

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF GRATITUDE EXPRESSIONS AND RESPONSES**

**IN AKAN**

**IDA SODOKE ASSEM**

**(8150080003)**

**A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS, FACULTY  
OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION,  
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY  
OF EDUCATION, AND WINNEBA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENT FOR AWARD OF THE MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY  
(APPLIED LINGUISTICS) DEGREE.**

**AUGUST, 2017.**

## **DECLARATION**

### **STUDENT'S DECLARATION**

I, Ida Sodoke Assem declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my 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 work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR: DR. CHARLOTTE FOFO LOMOTEY

SIGNATURE.....

DATE.....

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my husband Augustine for his support and encouragement throughout the period of my studies. Thank you for being my number one motivator and making me believe in my abilities. I would also like to thank my mom for her interest in this work, her encouragement and for her prayers.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Charlotte Fofu Lomotey for her guidance and support in shaping this thesis. Dr., your selfless attitude towards the success of this work and your pleasant remarks about this work urged me on to face even the unbeatable challenges encountered throughout the writing of this thesis with optimism.

I owe a lot of thanks to my very good friend and sister Sarah Sanford Monson of Indiana University, USA for using her resources to get me some important materials which were outside my reach to do a successful work and to my senior colleague Bernard Bilikpe for his very useful inputs in this work.

I would like to thank all my lecturers who in my two year period of study taught me all the things that I now know. I would equally like to thank my course mates for their undying friendship. Finally, I would like to thank everyone who in diverse ways played a role in the successful completion of this thesis. Thank you all for your love and support.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to God Almighty, and to my late dad, Mr. Francis Y. Sodoke.



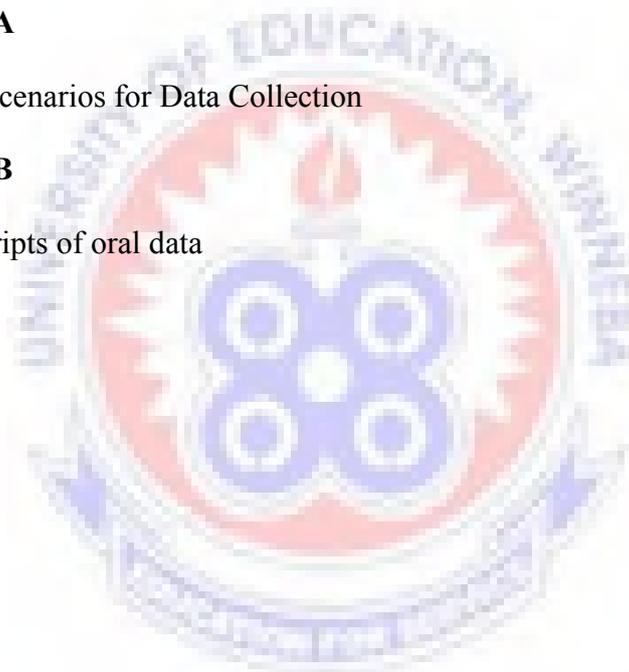
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.0 Overview	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	2
1.3 Research Objectives	4
1.4 Research Questions	4
1.5 Significance of the Study	5
1.6 Limitation of the Study	5
1.7 Delimitation of the Study	5
1.8 Organization of the Study	6
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>7</b>
2.0 Overview	7
2.1 Pragmatic Competence	7
2.2 Speech Act	9
2.2.1 Speech act theory	11

2.3 What is Gratitude?	13
2.3.1. Functions of gratitude	15
2.3.2. Why should we express gratitude?	18
2.4 What is Gratitude Response?	20
2.4.1 Forms of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan	22
2.5 Politeness in Akan	24
2.6 Theoretical Framework: Politeness Theory	25
2.7 Studies on the Speech Act of Thanking and Responses.	31
2.7.1 Studies on the speech act of thanking in Akan.	35
2.8 Conclusion	37
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>38</b>
3.0 Overview	38
3.1 Research Design	38
3.2 Research Setting	39
3.3 Population	40
3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques	40
3.5 Data Collection Method and Instruments	41
3.5.1 Method for collecting oral elicited discourse: Role plays	42
3.5.2 Data collection procedure	43
3.6 Data Analysis	45
3.6.1 Identification of head moves and supportive moves	45
3.6.2 Identification of the types and tokens of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses	46
3.6.3 Identification of speaker strategies	46

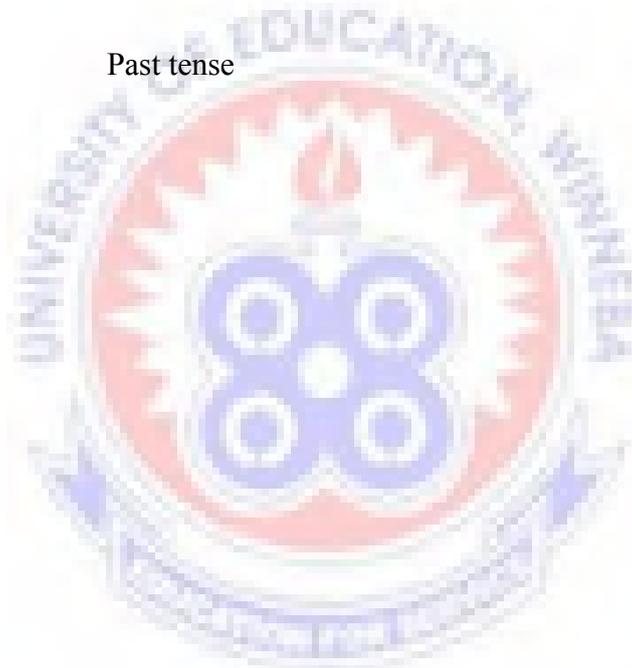
3.6.4 Identification of internal modification patterns.	46
3.7 Conclusion	47
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION</b>	<b>48</b>
4.0 Overview	48
4.1 Gratitude Expressions Realizations	48
4.1.1 Conventions of form	51
4.1.2 Conventions of means	53
4.1.3 Token combinations	55
4.1.4 Internal modification	56
4.1.5 Supportive moves	60
4.1.6 Summary	64
4.2 Gratitude Expression Responses Realization	64
4.2.1 Conventions of form of gratitude expression responses	65
4.2.2 Conventions of means of gratitude expression responses	67
4.2.3 Token combinations of gratitude expression responses	70
4.2.4 Internal modification in gratitude expression responses	70
4.2.5 Supportive moves in gratitude expression responses	71
4.2.6 Summary	75
4.3 Aspects of Akan Culture in Gratitude Expressions and Gratitude Expression Responses	76
4.3.1 Belief in God	76
4.3.2 The use of proverbs and idioms	78
4.3.3 Hyperbolic expressions	80
4.3.4 Summary	80

4.4 Conclusion	81
<b>CHAPTER FIVE</b>	82
<b>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	82
5.0 Overview	82
5.1 Summary of Findings	82
5.2 Recommendation for Further Studies	84
5.3 Conclusion	84
<b>REFERENCES</b>	85
<b>APPENDIX A</b>	93
Role Play Scenarios for Data Collection	93
<b>APPENDIX B</b>	95
Text transcripts of oral data	95



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3SG	Third person singular
ADV	Adverb
NEG	Negative
PREP	Preposition
PST: TENSE	Past tense



## ABSTRACT

This study examines gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan. A qualitative design was adopted for the study and thirty native speakers of three dialects of Akan: Asante Twi, Akuapim Twi and Fante were conveniently sampled to partake in a role play. The findings indicate that there are various tokens used to realize gratitude expressions and gratitude expressions responses in Akan. However, the choice of a particular token is greatly influenced by sociological variables such as social distance and power. The study also shows that Akantry to avoid the use of *thanking* to express gratitude to their close friends, colleagues, or subordinates in order to save their faces. They rather *expressbenediction* or *compliment* them to avoid any form of face threats. Again, the study reveals that speakers of Akan prefer the use of negative politeness strategy in response to gratitude expression. This is evident in their high inclination to *minimize* the favour in response to gratitude expressions. Also, gratitude expressions in Akan are internally modified by *exclaim*, *address terms*, and *intensifiers* and gratitude expression responses are also internally modified by *exclaim* and *prepositional phrases*. Further, Akanexpress gratitude and respond to gratitude expressions using proverbs, idioms, and hyperbolic expressions. Lastly, the study also shows that Akanshow their belief in God through their expressions of gratitude and responses to gratitude expressions.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Overview

In this chapter, the topic for the study is introduced followed by the problem statement, research objectives and research questions respectively. The study's significance, as well as its limitations and delimitations are also presented in the chapter. The chapter ends with the organization of the study.

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

One of the universally shared positive values, fundamentally accepted by humanity is the expression of gratitude. Gratitude expression normally follows the receipt of positive things bestowed unto us such as, any type of help or verbal gifts like advice and compliments, which must also be completed with a response. In the reports of Farenkia (2012) these two, form dialogical units known as adjacency pairs. Gratitude expression and gratitude expression response might not necessarily be carried out the same way in all languages. This is because when gratitude is innately triggered, its expression is carried out spontaneously in a variety of different ways likewise, its response. Not only is gratitude expressed and responded to differently in different languages because of the many various forms in which it can be expressed. It can however be expressed differently within the same language or cultural setting due to social variables such as, age, gender, power, distance and rank.

Among the Akan for instance, Agyekum (2010) reports that gratitude expression is one of the linguistic routines that constitutes important aspects of the Akan language and it is instilled in a child's upbringing and socialization. Every Akan, either young or old, is expected to perform this linguistic routine with the highest degree of competence as failure to do so would render the speaker otherwise.

