he is greeted with the usual cross-ethnic greeting in Ghana – **Ayekoo** 'well done' which attracts the usual response **Yàayéi** 'accepted'. The complex greetings continue with the farmer coming in to enquire what transpired in his actual home during his absence **Ámí kánáá?** "How is back?" This is followed by a reassuring response of peace at home **Ǹgyí brɛ̀wòò**, irrespective of the situation. In pragmatic terms, such a complex greeting will go on even if a sad event had occurred at home. It is after the greeting that the sad news may be broken to the farmer. This is affirmed by Agyekum (2008) when he indicates that in Akan 'activity greetings' are used to 'praise and boost the morale' of the worker to continue working hard.

4.2.2.2 Childbirth

The social cohesion is further exhibited at childbirth. Childbirth is so much cherished in the Anum communities that when it happens virtually the entire community pours out to express their joy at the event **Ɛnɪ tiri nkwa oo** 'Our head life', with the response **Ɛnɪ tiri mwɛ** 'Our head thanks'. This expression of joy is a feature of many other tribes in Ghana and hence the pragmatic implications are also similar. Dzameshie (2008) identifies some pragmatic implications of the childbirth greetings in Ewe which are also very relevant in the Anum situation. These are*:* I am so glad that you have had a safe delivery. You could have died during labour, but you didn't. I want you to know that I am so happy for you because of that, in fact, that's why I have come to say "I am glad you are alive" (p. 399).

4.2.2.3 Thanking

The appreciative nature of the Anums goes further to show the communal life of the people. The idiomatic way of expressing one's gratitude to a benefactor with its pragmatic implications attests to this. Pragmatically, it is almost mandatory for one to weep upon the

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death of a dear one to avert being blamed as the one who was responsible for the death of the deceased. The expression **Mɪwu a besu** 'When I die don't weep" as a form of thanking is therefore used to express how grateful the beneficiary is, to the point that society should pardon the benefactor if he is not able to weep upon the death of the recipient of the offer.

4.2.2.4 Bereavement

Perhaps the greatest communal affinity is displayed when it comes to bereavement. This is because death was not so rampant in the small Anum community in the past. The effect was therefore deeply felt when death occurred. The bereaved family is greatly supported in diverse ways and also by way of speech acts through the expression of sympathies through routines. There is always a gathering of the bereaved family a day after the burial of the deceased. The people again go to sympathize with the family. The greeting from the sympathizers pragmatically changes from an expression of sympathy to that of congratulations. The bereaved family is congratulated for living up to expectation to give the dead a befitting burial.

The pragmatic meaning of the response from sympathisers on such an occasion ('We have all done the work well'), suggests that it is the responsibility of the community to support the bereaved family. This is so because a reciprocal support is expected from the community to any bereaved family. However, the general perception from the focus groups and observation of some funeral celebrations show that this communal spirit is gradually being lost to modernity. For example, instead of the group of women going round the community to express the gratitude of the bereaved family, local FM stations are rather used to broadcast the appreciative messages, taking away the face-to-face interactions and the warm handshakes. This observation is also made by Agyekum (2010, pp. 87-89) for Akan communities.

4.2.2.5 Welcoming and bidding farewell

The we-feeling for each other is further demonstrated through the expression of welcome and when bidding farewell. There are pragmatic implications of the **Oni ewu 'You know home'** welcoming message. Among others, the people imply that *We were apprehensive of your coming back. We are happy that you have come back home. You have demonstrated your love and nostalgia for your home*. This to a large extent demonstrates the we-feeling the people have towards each other. It would therefore be a great disappointment to the traveller if such fraternities are not accorded him as observed in the focus group discussions.

Pragmatically, the concern for safety and caution is expressed in the farewell exchanges. The visitor requests that for safety, the host should advise on the safe path to use, **Mìɛ̀kòrì àkpɛ́**. *I am begging for road*. The host accepts the request and gives the direction, but still adds a caution due to the exigencies of the time and terrain. **Yòò, àkpɛ́ kɑ̃́** '*The road lies there*' (You are permitted to use the road).**Ná lɪ óó** – *Walk safely*. It will be culturally highly disheartening for one not to seek permission before leaving the host, and equally so if the host refuses to reply. If a neighbour visits another in the evening, and seeks permission to leave, the farewell message changes to reflect the times. **Mìɛ̀ngyídî** *I am going to sleep* **Yòò, dî lì óó** *Okay, sleep well*, **Ádíkyì ɛ̀ní óó** *Daybreak on us* (We should be alive to see the next day). Pragmatically, the visitor informs the host of his departure and what he is going to do – to sleep. The host grants the request with a wish of safe sleep. The visitor then compliments the wish with a virtual prayer for both of them to have life to see the next daybreak.