Leech (1983) confirms Agyekum's claims when he posits that gratitude expression is a friendly illocution which corresponds to positive politeness. However, in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory of 1978, it is presented as a face threatening act (FTA) specifically, an act that indicates a speaker's acceptance of debt towards an addressee or "humbles" the "face" of a speaker. With this being the case, it would only be fair that the addressee puts in efforts to restore the relationship imbalance caused by the speaker's action in favour of the addressee in order to minimize the speaker's face threat (Schneider, 2005). On the other hand, a speaker's face threat would be maximized if the addressee is unable to put in such efforts. This therefore means that while the expression of gratitude enhances the face of an addressee hence, conveying positive politeness, gratitude expression response either enhances or threatens the face of the speaker and hence, conveys positive or negative politeness, or even both. This study wishes to test Brown and Levinson's theory in the Akan context following the ongoing discussions.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The claim to competence in a particular language is not limited to the knowledge of that language's grammar and vocabulary but extends also to the knowledge of the pragmatics of the said language. To understand and produce speech acts appropriately in a given situation constitute an important aspect of pragmatic competence (Cheng, 2005) and gratitude expression and response is no exception. Özdemir and Rezvani (2010) argue that a successful performance of gratitude expression may result in positive feelings, whereas failure in expressing gratitude may have negative consequences. Supporting this view are Emmons and McCullough (2003), who report that grateful responses to life can lead to peace of mind, happiness, physical health, and deeper, more satisfying personal relationships. On the other hand,

a child or adult who fails to sincerely express gratitude at the appropriate time is considered rude (Cheng, 2005) and incompetent in their language use (Agyekum, 2010).

People all over the world can be said to have been in the position to express gratitude or to have responded to gratitude expression at one point in their lives. Yet, not all of these people can be said to have carried out the act of gratitude expression or gratitude expression response successfully. This could be due to the lack of knowledge in this regard or, the over abundance of many rights given them by law making bodies thereby, giving them supposedly good excuses not to practice this polite speech act. As a result, many people have missed out on acquiring certain knowledge which are only acquired by engaging in the act of gratitude expression. This is because in the arguments of Agyekum (2010), each of the expressions of gratitude in Akan for instance, carries in-depth pragmatic and socio-philosophical meanings. As a result, ignorance of how to express gratitude will automatically deprive people of any knowledge on these pragmatic and socio-philosophical issues embedded within them.

Among the Akan for instance, Agyekum (2010) reveals that gratitude is normally carried out verbally, with a handshake and sometimes even kneeling down to show appreciation. Also, Sarpong (1974) postulates that in the Akan culture, a beneficiary may not only carry out the act of thanking more than twice for one and the same gift, but may further have to make the good gesture of the benefactor known in public. Sometimes, they may even ask other people to accompany them to express gratitude to the benefactor regardless of the magnitude of the good or service offered.

Most Ghanaian children are acquiring English as their L1 rather than their native mother tongues. This is because most parents revere English language over their

native tongues, and choose to communicate with their children in English (Bodomo, Anderson, & Dzahene-Quarshie 2009; Akpanglo-Nartey & Akpanglo-Nartey, 2012). It would therefore not be surprising that most Ghanaian children in the years to come would have little or no clue about how simple courtesies like expressing gratitude or responding to gratitude expressions are paid in their native language. It is therefore important that the speech act of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses are documented, such that it can serve as a guide when such future finally arrives. Since the Akan language has not seen much of research into this area, this work will serve as one of the contributions in this regard.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The following are the objectives to the study

1. To identify the forms of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan.
2. To assess how the forms of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses are used in Akan.
3. To identify the aspect(s) of Akan culture that might be evident in their gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. Which forms of gratitude expressions and gratitude expressions responses are available in Akan?
2. How are the forms of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses used in Akan?
3. Which aspect(s) of Akan culture is/are evident in their gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This study will serve as a source of reference for both learners and teachers of Akan culture and belief. The findings from the study will also serve as a guide to researchers who are interested in cross cultural studies. This is because it will show them aspects of Akan culture that are evident in their gratitude expressions and responses to gratitude expressions that differentiate them from other speech communities.

### **1.6 Limitation of the Study**

A major challenge of the study was to get pairs of participants who are willing to participate in the study at a particular point in time. This slowed down the data collection process because there were times when an individual will be willing to participate yet, the data could not be collected because the researcher needed to provide a second participant to pair with the first. And since there was mostly not an available pair within the reach of the researcher, the data could not be collected. Hence, the whole process was very challenging.

### **1.7 Delimitation of the Study**

This study is delimited to the Asante Twi, Fante, and Akuapem Twi speakers of Akan. Specifically, it is restricted to the Asante people of Tepa, Fante people of Ajumako and Akuapem people of Akropong. The choice of this research sites was mainly due to proximity and easy access to data.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The rest of the thesis organized as follows: Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature to the study. Chapter 3 presents the methodology for the study. Chapter 4 presents the analysis and discussion of the results. Lastly, chapter 5 summarizes the main findings from the study, and suggests recommendations for further studies.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Overview

In this chapter, a review of the available literature on the area under study is presented. The issues presented comprise an introduction to the notion of pragmatic competence, speech act and the speech act theory. A highlight on gratitude, as well as gratitude functions and gratitude importance is also given. This is followed by gratitude responses and forms of gratitude expressions and responses in Akan. The section also introduces the Akan concept of politeness together with the theoretical framework for the study. Finally, the chapter reports on studies on the speech act of thanking in other languages and also in the Akan language.

#### 2.1 Pragmatic Competence

The importance of language cannot be underestimated because it helps us to express our feelings, desires and questions to the world around us. However, these expressions need to be made with caution so as to drive home our point without causing any form of misunderstandings. De Valoes (2014) argues that human beings are unique from the rest of the animal kingdom because they are able to harness their innate ability to form lasting bonds by communicating in diverse ways through written and spoken language. A successful use of language in communication is reflected in pragmatics; a branch of language study that deals with the use of language in context. This is to say that it takes a pragmatically competent speaker to encode a message and likewise, a pragmatically competent listener to decode that message in order for the different purposes of language use to be achieved.

Pragmatic competence is a concept derived from Hymes' (1966) concept of communicative competence. According to Barron (2003), it was an original reaction

to Chomsky's (1965) linguistic competence which discounts contextual appropriateness. In 1980, the theoretical concept of communicative competence as proposed by Hymes (1972) was developed by Canale and Swain into grammatical competence (lexis, morphology, sentence-grammar, semantics and phonology), and sociolinguistic competence (sociocultural rules and rules of discourse). The sociolinguistic competence was further distinguished by Canale (1983) into sociocultural rules and discourse competence (cohesion and coherence).

A model of communicative competence by Bachman (1990) saw the division of language competence into two distinct components namely, pragmatic competence; (made up of illocutionary competence and sociolinguist competence) and organization competence; (comprising of grammatical competence and textual competence). Bachman's (1990) pragmatic competence describes the relationship between utterances and the functions that a speaker(s) intend(s) to perform through those utterances (illocutionary force) and the characteristics of the context of language use that determines the appropriateness of utterances.

A division of pragmatics is made into pragmalinguistics and socio-pragmatics by Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983). According to Farnia (2009), this division clarifies the distinction between ability and knowledge. Thomas (1983) defines pragmalinguistic knowledge as the perceived constituents of appropriate linguistic behaviour. Socio-cultural ability and sociolinguistic ability were proposed by Cohen (1996) as two different levels of abilities needed for the acquisition of pragmatic competence. A determinant of a speaker's socio-cultural ability is reflected in a speaker's appropriate use of a speech act given the culture involved, the situation, the speaker's background variables, and relationships. On the other hand, a speaker's control over the actual language forms used to realize the speech act (e.g. sorry vs.

excuse me, really sorry vs. very sorry) reflects a speaker's sociolinguistic ability (Cohen, 1996).

A number of scholars have expressed their views concerning pragmatic competence. Deda (2013) defines pragmatic competence as "the ability to comprehend, construct utterances which are accurate and appropriate to the social and cultural circumstances where the communication occurs" (p. 1). Fraser (2010) proposes that "Pragmatic competence is the ability to communicate your intended message with all its nuances in any socio-cultural context and to interpret the message of your interlocutor as it was intended" (p. 15).

Dwelling on these propositions by these scholars, pragmatic competence can be said to be the key to efficient communication in every speech community. In other words, a speech community would be flooded with misunderstandings, chaos, and divisions in the absence of pragmatically competent speakers. For instance, an Akan speaker would not be displaying pragmatic competence in the Akan language if instead of saying, '*medaase*' after receiving a gift, they decide to say '*thank you*'. Therefore, a touch on pragmatic competence in a study about gratitude expressions and responses is a necessary step. This is because it will help people to understand that the proper expression of gratitude or responding to gratitude expression in one's language is a mark of competence rather than just a formality.

## **2.2 Speech Act**

Cheng (2005) argues that an aspect of pragmatic competence is achieved when speech acts are produced and understood appropriately in a given context. This is because, a speaker's intention and the effect it has on a listener is what defines a speech act. Bach (2014) points that several acts are performed at a go almost in any speech act and these are distinguished by different aspects of the speaker's

intention: there is the act of saying something, what one does in saying it, (e.g. request or promise), and how one is trying to affect one's audience. As originally proposed by Austin (1962), three levels of speech act can be distinguished: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts.

A **locutionary** act has to do with the simple act of a speaker saying something, (i.e. the act of producing a meaningful linguistic expression). It consists of three sub acts namely, a *phonic* act of producing an utterance-inscription, a *phatic* act of composing a particular linguistic expression in a particular language, and a *rhetic* act of contextualizing the utterance-inscription. The first of these three sub acts concerns itself with the physical act of producing a certain sequence of vocal sounds (in the case of a spoken language), which is also called a *phonetic act*, or a set of written symbols (in the case of a written language). The second refers to the act of constructing a well-formed string of sounds and/or symbols, be it a word, phrase, sentence, or discourse, in a particular language. The third sub-act is responsible for tasks such as assigning reference, resolving deixis, and disambiguating the utterance-inscription. So for instance, Aku performs a locutionary act with distinct phonetic, syntactic and semantic features if she said to Kwao: "Please hand over the keys to me".

The term **illocutionary act** is virtually synonymous with speech act. It refers to the way in which a sentence is used to express an attitude with a certain function or "force" (called illocutionary force). For instance, if a lecturer upon entering a lecture hall with closed windows says, *it is very warm in here*, the illocutionary act (the effective meaning conveyed) is *please open the windows*. An illocutionary act can also be made explicit by the use of a *performative verb* formula. For example, a speaker can make explicit promise by introducing the performative verb, *I promise to*

indicate such. A **perlocutionary act** or **perlocutionary effect** is an action or state of mind brought about by, or as a consequence of saying something. In other words, the perlocutionary act is the consequent effect a speaker intends his utterance to have on a hearer. These include such acts as, comforting, persuading, angering, inciting, or inspiring. So if in a noisy class a student says, *can we have some silence, please?* The illocutionary act (the meaning conveyed) is effectively *be quiet, please*, even though the locutionary act (the literal sentence) was to ask a question about having some order in the class. The **perlocutionary act** (the actual effect), was to cause the class to be quiet.

### 2.2.1 Speech act theory

The speech act theory was proposed out of Austin's (1962) concept of illocutionary act after further enhancement by Searle (1969) who used the two terms interchangeably. Searle in a later work in 1976 distinguished five illocutionary acts/speech acts based on the speaker's intentions. These include *assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives*.

**Assertive speech acts** represent a state of affairs. Examples include stating, claiming, describing, insisting, suggesting, asserting, or swearing that something is the case. A **directive speech act** gets an addressee to do something. Examples of these include commanding, ordering, daring, defying, and challenging. **Commissive illocutionary acts** get a speaker (i.e. the one performing the speech act to do something, examples of which include, promising, threatening, intending, or vowing to do or to refrain from something). An **expressive speech act** expresses the mental state of the speaker about an event presumed to be true. Examples of expressive illocutionary acts include *thanking, congratulating, deploring, condoling, welcoming, and apologizing*. Finally, **declarative speech acts** are acts that bring into existence the

state of affairs to which it refers. Examples are *blessings, firing, baptizing, bidding, passing sentence, and excommunicating*.

The category of speech acts that the present study is concerned with is the Expressive speech acts, specifically, gratitude/thanking expressions. As indicated already, thanking is an expressive speech act that expresses the mental state of a speaker about an event presumed to be true. In a study conducted in 1996, Clark argues that the classifications of speech acts by Searle are in different subgroups and hence not unified. According to him, although assertives can clarify a speaker's belief, they can also express diagnoses, predictions, notifications, confessions, or denials.

Clark again proposes a further division of directives into the major subgroups of "requests for action" and "requests for information". Also, on the classification of declaratives by Searle into effectives and verdictives, Clark argues that while verdictives apply to rules within an institution such as, obeying the ruling in a match by a referee, there is a change that takes place in effectives which is not confined to institutional setting like for instance, a boss hiring or firing an employee.

A common sentiment shared by Clark (1996) and Searle (1976) however, is that Clark in his description of expressives, also refers to 'thanking' as an expressive speech act. He gives four different events of speaker-hearer interaction that lead to the use of expressive speech acts. First, there is a hearer who is offended by something which calls for the expressive speech act of apologizing. Second, a hearer upon achieving something positive leads to the expressive speech act of congratulating. Further, a hearer offering a favour calls for the expressive speech act of thanking and lastly, a hearer approaching a speaker which leads to the expressive speech act of greeting. Agyekum (2010) indicates that non verbal communication cues such as

facial expressions and gestures are mostly used to complement the verbal expressives to better interpret the speaker's intention to the listener. The notable gestures among the Akan are a handshake and kneeling down to express gratitude Agyekum (2010).

### **2.3 What is Gratitude?**

Gratitude is synonymous to thanks or thankfulness, appreciation, and gratefulness. However, gratitude goes beyond just the mere rendering of "thanks". The term gratitude is derived from the Latin root *gratia* which means grace, graciousness or gratefulness (Emmons & McCullough, 2003). In Addition, Pruyser (1976) observes that gratitude has to do with kindness, generousness, gifts, the beauty of giving and receiving, or getting something for nothing. A number of disciplines have expressed the understanding of gratitude in diverse ways. In Psychology, gratitude is defined by Sansone & Sansone (2010) as the appreciation of what is valuable and meaningful to one self and represents a general state of thankfulness and or appreciation. This definition indicates that people are grateful for things they cherish and not only for physical things or assistance given to them by other people. So, if a person cherishes life, that person will be grateful for life. Indeed, life is a gift to all humanity but it takes the human who values it to show thankfulness for having it.

In Philosophy, Manela (2015) points out that gratitude terms are used in a broad range of circumstances which do not always reflect the underlying meaning of the term. Manela (2015) records two senses of gratitude namely, propositional gratitude and prepositional gratitude. The former is argued to be identical to another concept: the concept of *appreciation* or *gladness*. So for instance, to say that *I am grateful for my family* is just to say that *I am glad or appreciate their presence in my life*. However, the latter is argued to fully capture the actual sense of gratitude. This is

because if for instance, a person should say, *I am grateful to my mother for letting go of her dreams towards the achievement of my dreams*, then, the person wishes for their mother to fare well, or feels a commitment to repay her in the future should she ever be in need of anything. This means that while prepositional gratitude and appreciation may be called for in many of the same situations, there are times when appreciation is called for, but gratitude is not.

A Philosophical definition of gratitude by Manela (2015) has thus been given as the proper or called-for response in a beneficiary to benefits or beneficence from a benefactor. This definition by Manela (2015) is similar to that given in linguistics by Eisenstein & Bodman (1986). They define gratitude as a kind of illocutionary act performed by a speaker as a result of some past act done by the listener. A key similarity between the philosophical and linguistic definition of gratitude is that it is expressed by a person who has received something as an indication of approval of the act carried out by the giver.

The present study agrees to the definitions of gratitude as given by Manela (2015) and Eisenstein & Bodman (1986). This is because the study considers gratitude which is expressed in receipt of a benefit rather than just its usual conventional, ritual, or mechanical usage. With this being said, the remaining sections are concerned only with the concept of gratitude which is expressed after a beneficiary feels he/she has benefited from the acts of a benefactor. In other words, this study is concerned with gratitude expression which is done to appreciate a benefit.

### 2.3.1 Functions of gratitude

Jung (1994) conducted a study into how thanking is used and he proposes four different functions of thanking. Jung (1994) argues that “thank you expressions” perform the basic function of benefit appreciation which can either be: (1) physical benefit (for e.g., gifts, help or services) or (2) mental benefits. According to Jung, a beneficiary who believes that they have benefitted from a benefactor’s actions is likely to use adverbs such as *very*, *so*, *a lot* etc. which are indications of a high intensity of gratitude, making the gratitude more emphatic and effective. Jung further explains that another way in which gratitude is intensified might be shown by the use of names after the thank you expression and this increases the degree of familiarity expressed between the interlocutors. Jung’s account is evident among the Akan who will use the intensifiers *paa/papaapa* “very much” or *paa/bebree* “a lot”, in situations where the gift or service is so great. Of course, a greater gift or service deserves a greater show of gratitude.

Akan might also use names and sometimes address terms such as *barima ye na* literally meaning “man is scarce”, *oheneba* “prince”, *abaayewa ma nsuo* literally meaning “a girl offers water” before or after thank you expressions to increase the degree of familiarity between the interlocutors like Jung accounted. For instance, a mother who is grateful to her daughter for fetching water for her domestic use might prefix her thank you expression with *abaayewa ma nsuo*. In Schneider (2005), he not only identifies the use of adverbs which increase the impact of an illocution but also, *exclaim* such as *oh* which occurs in pre-message position and usually indicates how a benefactor feels towards a preceding thanking act.

The second function of gratitude given by Jung (1994) is the function of conversational opening, changing, stopping and closing. According to him, a speaker

who is to give a speech at a formal address, a special lecture, a conference or a T.V talk show, might begin such conversations by expressing gratitude to (1) reduce any potential high tensions between the interlocutors and (2) to get the attention of the listeners. Also, in situational change or topic transitions, gratitude expressions can serve as a bridge between an old situation and a new one or between an old topic and a new topic. Further, gratitude expressions can be used to stop an ongoing conversation in a hurried situation. Again, a speaker who wants to give a signal that he/she is going to close a conversation can use thank you expressions to do so (Jung, 1994).

In addition to these, he indicates that gratitude also performs the function of leave-taking and positive answer. He explains that a speaker who might want to vary his/her leave-taking pattern might substitute it with *thank you* expressions. For example, instead of responding *good night*, a speaker can decide to say *thank you* just for the sake of variation. Also, a speaker can use gratitude expressions to indicate a positive answer, politeness form, and request to an offer such as, when a speaker responds with a “thank you” to the question, *do you want some more bread?* By thank you, the speaker means to say “yes” (positive answer), “I want more bread” (request), and is at the same time being polite in speech.

Lastly, gratitude serves the function of emotional dissatisfaction or discomfort Jung (1994). He explains that a speaker can express indirect dissatisfaction with an interlocutor’s attitude by the use of gratitude expressions. For instance, a listener who has had enough of a speaker’s boasting can use *thank you* just to get them to stop boasting the more. The usage in such a situation also connotes sarcasm (Jung, 1994). Agyekum (2010) points to instances of this occurrence among the Akan. He reports that a person who feels wronged adopts certain forms of ironical *thank you* expressions

to show disapproval or express their hurt. He indicates that in such situations, an Akan speaker might use the expression *mo!* “Well done”, successively to drive home his point.

In Psychology, three functions of gratitude can be conceptualized as morally relevant. These are (a) a moral barometer function, (b) a moral motive function and, (c) a moral reinforcer function (McCullough, Emmons, Kilpatrick, & Larson, 2001). McCullough *et al.* (2001) posit that just as the barometer reflects a change in the weather condition, so does a benefit that enhances another person’s wellbeing reflect a change in the social relationship of a beneficiary. According to them, the function of gratitude as a moral barometer is dependent on social cognitive inputs and people are most likely to feel grateful, (a) upon the receipt of a particularly valuable benefit, (b) when a high effort and cost have been expended on their behalf, (c) when the expenditure of effort on their behalf seems to have been intentional rather than accidental, and (d) when the expenditure of effort on their behalf was gratuitous.