4.2.2.6 Apologizing

The wrongdoer, in order to maintain the social harmony, accepts his offence and indicates how he has been affected by his actions. He affirms his guilt by accepting that he has acted wrongly: **Mieehyie mɪyʊ bʊ ɛlɛɛnɪ mbele** *I have regretted myself for whatever I have done*. He then takes actions by appealing through an elder to lead him to beg the elders: **Mbele**

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agyanum Ntim yɛɛ agye mɪ ɛsɛlɛ. The apology therefore to a large extent fits into the framework of Slocum, Allan and Allan (2011) of *affect*, *affirmation*, and *action*. Pragmatically, the wrongdoer indicates that:

- I have realised that what I did was wrong.

- I know you are hurt but forgive me.

- As a sign of my remorse, I have brought an elder to apologise on my behalf.

- Accept me back as a prodigal son.

In the above instance, the chief and elders accept the apology after the payment of a sum of money and some drinks. The acceptance therefore marks a rapport enhancement and rapport maintenance mechanism (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2016).

4.2.2.7 Disclaiming

To enhance social harmony, there is the need to show politeness and thus respect the face of others. It therefore becomes imperative in the Anum communities to offer apologies to others when certain actions may affect their emotions and judgement. There are therefore a lot of pragmatic implications in the routines used to apologise when one wants to be blunt or may be compelled to use the left hand to perform certain duties. The example indicates how one may issue a disclaimer:

33a.　　　**Mɪ́ɛnɛ́ wʊ̀ bìnɛ̀**

　　　　　Mɪ　　. ɛ　- nɛ　- wʊ　　- bɪnɛ

　　　　　'I don't give you left'

33b.　RESPONSE:　**Bɛ́bɔ̀ hwèè**

　　　　　　　Bɛ　- bɔ　- hwee

　　　　　　　NEG　bundle　at all

　　　　　　　'It is not a problem'

Pragmatically, the use of **mɛ** *I don't …*' when using the left hand to perform certain functions indicates the speaker's unintentionality of the action and therefore as a form of appeal to the addressee not to be offended. It also suggests that both conversationalists agree to the suspension of the supposed insult since both parties accept the offer without complaining. That is, the receiver has decided to sacrifice the principle of face, being fully aware of the prevailing circumstances.

Ameka (1987) also proposes the following illocutionary structures suggested by the expression used for the use of the left hand in Ewe which are relevant in the Anum situations. The one who is using the left hand indicates that,

> I know that we should not do things of this kind with the left hand. I assume you understand that I would not have done things of this kind with the left hand if I could. I cannot do this thing that I want to do with the right hand. I want to say the kind of thing that one should say to the other when one cannot do things of this kind with the right hand. I say, I have to do this thing with the left hand. I feel something bad because of that. I say it because I want to cause you not to feel something bad because of it. I imagine that you would not want to feel something bad towards me because of it'. (p. 322).

4.2.3 Social strata

The Anum community has great respect for age and authority. This respect is also demonstrated through greetings, especially to the elderly and those in power or of some high social standing. This is portrayed through the use of vocatives and gestures that accompany all forms of greetings. Most of the greeting expressions are therefore accompanied by non-verbal language such as shaking of hands, bowing, holding of the knee, lowering the cloth from the shoulder, and removing of sandals. These gestures however depend on the gender, rank, age, power and distance (GRAPD) (Agyekum, 2010) between the interlocutors based on face and politeness strategies. Thus, social distance is key in the performance of greetings in Anum.