McCullough *et al.* indicate that the trained ethicists or perceivers’ prototypes will not accept all the acts that benefit another person’s wellbeing to be moral. But they argue that whether moral or not, these acts still render benefits and promote the wellbeing of the beneficiaries. For instance, an impartial perceiver might not consider the selling of illegal firearms to a known criminal to be *absolutely* moral. But from the *local* perspective of the merchant, a benefit is rendered which will in turn, promote the merchant’s wellbeing. Hence, these immoral exceptions actually are arguments for the robustness of the moral barometer function of gratitude (McCullough *et al.*, 2001).

Studies have tried to analyze behavioural reciprocity in terms of many constructs such as motivation to reduce inequity and indebtedness. But McCullough *et al.*, (2001) argue that indebtedness is focused on people: (a) obligation to repay others

who have acted on their behalf intentionally, (b) fear of their inability to repay, and (c) worry about how the whole process of repayment is going to be. And these are in direct contrast to gratitude which is a pleasant emotion and is linked to positive psychological states such as contentment, happiness, pride, and hope.

Gratitude expression serves as a moral reinforcer. This is because benefactors, like beneficiaries, are motivated to behave prosocially when their acts are acknowledged (McCullough *et al.*, 2001). The authors explain further that a benefactor at this point is reinforced for his or her benevolence and hence, becomes more likely to enact such benevolent behaviour in the future. Undeniably, this third moral function proposed by McCullough *et al.*, is highly conceivable because, people like to be appreciated and when they are appreciated, they are strengthened to put more effort into whatever they did that earned them the applause.

### **2.3.2. Why should we express gratitude?**

Without delving into literature, one can easily think of a number of reasons gratitude should be expressed. This is because the positive effects of experiencing and expressing gratitude cover a wide range of almost every domain of human life. From mental health benefits through to physical benefits and interpersonal benefits, gratitude expressions and experience has been justified by a lot of positive results. With regards to mental health benefits, it has been reported that regular practice of the act of gratitude lowers blood pressure, provides strong immune systems, and reduces depression (Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005). Not only that but it has also been discovered that thankfulness is associated with reduced phobias, generalized anxiety disorders, nicotine dependence, alcohol dependence, drug abuse, and adult anti-social behaviour (Kendler, Liu, Gardner, McCullough, Larson, & Prescott, 2003).

The physical benefits of gratitude include better sleep duration and quality, fewer physical complaints, and more time spent in physical exercise (Emmons & Crumpler, 2000; Emmons & McCullough, 2003). Other additional benefits include reduced negative effects of stress on the health of older adults especially women (Krause, 2006) and help with cardiovascular and immune functioning (McCraty & Childre, 2004).

The interpersonal benefits of gratitude cannot go unmentioned because people who experience gratitude frequently are more forgiving (McCullough, Emmons, & Tsang, 2002). Again, people who are grateful are less envious of others and more generous with their possessions (McCullough *et al.*, 2002). Also, people involved in gratitude interventions have been reported to offer help to others more frequently (Emmons & McCullough, 2003).

Indeed, gratitude expression has the tendency to incite people to act with more compassion and generosity. This is because its expression is an indication that a beneficiary accepts the offerings of a benefactor. Among the Akan, a beneficiary will express gratitude by asking for more. The expression, *meda wo ase ebi mmra bio*, meaning “thank you let there be more again” is usually used to express gratitude. This could be a way of encouraging a benefactor to offer more assistance next time.

Gratitude expression has also been reported to enhance life satisfaction. For instance, in a study conducted by Gallup (1998), it was discovered that expressing gratitude helped 90% of adults/teens to feel “somewhat/extremely” happy. Grateful disposition has been found out to correlate with positive emotionality, vitality, happiness, life satisfaction, hope, and optimism (Adler & Fagley, 2005; McCullough *et al.*, 2002). Still on enhanced life satisfaction, Watkins, Van Gelder, & Maleki, (2006) have proposed that gratitude increases access to positive memories.

The expression and experience of gratitude have also been identified to help people cope with adversities. For instance, in his study, Coffman (1996) discovered that survivors of hurricane Andrew often experienced gratitude in the face of loss. Also, in 2003, Frederickson, Tugade, Waugh, & Larkin reveal that gratitude was the second most frequently felt emotion after the 2001 terrorist attack. A grateful approach to negative life events helps reframe memories of unpleasant events (Watkins, Grimm, & Hailu, 1999). The evidence of this is common among most religious groups who consider death a reward from the toils of this world and hence, mostly comfort one another by confronting death with a positive attitude rather than a negative one.

Gratitude experience promotes positive feelings which contribute to one's general sense of well-being (Sansone & Sansone, 2010). According to (Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005), this enables the individual to cope with stressful circumstances, take pleasure in positive circumstances, and strengthen social relationships.

It is no doubt that gratitude expression and experience come along with wonderful therapeutic values which are vital to the human race. Perhaps if humans cultivated the habit of gratefulness or showed kindness to each other, it would help curb a lot of the many diseases that seem to be wasting lots of lives.

#### **2.4 What is Gratitude Response?**

The act of responding to the expression of gratitude is a complicated one. This is because the expression of gratitude humbles the face of a beneficiary towards a benefactor and a benefactor is put in a difficult position as to whether or not to say something so as to reduce the level of face defamation that a beneficiary suffers (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Yet, Jung (1994) argues that a beneficiary's politeness

needs to be responded to or acknowledged by a benefactor since this is how the speech act of thanking can be complete and effective. As the name implies, responses to gratitude expressions follow the act of gratitude expression. According to Jung (1994), an expression of gratitude should be examined along with their response because they are ‘chained actions’, or units of discourse coordinated with each other. In fact, “thanks and responses to thanks form dialogical units known as adjacency pairs” (Schneider, 2005: 103). That is to say that gratitude expression and gratitude responses go hand in hand where the former is directly followed by the latter.

There are records of extensive investigation into the speech act of thanking in its sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic aspect across several languages. However, not much can be said for its reactive speech act namely, gratitude expression response (Grando, 2016).

This report is accurate because currently, there is no work, on gratitude expression responses in Akan. The few studies conducted in this area have referred to this reactive speech act in several ways such as “gratitude acknowledgement” (Grando, 2016: 2), “thanks minimizer” (Schneider, 2005: 103), “thanking responders” (Aijmer, 1996: 40) and “responses to thanks” (Leech and Svartvik, 1994: 173) and they have documented a lot of favourable words to encourage more studies to be conducted into gratitude expression responses.

For instance, Schneider (2005) argues that responses to thanks are usually short standard expressions therefore people might be tempted to disregard their importance. However, he argues that it is the said feature exhibited by this speech act that makes it suitable for a systematic in-depth analysis because it fulfils social functions that cannot be ignored. Certainly, responses to thanking are important in conversational management, as they approve thanking, contributing to the success of

thanking exchanges and thus to the restoration of the interactants' balance of social debts and credits (Grando, 2016). That aside, responses to thanks also motivate beneficiaries to keep up the good act of expressing gratitude just as gratitude expression is also noted to encourage benefactors to do more good for others.

#### **2.4.1 Forms of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan**

People who express gratitude are loved and cherished in every corner of the earth because the importance of the act of gratitude expression is something that humanity cannot overlook. The Akan, like all other peoples across the universe, also hold grateful people in high regards. This is evident in the notable Akan maxim: *sɛ ɔkanni kyɛ adeɛ a, ɔgye aseda*, meaning “if an Akan gives out a gift, he receives thanks”. Among the Akan, an ungrateful person is an uncultured person (Agyekum, 2010). This is reflected in the Akan compound word for ungratefulness; *bonniaye*, made up of words like *aboa* “animal”, *a* “which” *onni* “does not have” *aye* “gratitude” (Agyekum (2010). Clearly, Akan do not take it lightly where matters of gratitude expressions are concerned. As a result, there are varieties of thanking expressions that both native and non-native speakers of the Akan language can choose from. However, each of the expressions is specific to the type of gift or service received and they have deeper pragmatic and socio-philosophical meaning in Akan (Agyekum, 2010).

For instance, Agyekum (2010) reports that the expression *mema wo adware* which literally means “I give you bath” is used upon the receipt of food from another. On the other hand, the expression *mewu a didi* which literally means “when I die eat”, is adopted when a benefactor receives a tremendous gift or service beyond expectation. According to Agyekum, Akan in the past refrained from staple foods for a week upon the death of a family member after which they would shave off their

hairs, wear white clothes, and slaughter white sheep to prepare good meals to break the fast. During this period, Agyekum (2010) reports that the expression *yeredware*, “we are bathing” is used to imply that they are cleansing themselves from the woes and evils associated with the death of their family member.

The use of the second expression takes its roots from the first. That is to say that a benefactor should not join in the family fast upon a beneficiary’s death as a means to reciprocate the good deed done by the benefactor. Ameka (2006) refers to this second expression as hyperbolic. He also distinguishes two additional types of thanking in Akan namely, implicit praise and proverbial expressions. Other forms of gratitude expressions in Agyekum (2010) include

- *meda wo ase/medaase* “I thank you” thank you
- *w’aseda ni* here is your thanks
- *mema wo amo* “I give you well done/ I congratulate you”
- *woaku me* you have killed me

Following Schneider (2005), these examples can be categorized into head moves and supportive moves. He explains that usually, head moves are the standard tokens listed for illustration in the literature and their usage is not situation-dependent. On the other hand, supportive moves are usually situation-specific and are subject to several variations.

Responses to the above mentioned gratitude expressions in Akan include expressions such as

- *aseda nni ho* there is no need for thanks
- *enna ase* don’t mention
- *yoo* sure
- *me nso medaase* thank you too

- *enyɛ hwee* no problem

According to Schneider (2005), the expressions used to realize a particular illocution carry an underlying meaning out of which a pattern can be derived. Schneider refers to these patterns as types. Again, he reports that the types can further be categorized into what is referred to as speaker strategies (Aijmer, 1996) or conventions of means (Clark, 1979). This categorization depends on the underlying semantic and/or syntactic meaning of the types.

## 2.5 Politeness in Akan

It is not unlikely to have people share different views on which acts they consider to be polite and which ones they consider not to be. This is because as universal as this term may seem, it is a culturally defined phenomenon. Consequently, what is considered polite in one cultural context might not necessarily be considered polite in another culture. A common sentiment that might be shared by people across the universe however is that politeness strategies are adopted by interlocutors to make both parties relaxed and comfortable. They are used to express concern for others and to minimize threats to self-esteem in a particular social context.

Among the Akan for instance, children are taught by their parents to say *meda wo ase*, upon the receipt of a gift from another, say *kafra/kosɛ* when they hurt others, prefix their sentences in communication with *mepa wo kyɛw/mepaakyɛw*, keep their hands behind them when speaking with an elderly person, and greet their elders and even their age mates. The above listed are taught to children so that they can maintain their self-esteem as well as their interlocutors' self esteem in communication.

Languages show politeness in their lexicon (for example, the use of certain words in formal occasions, and colloquial forms in informal contexts) and morphology (for example, the use of special verb forms for polite discourse such as

the T-V distinction in Romance languages). Akan can be said to be one language that shows politeness in its lexicon. In the report of Yankah (1991), a formal speech saturated with apologetic formulae like *mepa wo kyew* “I beg you or please”, *mesere me ka* “I beg to say”, and *sebe* “excuse me” in the Akan context is a stylistic mark of politeness. These are adopted to forewarn the interlocutors of a forthcoming perceptible or true profanity, verbal taboo, or proverb, as well as to withdraw from creating the impression that a speaker is being unwarrantedly offensive or abusing the language.

Gratitude expression, as have already been discussed has been identified specifically as an expressive illocutionary act per Searle’s (1979) classifications. Gratitude expression, according to Leech (1983), is also *convivial* and it corresponds to positive politeness. What this means is that parents teach their children to express gratitude for favours they receive in order to show politeness. The next section discusses politeness theory which is the theoretical framework for this study.

## **2.6 Theoretical Framework: Politeness Theory**

Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson developed and proposed politeness theory in 1978. Politeness theory is grounded in the ideas of face as posited by Goffman (1955). “The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume s/he has taken during a particular contact” (Goffman, 1955: 213). Generally, face can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in every interaction (Goffman, 1955). In Politeness theory, it is assumed that we all have face, and we all have face wants and needs. Also, there are varying types of face that are threatened in various face-threatening acts, which could sometimes be threats to a listener’s face, or at other

times, to a speaker's face. A thought about face-threatening acts also bring to mind certain sociological variables referred to as, *weight* by these investigators.

The weight of a face-threatening act is determined by considering the combination of three variables, power, distance, and rank. **Power** is the perceived power dynamic between speaker and hearer. That is, the measure of social power that a targeted hearer has above, beneath, or equal to that of a speaker. **Rank** refers to the cultural ranking of the issue under discussion; the degree of sensitivity of the topic within a particular culture. Agyekum (2004) reports that the Akans accord special importance to people who are of higher rank in the society such as the rich, royals, traditional or political leaders, and heads of corporations. He recounts that people who hold higher rank and power also appear to hold monopoly of free speech and are at the liberty to use whatever language they prefer against those of lower rank and power without paying any attention to their face wants.

Conversely, people of high rank and power are addressed with caution in order not to threaten their faces. They are addressed by the right titles, address terms, and honorifics which match up to their status and rank. Sometimes, an individual who fails to appropriately address a chief or a queen for example can be compelled to pay a fine. By **distance**, reference is made to the amount of social distance between speaker and hearer. That is, whether the targeted hearer is a close friend or a distant colleague. A close relationship would mean a more relaxed conversational atmosphere and *vice versa*. Politeness theory proposes that the decision to choose a particular politeness strategy depend upon the social circumstances in which the speech act occurs. That is, the person you are talking to, your social relationship with the person, and the topic under discussion. As a result, this study will treat the concept of face in line with the

three sociolinguist variables namely, power, rank, and social distance as discussed above.

Politeness theory relies partly on the idea that there are different kinds of face; positive face and negative face. Positive face reflects an individual's need for his wishes and desires to be appreciated in a social context. This is the maintenance of a positive and consistent self image. Negative face reflects an individual's need for freedom of action, freedom from imposition, and the right to make one's own decisions. Gratitude expression and its response are said to be an act that threatens the negative face of a speaker. This is because, in performing this act, a speaker accepts a debt towards the hearer and the responses to thanks minimize this debt. Together, these types of face, respect the face needs as mentioned earlier, which include an individual's face needs for independence and competence.

The theory hinges on the postulation that face threats as posed to a speaker or a hearer are an inherent property of speech acts. In view of that, politeness is an inevitable component to non-face threatening communication. This is because it involves the redressing of positive and negative face.

In Leech (1983), gratitude expression is said to be a friendly illocution that corresponds to politeness. However, it is captured in Brown and Levinson's theory as a speech act that threatens the face of a speaker. Responses to gratitude expression however, can either enhance or threaten the face of the hearer depending on the strategy a speaker adopts to perform this act.

Drawing from these assumptions, Brown and Levinson (1978) identified four main strategies for performing speech acts: *bald on-record*, *positive politeness*, *negative politeness*, and *off-record politeness*. Usually, no effort is provided in the **bald on-record** strategy to minimize threats to the hearer's face. The addressee's

want of respect is not recognized. That notwithstanding, Goldsmith (2000) argues that there are ways in which bald on-record politeness can be used to implicitly minimize face threatening acts such as, giving advice in a non-manipulative way. As embarrassing or shocking that the use of this strategy might be for an addressee, there are instances where its use cannot be avoided. Brown and Levinson (1978) cite instances where one might use bald on-record strategy. These include

- Situations with no threat minimization such as, urgent or desperate situations, for example, “hold still!”; when efficiency is necessary, for example, “pay attention”; Task oriented situations, for example, “hand over the key”; and situations where there is little or no desire to maintain someone’s face, for example, “you are headed in the wrong direction”.
- Situations where there is absolute minimization of the threat such as welcomes, for example, “have a seat”, and offers, for example, “order anything you want”.

The goal of a speaker in **positive politeness** is to address the positive face needs of the hearer, thus, enhancing the hearer’s positive face. This is also known as positive face redress. Positive politeness strategies highlight sociability and solidarity between the speaker and hearer; the speaker’s wants are in some way similar to the hearer’s wants. To accomplish this familiarity and claim a common ground, a speaker can,

- identify and attend to a hearer’s wants, interests and needs;
- use in-group markers to show that both of the interlocutors are members of the same social group;
- agree with the hearer by choice of safe topics and use of repetition; and
- use jokes and humour to breed familiarity.

**Negative politeness**, also known as negative redress, addresses the hearer's need for freedom of action and freedom from imposition in making his or her own decisions. Maha (2014) adds that when a speaker makes the effort to avoid imposition, the risk of face-threat to hearer is reduced. A speaker who employs a negative politeness strategy in a speech act is presumed to be imposing on the listener. Hence, in comparative to bald on-record and positive politeness strategies, this strategy has a high tendency for awkwardness and humiliation.

A direct relationship is assumed between politeness and indirectness when a person resorts to the use of a negative politeness strategy (Ogiermann, 2009). Brown and Levinson (1978) propose that a speaker should,

- be direct to be conventionally indirect;
- not assume or presume and this can be done by the use of questions and hedges;
- not coerce the hearer; this can be achieved by being pessimistic, minimizing the imposition or giving deference, and by communicating desires to not impinge on the hearer by being apologetic, reluctant, or giving overwhelming reasons for having to ask, or beg for forgiveness in the approach to a negative politeness strategy.

The final politeness strategy proposed by Brown and Levinson is the **off-record** or the indirect strategy. This strategy relies upon implication. In this indirect strategy, a speaker tends to rely upon the ability of the hearer to decipher and interpret the meaning intended by the speaker. A speaker can invite conversational implicatures by giving hints, using contradictions, being ironic, and presupposing. They can also be intentionally vague and incomplete by the use of ellipsis in the effort to accomplish an off-record politeness strategy.

Undoubtedly, Brown and Levinson's theory is widely applicable but it has also received a lot of criticisms from researchers. For instance, Brown and Levinson's claim of universality for their theory has received counters from scholars such as Mao (1994), Goldsmith (2000), Watts, Ide, & Ehlich (2005) and Armasu (2012). Mao (1994) agrees that people have face wants yet, he argues that culture is a great determinant for the different strategies that people use to accomplish these face wants. To add to Mao's argument, Goldsmith (2000) also argues that due to diverse "knowledge values" a particular society might record some intracultural differences in their attempt to save face.

According to Armasu (2012), some cultures, for example, Japan and Britain are inclined to negative politeness while positive politeness is more acceptable in Australian culture. This, according to Armasu, makes the politeness strategies used by these cultures a different one from what Brown and Levinson portrayed in their theory. Watts, Ide and Ehlich (2005) also reveal that the Japanese equivalent term for politeness have different sets of connotations associated with it other than the English version of politeness.

Goldsmith (2006) additionally points that a few of the four politeness strategies may be used in more than one type of situation or more than one at a time. Hence, they are not mutually exclusive. To support this view are Ifert, Roloff, & Riffée (2004). They argue that a given speech act (of any politeness strategy) can have multiple consequences, rather than affecting only positive face or negative face as suggested in Brown and Levinson's theory. Also, there might be a change in how politeness strategy is interpreted due to non verbal communication (Goldsmith, 2006).