Women, especially, are required to bow and in some cases hold their knees when greeting elderly men, especially those in authority. Men, including sub-chiefs bow, remove their sandals partially and pull down their cloth slightly from the shoulder or remove their hat when greeting a paramount or divisional chief in formal situations. These are usually accompanied by the shaking of hands. A chief on the other hand does not bow when greeting his people but rather raises and waves his hand as a sign of respect and solidarity with his people. Children bow whenever they greet older people and the children are culturally not supposed to engage in complex greetings with adults. These are part of the politeness strategies associated with greetings in the Anum communities. Greetings targeted at elderly people and those in authority should always be hedged with the title or an appellation of the elderly person.

The institution of chieftaincy is held in very high esteem among the Anums. One is therefore expected to be very cautious when speaking to a chief and his elders especially in the palace. To show this reverence, one is not expected to speak directly to a chief but rather through the Ɔkyeame, a spokesperson. The thank you speech presented at the arbitration in a chief's palace (Example 21) exemplifies this. Pragmatically, the speech indicates that culturally, he is not supposed or qualified to address the elders directly but rather through a spokesperson. He then affirms his belief in the elders and metonymically uses the ears of the elders as giving sound judgement. He also refers to the historical past of the people when daybreak was associated with the crowing of the rooster. In the Anum communities, a beneficiary of some benevolence was required to go to the house of his benefactor early in the morning to express thanks. This practice is however still practised in most Anum rural communities. The speaker therefore pragmatically indicates that he is aware of this cultural demand, but it may not be prudent to visit the individual houses of the elders to thank them, hence, ceasing the opportunity to offer the thanks. With such an expression, the elders are appeased and hence socialization is enhanced through language.

4.2.4 Encouragement

As a very hardworking people as a result of the numerous wars they fought in the past and their traditional occupations, the Anums encourage anyone who engages in any profitable tedious or manual work like farming. The encouragement (or congratulatory) message is mostly expressed through greetings. This is exemplified in the greetings to one working on the farm or engaged in manual work (Section 4.2.1-4.2.2). Pragmatically, this greeting is used mainly for farming activities. The greeting is expressed whether the farmer is actively working on the farm, or taking a short rest to drink water, eat or sharpen the cutlass, hoe or axe. The discussions indicated that no one leaves the comfort of his home to go to the farm for fun. Once one goes to the farm, the notion is that the one will engage in activities aimed at the benefit of the society. The **Dahwe loo** *congratulations* greeting goes to buttress the historical premium placed on farming as the source of the livelihood of the people. The greeting is always initiated by the passer-by. Subsequently, this congratulatory greeting is rendered even if the interactants have met earlier in the day to exchange the everyday time- of- day greetings.

4.2.5 Summary

This section has highlighted the pragmatic meanings and implications of the Anum routine expressions. This has been done under the themes, time and event, communal affinity and social strata. The time of day greetings and greetings during specific occasions reflect how routines are used to indicate time. The greetings during childbirth and bereavement among others support the kind of rapport in the community.

4.3 Socio-cultural and historical implications of routine expressions in Anum

This section discusses some socio-cultural and historical aspects of the life of the Anums revealed through routine expressions. Ameka (1987) affirms that the widespread view is that linguistic expressions embody a lot of social, situational and cultural meanings. He further argues that linguistic routines furnish better clues to the cultural ecology and

preoccupations of a speech community than other aspects of language. It is also further argued that the socio-cultural context of the meaning and politeness of linguistic routines are culture-specific phenomena that make their character and incidence in various languages highly idiosyncratic to particular cultures. One therefore has to enter the psycho-socio-cultural world of the particular speech community in order to understand and interpret and elucidate the knowledge that these expressions encapsulate. The discussions from the focus groups affirmed all the above assertions and also added a historical dimension. The routine expressions in Anum reveal a lot of socio-cultural and the historical past of the people. Among others are the issues of morality, superstition (spiritual beliefs), the idea about time, the ancient environment and some calamities the people suffered are encapsulated in some of their routine expressions. These are discussed as follows:

4.3.1 Moral values

Culturally, the left hand is never used in greetings, either for waving or shaking of hands. This is irrespective of the social distance (GRAPD) between the interactants. The hedging associated with the use of the left hand culturally highlights the respect for each other in the community. The use of 'bad language or 'taboo language' (Ameka, 2020; Quille & Bergin, 2016) is a serious socio-cultural affront in the Anum communities. There is however a way of expressing these in a socially acceptable manner through hedging. Socio-culturally, it is highly insulting to stand before elders and say 'I'm not a fool'. The implication is that all the addressees one is speaking to are foolish. However, the use of the hedge '**Sɛbɪ tafrakyɛ'** mitigates or takes away the insult for one to escape a rebuke or punishment.

Culturally, the speaker indicates that what he is going to say is not palatable to the people, but there is the need to say it. He also indicates that he is aware he has to be decorous in the presence of his elders and therefore cannot insult them. This is another exhibition of high moral value in the community. For the listeners also to accept the seeming insult without any

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punitive measures is to indicate that they have accepted the decorum exhibited by the speaker and agree to the inevitability of the indecent expression. This is even so when the elders are respectfully signalled with the expression **Anumde** 'elders'.

4.3.2   Spiritual beliefs (superstition)

It is also unacceptable for anyone to greet while the one is on the way to the toilet. The public toilet system was a predominant feature in the past and it is still prevalent in most Anum communities. Women and children carrying refuse to the refuse dump are also not to greet people they meet on their way. A discussion in all the focus groups revealed that there is a cultural perception of uncleanliness associated with certain occasions and acts. The perception among the Anums therefore is that the left hand is unclean due to certain activities it is used to perform. These for example include the cleaning of the buttocks.

Similarly, a person on the way to the toilet or carrying refuse is considered to be carrying something unclean and hence should not interact with others. It even came from one of the focus groups that women who are in their menstrual period are never to shake hands with a chief. This idea of cultural uncleanliness is also affirmed by Agyekum (2008, p. 500) that "in Akan, it is a taboo to greet while going to the toilet. This taboo tallies with the more general cultural principle that one should not greet when one is about to engage in an impure activity". A similar view is expressed in Dzameshie (2000, p. 403) that in the Ewe culture, "it is considered rude and an insult for a person going to toilet to issue greetings because the feeling is that the person on his way to the toilet is unclean". Dzameshie (2002, p. 403) buttresses this with what he describes as 'Greeting Principle 1' in Ewe which says in part that "do not extend greeting to others when you are unclean". That is, greet others only when you are clean. This goes to affirm the superstitious nature of the Anums especially in the past.

4.3.3   Social harmony

Socio-culturally, the expression of thanks, **Mi nɛ wʊ mwɛ** 'I give you life' indicates how grateful the Anums are as recipients of favours. The recipient of a favour or gift prays for long life or good health for his benefactor as a way of expressing thanks. To further affirm their socially communal life and the good rapport that exists among the Anums, the recipient of the thanking responds with a seeming negative utterance which rather affirms his appreciation (indirection). **Ɛbɛ nɛ mwɛ** 'We don't give thanks.' We note in the expression the of use of the exclusive *we* as the subject of the response. Although the respondent is speaking for himself, he uses the pronoun 'we' to indicate that between the two of them, there is no need to exchange thanks because he also stands to benefit from the speaker some other time. This highlights the high moral value in the community. The discussion from the focus group discussion indicated that the use of the first-person singular subject in such an instance will be highly offensive as it will indicate a total rejection of the thanking. This is socio-culturally unique as a non-native speaker of Anum could embarrass his benefactors with the wrong expression. In line with the Language Socialization Theory, children in the Anum communities are made to acquire the habit of selflessness through their use of language.

4.3.4   The ancient environment

Of historical significance is the expression used to express the welcome message '**Òní èwú óó'**. An analysis of the expression may be done from the perspective of the historical past of the Anums. The Anums became very great warriors as a result of the several wars they fought on their way from the northern part of Ghana until they settled in their present location in 1723 AD (Obeng, 2003). To avert the frequent attacks from their enemies, they kept changing their habitation. They also created a lot of footpaths in the forest which they used to hunt game, search for food and also link up with other communities. Therefore, for one to locate his way back home and avert falling into enemy hands or wild animals was an

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appreciative act. One was therefore appreciated for the ability to locate the right path back home, hence, the expression: 'You know home'. On the other hand, it was a way of congratulating the one for not abandoning one's people irrespective of one's experiences in one's journeys. The observations in the communities proved that the people now prefer the use of the Akan expression for welcome, '**Akwaaba**'. You have gone and come back, more convenient than the "**oni ewu oo'** of the Anums. This is the result of contact with the Akan.