Goldsmith (2006) again suggests that the way power differences shape the effects of the politeness strategies between strangers is different from that of

acquaintances. Additionally, not all speech act types are discussed in Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness and this includes "refusals of request" which they claim are very common in discourse (Ifert *et al.*, 2004). In the wake of all these shortfalls pointed out in the theory, the theory has also earned a lot of approvals due to its exceptional contribution in the field of communication. This is because the theory is very applicable and helpful in guiding individuals in ways to improve their speech and actions (Goldsmith, 2006). Also, a lot of researchers have been motivated since the introduction of the theory to conduct more studies to either understand or to device an alternative way of thinking (Goldsmith, 2006).

## **2.7 Studies on the Speech Act of Thanking and Responses.**

A great deal of research has been conducted into the expression and function of gratitude in a variety of languages by scholars like (Agyekum, 2010; Aijmer, 1996; Elwood, 2010; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1989; Ohashi, 2008; Okamoto & Robinson, 1997; Schauer & Adolphs, 2006; and Yang, 2016). The responses to thanks have witnessed studies conducted by scholars like (Farenkia, 2012; Grando, 2016; Ouafeu, 2009; Panpothong, 2004; and Schneider, 2005). However, not much can be said about research conducted into gratitude expressions and responses together in a single study. Meanwhile, in the words of Jung (1994), the two should be considered together since they are "chained actions". The few works on gratitude expressions and responses are those conducted in American English by Jung (1994) and in the Hijazi dialect of Saudi Arabia by Altalhi (2014).

Okamoto and Robinson (1997) conducted two studies, first to investigate into the determinants of gratitude expressions of British speakers. The first study was a field experiment involving 288 participants. The study was based on Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. In this study, they hypothesized mainly that the greater

a giver's imposition in benefiting a receiver, the more polite a receiver's expression of gratitude will be. In this first study, the responses of participants to a benefactor who opened a door for them were examined in four different situations. It was discovered that the results gathered were affected by the gaze and the extent of the imposition of the experimenter. Study 2 was purposefully conducted to confirm the influence of the extent of the imposition for more varied types of benefitting behaviour. This was a questionnaire study of 120 participants. Along with the imposition of the giver, situations in the second study were selected to differ in who (giver, receiver, or neither) was responsible for creating the imposition. It was discovered that there was a high tendency to use more polite impressions in the large-imposition conditions and less in the giver-responsible situations. It was also discovered that apology-type expressions were used in a receiver or giver-responsible situations.

Ohashi (2008) used sections of naturally occurring telephone conversations related to gifts or favours that were either given or received in a Japanese end-of-year gift-giving season. The aim of the study was to investigate into what common conversational patterns there exist between a beneficiary and a benefactor with various degrees of social distance such as intimacy and their roles in social exchange.

The study revealed that participants in a conversation cooperate to achieve a mutual pragmatic goal of "debt-credit" equilibrium. This is a symbolic settlement necessary to care for the debt-sensitive face of the participants in a conversation and the linguistic ritual of politeness serves to restore the temporary restoration of equilibrium. Thus, *politeness* does not free the debtor from the debt. It was also discovered that many speech acts and politeness theories are unable to predict the different ways by which native Japanese speakers indicate politeness. According to

Ohashi, *o-rei* (politeness) is commonly practiced outside a family circle and it serves as a symbolic repayment of debt.

In 2012, Farenkia undertook a study to examine the politeness strategies that a group of English-speaking Canadian University students adopt in their responses to gratitude expressions. Data was collected by means of a Discourse Completion Task questionnaire from 63 participants. Based on Aijmer's (1996) classification of responses to thanks, the responses were analyzed and defined in terms of the semantic strategies employed to react to expressions of gratitude. Again, using Schneider's (2005) inventory, the response strategies were also examined with regard to their linguistic realisation forms. The study also analyzed the directness or indirectness of the responses to thanks as well as their length. The situational distribution of the major strategies and the linguistic realization forms were also examined.

The findings from the study indicated that with regards to the speakers' strategies, participants mostly prefer "minimizing the favour" and "expressing benediction" to respond to gratitude expression. This suggests that native speakers of Canadian English, like Irish English speakers, American English and British English, seem to make the same choices. The results on the realization forms of responses to thanks revealed that respondents often employed constructions with *no problem*, *welcome and pleasure*. Regarding the length of responses, it was observed that informants favoured simple responses to thanks much more often than complex responses. Social and power distance was also discovered to play a role in the choice of semantic strategies and the realization forms as well.

Schneider (2005) investigated into the responses to thanks in three national varieties of English, namely, the varieties spoken in Ireland, England and the United States of America. The focus of the study was to identify the specific choices made by

English speakers of the three language varieties with respect to (1) the interactional patterns in which Thanks Minimizers (TMs) are employed, (2) the realization of head moves and supportive moves, (3) the types of TM realization and their variants, (4) the frequencies of the tokens belonging to these types, (5) the speaker strategies, (6) the modification patterns, and (7) the situational distribution of tokens.

Data was collected from 180 informants using a mixed-task questionnaire in 3 broad categories (1) multiple choices tasks (MCTs), (2) discourse completion tasks (DCTs), and (3) dialogue completion tasks and consisted of 15 tasks. It was concluded from the study that TMs are less frequently used in British English than in American English. TMs were also found to be more standardized in American English than in British English. In terms of speaker strategies, “minimizing the favour” was observed to be of much importance to speakers of English English than for speakers of Irish and American English.

Grando, in 2016 undertook a study to analyse American English verbal reactions to thanking acts which she called Gratitude Acknowledgements (GAs). With a total number of 12 participants, an audio recorded role play transcripts were examined to identify how GAs are used in American English. The findings from the study revealed that GAs are the participants’ preferred reaction to gratitude. It was concluded that GAs in AmE are lexico-semantically and syntactically flexible. Hence, they can range from simpler and more conventional, to more complex and elaborate realisations because they can adapt to different situational contexts and interlocutors’ role-relationships. One of the few works that considered gratitude expression and responses together in a single study is Jung (1994). In this study, Jung presented the functions of thanking and their responses in American English. Hymes’ ethnographic

approach was adopted in the collection of data and was supported by data from written texts and T.V programmes to supplement the example of actual use.

A total of 364 examples of responses to an act of thanking were analyzed. With respect to the responses, it was identified that the choice of response is determined by such factors as the interlocutors' relationship, and their communicative intent. This was based on six types of responses to the use of "thank you": "acceptance, denial, reciprocity, comment, nonverbal gesture, no response" which was identified.

A second work on gratitude expression and responses was conducted by Altalhi (2014). In her study, data was collected through the observation of naturally occurring thanking and responses to thanking by female speakers of the Hijazi dialect in their everyday interactions. A total of 400 thanking exchanges gathered from the homes of friends and relatives, hospitals, a female university campus were used for an in-depth analysis of the strategies used in expressing gratitude and responding to gratitude expressions in three situations: thanking exchanges for low imposition favours, thanking exchanges for serving a meal and thanking exchanges for receiving a gift. It was observed that Hijazi females adopt various strategies to express and respond to thanking for a low imposition favour as against thanking for a meal or a gift. In responding to thanking for a favour, it was observed that they prefer to use *minimizing the debt* if the interlocutors are acquaintances, relatives or friends. But they would adopt the *opting out* strategy if their interlocutors are strangers.

### **2.7.1 Studies on the speech act of thanking in Akan.**

Akan has not recorded many studies in the area of the speech act of thanking. Currently, the only available study on the speech act of thanking in Akan is Agyekum (2010). On a broader scope, Ameka (2006) conducted a study into West African

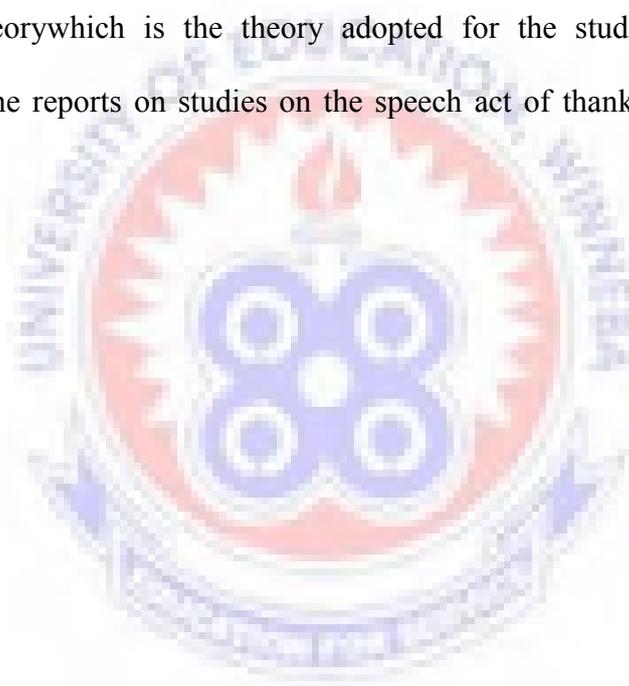
languages including the Akan language. In Agyekum's (2010) study, he addressed the language of thanking under expressive speech acts and linguistic routines. Data was gathered through observation and recording of thanksgiving encounters at different settings including funerals, family gatherings, thanksgiving services in churches, and a shrine.

The study revealed that one of the most important linguistic routines among the Akan is thanking, and this forms part of children's socialisation and enculturation. It was also revealed that one's communicative competence, as well as respect for others and mastery of Akan social values and norms, is depicted by thanking. A further finding from the study showed that apart from the informal daily routine of thanking, there are important ethnographic situations where thanking is institutionalized such as, thanking after child birth, thanking after arbitration, and thanking at the shrine. However, it was also observed that thanking can fall under indirect speech act in Akan where the linguistic form of the discourse is thanking but the speaker intention is to blame a listener.