4.3.5   Calamities in the past

We once again refer to the history of the people to assess the interactions in bidding farewell. We realise from the examples that the visitor begs for the use of the footpath. This is in tandem with the Anum's use of footpaths for all their journeys in the past. The visitor begs for the use of the path because of safety. It was perceived that it was the host who was aware of the footpath that was relatively safe. Due to the numerous wars in the past, certain roads were hijacked by enemies. Other footpaths were therefore created to outwit enemies, and it was the host who was aware of such safe paths and therefore could provide the right directions.. The follow-up farewell message *the road lies there* is virtually in the form of an admonition to the traveller. The traveller is advised to walk with caution as there was the probability of an attack at any time from warriors or wild animals. All the footpaths were through thick and lonely forests.

The empathy that goes with the expression rendered to a bereaved family speaks a lot about the relative serene atmosphere in the past in the Anum communities. Historically and culturally, death was relatively rare in the Anum communities. There was therefore the sense of deep sorrow and sympathy for the dead and the bereaved family when death occurred. All major activities in the community therefore come to a halt to make time for the dead on the day of burial and funeral. Culturally, the childbirth greetings demonstrate the concern the Anums have for the woman more than the new born child. The notion is that even if the child dies and

the woman survives, she will potentially bring forth another child. The new born child is actually greeted with an admonition just as indicated by Agyekum (2008, p. 16) for Akan. This is how the new born child is greeted: "if you have come, stay; do not come to display and go back". This is highly suggestive of the high maternal and child mortality rate in the historical past of the Anums.

4.3.6 Endemic diseases and sufferings

The use of the hedge '**mikuta dua mu**' *I'm holding a tree* before mentioning certain diseases is indicative of endemic diseases of the past in the life of Anum people. Additionally, the use of the expression '**Mɩánɔ̂ bʊ̀ ǹwɔ́nɔ̀ sɔ̂'** *my mouth is on the refuse dump* before the mention of certain bitter experiences is also indicative of some of the calamities the people suffered in the past.

4.3.7 Idea about time in the past

It would be rather anachronistic if one told the time by the clock in the past Anum society. This is because there was no idea of the clock to the people in those days. They however used certain landmarks like the shadow and the cockcrow to tell time. The speaker who offered thanks in the arbitration session therefore, evoked this historical phenomenon which is however still used. He referred to the historical past of the people when daybreak was associated with the crowing of the rooster. In the Anum communities, a beneficiary of some benevolence was required to go to the house of his benefactor early in the morning to express thanks. This thanksgiving was usually done early in the morning, hence, the use of the cockcrow in the speech. This practice is still practised in most Anum rural communities. The speaker therefore pragmatically indicates that he is aware of this cultural demand, but it may not be prudent to visit the individual houses of the elders to thank them, hence, ceasing the opportunity to offer the thanks.

4.3.8   Summary

This section has been used to reveal some of the socio-cultural and historical aspects of the people revealed through routine expressions. These include moral values revealed through the consideration of variables like age, rank, power and distance. The superstitious nature of the people in the past is seen through the hedging of what is considered as 'unclean' activities and calamities like diseases and sufferings. The farewell messages depict the nature of the environment in the past and the expression of thanks delineates the social harmony in the historical past of the Anums.

4.4   Conclusion

The Language Socialization Theory (SLT) (Schiefflin & Ochs, 1986) and the Speech Act theory (Austin, 1962) have been used to assess some routine expressions that are pervasively used in the Anum communities. The use of specific speech acts to promote social integration and harmony has been abundantly discussed in the chapter. As the SLT stipulates, routines are a major tool for language acquisition and learning and this has been shown to be the case in the Anum communities as children are made to adhere to their use in everyday language usage. Among others, routine expressions used in the Anum communities include greetings, thanking, welcoming and bidding farewell, seeking audience, apologising, and issuing disclaimers. These expressions and greetings reveal a lot about the historical past as well as the socio-cultural life of the Anum people. Additionally, each of the routine expressions connotes a lot of pragmatic meanings expressed verbally and, in some cases, non-verbally. The discussion so far lends a lot of credence to the assertion that linguistic routines are culture-specific phenomena. As such, their meanings cannot therefore be explained without considering the historical and socio-cultural life of the people and also the context in which these routines are made. This is so especially when we consider the choice of words and other linguistic structures and performances akin to especially the daily greetings and the other routine expressions.

The analysis has to a great extent challenged the views of Searle (1969), Sacks (1975), and Youssouf et al (1976) among others which seem to suggest that routines are devoid of meaning and users do not actually believe what they say in the routines they express. The analysis has rather affirmed the views of Duranti (1997), Foley (1997), and Agyekum (2008) among others of the great importance of routines in the socio-cultural life of a people. The discussion in this chapter has also revealed the historical implications that inform the formulation of the routines among the Anums. Anum routine expressions therefore communicate a lot of meaning, social, cultural and historical undertones.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

5.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings of the study, general recommendations and suggestions for future research. The major objectives of the study which were to identify the types of routines in Anum, their pragmatic meanings and their socio-cultural and historical bearings have been greatly achieved. The findings of the study are the products of the qualitative approach and the ethnography design methodology adopted to collect data. The cluster sampling technique and focus group discussions employed helped to provide a broad perspective on routine expressions in Anum. The recordings helped in crosschecking of information to confirm the findings. The chapter continues with a summary of the findings in Section 5.1. Section 5.2 discusses the interplay of culture, context and routine expressions among the Anum. Section 5.3, while provides suggestions for future research.

5.1   Summary of findings

The study focused on an analysis of routine expressions in Anum. The objectives were to identify the most commonly used routine expressions in the language and subsequently assess the pragmatics as well as the socio-cultural and historical dimensions of these routines in the Anum speaking communities. The data collected for analysis helped to provide answers to the research questions. The analysis of data for Research Question 1 revealed that Anum is no exception with regard to the universality of linguistic routines in languages as captured in literature. The most commonly used routines in Anum are greetings which are used daily among the people, irrespective of the level of relationship. Apart from the times of day greetings, greetings are also performed at occupational levels as well as in other specific occasions. The daily greetings have their full forms as well as the elliptical versions. Such

greetings could be simple (brief) or complex (prolonged). The occupational and occasional ones are mainly simple and fossilized to a great extent.

Another routine identified was thanking which is expressed at specific events. These include thanking during funeral celebrations and after arbitrations. It was also revealed that specific routines are used to welcome people home from a journey, workplace or in the course of arbitrations. In the same vein, routines are used to bid farewell to a traveller, a visitor or someone who has sought permission to go to sleep. Routines are also used to seek audience attention at gatherings or to seek space. Apologizing and issuance of disclaimers are also done with specific routines. These are done mainly through hedging. They may differ according to whether the apology is formal or the disclaimer is in respect of the use of an 'unspeakable' expression or the mention of a dreadful disease or calamity.

With regard to the pragmatics of these routines, it came out that daily greetings are performed at specific times of the day to more or less, reflect the division of the day into three major segments – morning, afternoon and evening. These greetings are used to mainly affirm the communal rapport as well as open up communication opportunities. These greetings are also done with due cognizance to gender, rank, age, power and distance among the interactants. The occupational and occasional greetings have the pragmatic import of congratulations and encouragement to work hard to promote society. Thanking is used to depict the appreciative nature of the people as they wish their benefactors long life or good health. It is also used to show respect to elders who spend their time to ensure peace and harmony in the community. Apologies are used to accept guilt and to show remorse and the desire to be of a good behaviour. Pragmatically, apologies also indicate how the Anum community frowns upon acts of wrong doing and disrespect and as a form of admonishment to others. Disclaimers pragmatically depict the community awareness of the concept of face (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and the need to show respect, especially in formal settings.