Ameka, in his (2006) study, set out to describe gratitude routines in West African languages and to discover the linguistic and cultural knowledge structures necessary for understanding both literal and figurative expressions of gratitude. He observed that gratitude expression in Akan embodies implicit praise of the benefactor which makes thanking in Akan a face threatening act to the speaker. Also, he found that the most common response strategy in West African languages, including Akan, is minimizing the favour.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This chapter set out to review scholarly works on gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses to help clarify the core objectives of the study. Issues discussed in the chapter include the notion of pragmatic competence, speech act and the speech act theory. Also, the chapter discussed issues on the notion of gratitude and gratitude functions as well as the importance of expressing gratitude. Gratitude response and forms of gratitude expressions and responses in Akan were also introduced as well as the Akan concept of politeness. Further, the chapter discussed politeness theory which is the theory adopted for the study. Lastly, the chapter presented some reports on studies on the speech act of thanking in Akan and other languages.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

In this chapter, the general approach and specific techniques that were adopted for the research are discussed. There are seven sections to the chapter. Issues discussed include the research design, research area, population for the study, the sample size and the sampling strategies. Also, the instruments used for the data collection are shown clearly in the chapter. The procedure for the analysis of data is also presented in the chapter. Finally, a conclusion is drawn to end the chapter.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

A qualitative design was the approach adopted for the study. Dörnyei (2007) indicates that the focus of a qualitative research is to describe, understand, and clarify a human experience. Consequently, this research is set out to describe, understand and clarify how Akan speakers express gratitude and respond to gratitude expressions. A qualitative research is commonly characterised as being emergent in nature. This is so in the sense that every aspect of a qualitative research design is made flexible so as to allow room for details that may come up as the investigation is on-going. In a qualitative research, a researcher is presented with the opportunity to work with different data such as recorded interviews, various types of texts including field observation, documents, and diary entries as well as images such as, pictures and videos. Another feature of a qualitative research is that it describes naturally occurring social phenomenon without any manipulative attempts in a natural setting and it is concerned with the individuals' subjective opinions, feelings, and experiences so as to explore the views of the respondents of the issue under investigation. In other words,

a researcher conducting a qualitative research takes a view of the social phenomenon from the perspective of the “insiders” or respondents (Dörnyei, 2007).

### **3.2 Research Setting**

The setting for the study was selected based on two major criteria. First, was to locate a place that fell within one of the regions of Ghana noted to be dominated by Akan speakers. This is because Akan is spoken in almost all the ten regions of Ghana but not all the regions are noted as home to the Akan people. Second, was to locate a place that is a district capital rather than a regional capital in Ghana. This is because speakers in these areas are presumed to speak the unadulterated form of the Akan language due to their geographical locations.

Several dialects which are mutually intelligible make up the Akan language. However, just a few of these dialects have been developed and are taught in schools. The implication of this is that almost all the speakers of the other dialects of Akan which are not developed speak one of the few developed dialects in addition to their own native dialects. Consequently, data were collected in Asante Twi, Akuapim Twi, and Fanti from three different towns; Tapa, Akropong, and Ajumako where the inhabitants are native speakers of the Asante Twi, Akuapim Twi, and Fante dialects respectively. These three dialects are a part of the few developed Akan dialects by the Bureau of Ghana languages (Peak, 2009).

Tapa is a small town and the capital of the Ahafo Ano North district in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. The people of Tapa speak the Asante Twi dialect and their major occupation is farming. Ajumako is the capital of the Ajumako/Enyan/Essiam district in the Central region of Ghana. The natives are Fantis and their main occupation is farming. Akropong is the capital of the Akuapim North district in the

Eastern region of Ghana. Akuapim Twi is the dialect spoken in Akropong and their main occupation is Agriculture.

### **3.3 Population**

Native speakers of Akan make up the population for this study. The Akan predominantly speak Central Tano languages and are located in the southern regions of Ghana. The 2010 census conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service records that the Akan are the largest ethnic group in Ghana, constituting 47.5% of the total Ghanaian population. The Akan language is made up of several mutually intelligible dialects which are put into two main divisions namely, Twi and Fante. The sub-varieties that make up the Twi dialects include; Asante, Akuapem, Akyem, Kwahu, Akwamu, Bono, Twifo, Denkyira, and Assin, while those spoken along the coast between Sekondi-Takoradi in the Western region and Accra in the Greater Accra Region make up the Fante dialects (Boadi, 1997).

### **3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques**

A total number of thirty (30) male and female participants were conveniently sampled to participate in this study. According to Dörnyei (2007), a researcher uses participants who are available in a convenience sampling. As a result, the researcher is able to save time and money by adopting this sampling technique and is also able to collect rich data. The convenience sampling strategy was used to gather information for this study because it was more useful in the collection of honest responses from the respondents who wanted to participate willingly in the study.

### **3.5 Data Collection Method and Instruments**

Data collection methods employed by researchers in studies on speech act are broadly categorized into two namely; elicitation of monitored discourse and recording of spontaneous discourse (Grando, 2016). The methods for collecting elicited data include interviews as well as the use of different types of questionnaires such as, DCTs, rating scales, and Multiple Choice questionnaires. A large amount of data is easily gathered by the use of a questionnaire under closely monitored experimental conditions (Golato, 2004). But questionnaires fail to capture the actual reactions of respondents hence, denying the researcher of any possibility to observe and record any feature that exists in spoken discourse (Kasper, 2008). This means that in order to capture the behaviour of respondents in real life situations, there is the need to record the participants' interactions as experienced in real life as at when they are involved in the interaction, a method referred to by Grando (2016) as a recording of spontaneous discourse.

According to Grando (2016), three main techniques are traditionally employed in collecting spontaneous data. These are audio recordings, field notes, and video recordings. However, these also have strengths and limitations specific to each of them. For instance, although a researcher can collect a considerable amount of data in various contexts by using field notes, a researcher cannot compare notes prepared in the field with any original data (Golato, 2004). Audio recordings on the other hand, allow the researcher to compare captured data with original utterances repeatedly excluding the visual aspect of the interaction (Kasper, 2008). In spite of this, their use is problematic with respect to obtaining permission from participants and the collection of adequate data (Golato, 2004).

Certainly, neither of the two methods of collecting data is without limitations. That notwithstanding, there is one method of elicitation which tries to provide a natural setting as well as permit the researcher to control certain variables in a study known as role play Demeter (2007). In her study on the speech act of invitation, Rosendale (1989) concludes that role play is a valid and reliable data collection method which allows inferences to be made about real life situations. Demeter (2007) also proposes that role play might not be the first choice in studies on the perception of speech act but they seem to be one of the best choices in research on speech act production. Again, Cohen and Olshtain (1994) conducted a study into the benefits and drawbacks of the use of different instruments to collect data. They concluded that role play interviews and the discourse completion test are the main instruments used to study speech act production.

For the purpose of this study, data was mainly gathered by using role play. This is because DCTs are argued to encourage participants to produce their responses in a textual form. And because of this, participants cannot easily picture themselves in the situations given in DCTs (Demeter, 2007). Also, DCTs give respondents more time to think about their responses hence, making the responses less spontaneous than those made orally Barron (2003). On the other hand, the use of role play helps participants to easily imagine themselves in the respective situations because they get to actually produce their responses verbally (Demeter, 2007).

### **3.5.1 Method for collecting oral elicited discourse: Role plays**

Role-plays are “simulations of social interactions” (Kasper, 2008: 288) in which participants assume and enact described roles within specified situations. According to Grando (2016), some scholars estimate role plays to spontaneous discourse because they think of it as a fairly good conciliation to the methodological

differences between the collection of elicited data and that of the spontaneously produced data. Role play can either be spontaneous; meaning participants are not required to assume a different role/identity other than their own, or mimetic pretending; meaning participants are required to take on a different role/identity from their own (Grando, 2016). Again, role plays can be closed or open ended. In a closed role play participants react to the prompt in a single-turn utterance while the open role play allows the participants many turns as they would need to complete the required task.

A major argument against role plays is that participants generate interactions from imaginary contexts which are in no connection to reality and hence, it provides no real, actually perceived consequences for the participants. Also, the participants' lack of the previous social experience might lead them to enact their suppositions about what is appropriate or typical in a certain context (Golato, 2004). Nevertheless, researchers who use role play to gather data are able to closely monitor the experimental conditions of their studies (Grando, 2016).

### **3.5.2 Data collection procedure**

This study collected data on gratitude expressions and responses to gratitude expressions by using a mimetic-pretending and open-ended role plays. The idea behind this decision was to collect the verbal responses from the participants so as to get a similar data as one gathered in a natural environment. The role play scenarios were mostly based on real-life events such that participants could easily relate to these scenarios. They described situations involving two interactants in the roles of beneficiary and benefactor. They were designed so as to lead the participants to produce oral acts of thanking and to also react to these oral acts of thanking. Participants were provided with different background information in each scenario

description relevant to their respective roles as beneficiary vs. benefactor. These scenarios varied with respect to social distance and power.

The degree of imposition, that is, speaker's obligation to perform an act or hearer's expenditure of goods or service was kept constant (i.e. high) because it was believed that this would more easily lead the participants to engage in the production of thanking exchanges. Since what constitute imposition varies from person to person (Goldschmidt, 1996), the scenarios were designed to clearly reveal the value of the benefits. Consequently, four gratitude expression scenarios with their respective responses scenarios were compiled. The participants (15 females, 15 males) between the ages of 25 and 60 years were grouped in pairs for distinct elicitation sessions, after having undergone a short interview to confirm their age and native tongue, and agreeing to participate in the study. During the elicitation session, each pair of participants was presented with two gratitude expression scenarios as well as two gratitude expression response scenarios to act. At the end of each elicitation session, each pair took turns being the pro-active (Speaker A) vs. the reactive (Speaker B) interlocutor.

The scenarios were read to each of the participants and after confirming their understanding of what they were expected to do, an audio recorder was set by the participants themselves to collect the oral expressions of the participants for analysis. The process was repeated for all the remaining scenarios. The participants were not given any time restriction for the realization of their task. They were given the liberty to repeat their task performance for as many times they wanted until they were satisfied with their recordings. All the recordings were done in the absence of the researcher, an attempt made to give extra space to the participants to make them comfortable to produce adequate data.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

The recorded data were transcribed into text after which a coding scheme was developed by drawing on extant literature on gratitude expressions (Altalhi, 2014 and Cheng, 2005) and gratitude expression responses (Altalhi, 2014; Farenkia, 2012; Grando, 2016; Schneider, 2005). The analysis was performed to identify (1) head moves and supportive moves, (2) types of gratitude expression and gratitude expressions responses realisations and their variants, (3) speaker strategies, (4) the modification patterns, (5) the situational distribution of tokens, and (6) aspects of Akan culture evident in their gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses.