Historically, the routines provide insights to the historical past of the people. The greetings reveal the kind of knit communal life of the people and the *we-feeling* they had for each other in the past. This is highlighted especially in the complex (extended) greetings. The occupational greetings give a picture of the predominant manual work the people engaged in in the past. The childbirth greetings paint a picture of the high maternal and child mortality in the past. The women are addressed as being lucky to escape death while the new-born children are admonished not to return to their ancestral or spirit parents. This also indicates the high level of superstition in the Anum community in the past. The rendering of thanks as a routine further supports the communal and patriotic spirit in the history of the Anums, especially on the occasion of the death of a member. The thanks rendered at the arbitration is suggestive of how the Anums determined the dawn of day by the cockrow. The routine used to welcome people conveys the meaning of how the Anums made their journeys in the past – mainly on foot and through lonely and unsecured terrains. Finally, the words that absolve one to speak bluntly and use 'unspeakable' expressions are a pointer that the spread of certain diseases and calamities were prevalent in the historical past of the Anum people.

5.2   The interplay of culture, context, and routine expressions among the Anum

The findings highlighted in 5.1 are a clear manifestation of the interplay of culture, context, and routine expressions in the Anum community. This affirms the Language Socialization Theory (Schefflin & Ochs, 1986) which focuses on how linguistic and cultural competence is developed through everyday interaction within communities of practice. That is, socialization through the use of language within the Anum communities. It should therefore be noted that the improper use of these routines or the lack of knowledge of them exposes one as a non-native speaker of the language or a deviant in the society. It has been observed that the Anums are highly communal in nature. The culture does not support the idea of individualistic life. This is exhibited partly through their routine expressions.

Greetings are virtually compulsory in the society. A helping hand is always extended to one in need through their expressions to bereaved members and their expression of joy at childbirth. Their culturally hardworking nature is also revealed by the congratulatory messages they use as a form of greeting to one engaged in farming activities and other manual work. The respect for age and position in the culture is also delineated by the use of hedging of greetings with the requisite vocatives and in occasions when one has to be blunt before elders. Lastly, aspects of the historical life of the people are revealed through some routine expressions like welcome, farewell and the congratulatory messages at childbirth.

5.3   Suggestions for future research

Routine expressions or linguistic routines are universal with the world's languages and perform socializing functions. It is therefore suggested that much attention should be given to this unique aspect of language use by researchers. African linguists especially, and anthropologists are urged to delve deeper into these routines as a way of telling part of the history of the people and also preserving the socio-cultural life of the people. It should be pointed out that none of the studies on linguistic routines so far considers the historical aspect which this study has added. Studies could also be conducted to establish how routine expressions could be made an integral aspect of second language learning. Other studies may also focus on the gestures associated with such routines in terms of their similarities and differences among the different cultural groupings.

5.4   Conclusion

Anum (Gwa) is one of the southern Guan languages in Ghana which is largely least studied. The language however has a lot of unique features which provide important linguistic data for analysis. One of such linguistic features is routine expressions which has been the focus of this study. Routine expressions have been defined variously in the literature (e.g. Davis, 2007; Ameka, 1991, Agyekum, 2010) as word phrases or utterances which are recurrent

in language and employed for specific social interactions. There are several types including greetings, requests, invitations, expressing sympathy, congratulations, thanking among others.

This ethnography study used the qualitative approach combining the cluster, random, and purposive sampling techniques to select participants. Data were collected through observation, focus group discussions, and recordings. The analysis has been done to look at the types, pragmatic meanings and socio-cultural and historical implications of Anum routines. The study has helped to provide some aspects of the culture and socio-economic practices of the Anum people. It has also given us some relative insight into the historical past of the people. It has further supported the Language Socialization Theory and to some extent challenged some views which seem to suggest that greetings are verbal formulas with virtually no propositional content (Searle, 1969), or zero referential value (Youssouf et al, 1976) and that people do not believe or mean what they say during greetings (Sacks, 1975). Based on the results, it is recommended that it is significant to consider linguistic routines as an integral part of linguistic features in order to understand a people within their cultural setting as these expressions communicate a lot about them.
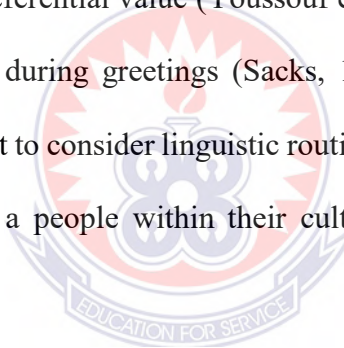
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