#### **3.6.1 Identification of head moves and supportive moves**

Head moves are usually formulaic realizations and they are situation-independent. Also, they are listed for illustration in the literature and are realized by standard tokens Schneider(2005). Supportive moves, although conventionalized to a certain degree, are, as a rule, longer, non-elliptical, less formulaic and subject to more variation and are usually explicitly situation dependent Schneider (2005). Therefore, the identification of the head and supportive moves was done dwelling on this background. For instance, to identify the head moves for gratitude expressions, all tokens that were used directly in reaction to a gift or favour were considered as head moves. Likewise, all other tokens that were not directly used in reaction to a gift or favour, but were recurrent in the data during the gratitude expression exchanges were considered as supportive moves.

### **3.6.2 Identification of the types and tokens of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses**

According to Schneider (2005), an underlying pattern can be identified from the actual formulations used to realize the head moves. The actual formulations otherwise known as tokens exhibit a certain amount of variation either syntactically or semantically known as the types. The types are labelled in upper case, and they are labelled based on the most frequent token belonging to the respective type. For instance, the tokens *meda wo ase* and *medaase* both belong to the same type and the label used for this particular type is *MEDA WOASE*; THANK YOU since *meda wo ase* occurs much frequently in this pattern than *medaase*.

### **3.6.3 Identification of speaker strategies**

Speaker strategies are further derivations from the types. In other words, they are a subset of the types. To identify the speaker strategies, the underlying semantic and/or syntactic meaning exhibited by the types were greatly relied on. For instance, the type *ennase* “don’t mention” and all its other related tokens are captured as minimizing the favour strategy.

### **3.6.4 Identification of internal modification patterns.**

Schneider (2005) reports that head moves are modified both externally by the use of supportive moves and internally by the use of exclaim and intensifiers. According to him, exclaim precede a head move to express an attitude towards a giver or a preceding thanking act. Intensifiers, on the other hand, occur inside a message (Schneider, 2005). Therefore, to identify the internal modifications used in the data, all recurring words or expressions that either preceded or succeeded a given head move were noted.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the general approach and specific techniques that were adopted for the research. The issues discussed in the chapter include the research design, research area, population for the study, the sample size and the sampling strategies. Also, the instruments used for the data collection were discussed. The procedure for the analysis of data was also presented in the chapter.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.0 Overview

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected on gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan. The analysis shows that gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses can be realized with different tokens in Akan. However, it was shown that the choice of a particular token is influenced by sociological variables such as social distance and power. Also, the analysis shows that there are aspects of Akan culture evident in their gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses. The aspects of culture include belief in God, proverbs, idioms and figurative expressions. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the results on gratitude expressions while the second section presents results on gratitude expression responses. The third and final section presents the results on the aspect(s) of Akan culture in gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses.

#### 4.1 Gratitude Expressions Realizations

The results on the realization of gratitude expressions are presented in five sections. In the first section (section 4.1.1), the types and tokens employed to realize head moves are discussed. These conventions of form are then related to the conventions of means in section 4.1.2. Token combinations are also presented in section 4.1.3, while internal modification (i.e. modifiers used in head moves) and external modification (i.e. realizations of supportive moves) are examined in sections

#### 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 respectively.

Schneider (2005) argues that head moves are realized by standard tokens and are usually listed for illustration in the literature such as *don't mention it* and *not at all*. In the present study, the formulaic expressions used in head moves are categorized by type and token. The actual formulations which the informants used to realize gratitude expressions are the tokens. These tokens display a certain amount of syntactic and/or semantic variation, and an underlying pattern at the same time (Schneider, 2005). These patterns are the types which are labelled in upper case. The labels are derived from the most frequent token belonging to the respective type. For instance, the tokens *meda wo ase* and *medaase* both belong to the same type which are labelled as *MEDA WO ASE* because it occurred much more frequently in this pattern than *medaase*. The tokens employed to realize head moves occur individually or in combination with other head moves. Hence, the present study also makes a distinction between single head moves (e.g., *medaase*), double head moves (e.g., *medaase, Nyame nhyira wo*), and multiple head moves (e.g., *medaase, woayɛ adeɛ, Nyame nhyira wo*).

Supportive moves are also conventionalized to a certain degree but unlike head moves, they are subject to variation hence, making them less formulaic (Schneider, 2005). Also supportive moves are non elliptical and explicitly situation-specific. For instance, unlike the head move *meda wo ase*, which can be shortened as *medaase* to mean the same thing, the token *m'ani agyeis* is a supportive move and is always realized as such, without any attempt to shorten it. Again, this token is only used only when a speaker wants to express their joy making its usage a situation-specific one. In the present study however, the definition of supportive moves have been expanded to include any other recurring expressions in the data such as *m'ani*

*asɔ*, *abɔ me pusa* etc. that were not used overtly in response to a benefit but were used in the gratitude expression exchanges.

Speaker strategy or conventions of means are a subset of the realization types or conventions of form. In other words, the underlying pattern exhibited by the actual formulations used by the speakers is what generates into the speaker strategies. For instance, the type *NYAME NHYIRA WO* together with all its other related tokens such as *Nyame nyɛ wo kɛse*, *Nyame nto wo nkwa mu* etc are all considered as realizations of the same speaker strategy namely “Expressing benediction”.

The modification of head moves is not only externally done by the use of supportive moves, but it can also be done internally (Grando, 2016; Schneider, 2005). In the present study, three types of internal modification appeared: upgraders, uptakers and address terms. Upgraders increase the impact of an illocution (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper, 1989b). The typical examples of upgraders that showed up in the data are adverbs such as *paa* and adjectives such as *piesie*. Uptakers occur in pre-message position and they frame the head act from the outside (Grando, 2016). The subtype which occurred in the data has been termed *exclaim*. The function of *exclaim*, according to Schneider (2005), is to express an attitude towards a preceding thanking act. With regards to gratitude expressions however, it can be considered to express a reaction towards a gift. A typical example from the data include *oh*, *aw*, *yee*, and *ei*. The third type of modification from the data is address terms. This refers to a cultural setting in which closeness, distance, respect, and reverence prevail (Farekia, 2013). Grando (2016) refers to this as “alerters” because they attract the interlocutors’ attention. Examples of address terms that occurred in the data include *m’awura/m’awuraba*; my lady, *owura*; gentleman, *me nua/onua*; my brother/brother.

In the following discussions, the results from the data on gratitude expression are presented.

#### 4.1.1 Conventions of form

Overall, three realization types emerged from the data. These are (as represented by their distinctive element or dominant form):

- *MEDA*      *WO*      *ASE*  
1SG.lie      2SG      under

‘I lie under you’

‘Thank you’

- *NYAME*      *NHYIRA*      *WO*  
God      bless      2SG.

‘God bless you’

- *MO*  
Well done.

*MEDA WO ASE*, which is alternatively realized as *medaase*, literally means I lie under you. According to (Ameka, 2006), the expression by implication, puts a benefactor above a beneficiary living a beneficiary at the mercy of a benefactor. Hence, this type of thanking threatens the face of the speaker. The Akans refer to God as *Nyame* and it is synonymous with Awurade, Nyankopon, and Yehowa. According to Akan folklore, the word is shortened from the expression, *wonya no a na woamee* which literally mean when you get him you become satisfied. The final shortened form of the word *Nyame* is made up of *nyame* meaning get and *mee* meaning satisfy. So, for an Akan speaker to use the expression *Nyame nhyira wo* to show gratitude is a way of wishing that their listeners never lack anything in life because of their kindness. The expression *NYAME NHYIRA WO* was realized with other tokens like:

- Nyankopɔn *nhyɛ wo anan mu*  
God fill 2SG place PREP  
“God refill your place”  
‘God repay you’.
- Awurade *nyɛ wo kɛsɛ*  
God make 2SG big  
“God make you big”  
‘God enlarge you’.
- Onyame *mma w’adwuma nkɔ so*  
God give 2SG.work go on  
“God make your job go on”  
‘God flourish your job’.
- Onyame *mma wo nni no yie*  
God give 2SG eat it well  
“God give you prosperity”.  
‘God prosper you’
- Nyame *nto wo nkwa mu*  
God add 2SG life PREP  
“God add life to you”  
‘God give you long life’.
- Nyame *nte n’anim nkyerɛ wo*  
God clear 3SG.face show 2SG  
“God make his face clear for you”  
‘God favour you’.

*MO* is alternatively realized as *woayɛ adeɛ*; you have done well. This type is minimally used compared to the *MEDA WO ASE* and *NYAME NHYIRA WO* types. This could be due to the fact that it rather compliments rather than shows a debt of gratitude.

#### 4.1.2 Conventions of means

As already indicated, speaker strategies are identified based on the actual formulations used by speakers to realize gratitude expression. As a result, three speaker strategies namely, *thanking*, *expressing benediction*, and *complimenting the giver* are identified in the data.

**Thanking strategy**, this refers to that type of strategy in which the actual formulations used to express gratitude involves thanking words (Altalhi, 2014; Cheng, 2005). From the data, thanking words in the Akan language is *meda wo ase/medaase* as in (1).

##### Example 1

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift.

*Abi medaasepaa, m'akoma so adeɛ na woayɛ ama me yi nti meda wo ase*

Abi thanks a lot; you have granted my heart's desire so thank you.

**Expressing benediction strategy**, in this strategy, the actual formulations used to express gratitude involve prayers and blessings Altalhi (2014). From the data, *Nyame nhyira wo*, and all its related alternative tokens correspond to blessings and prayers as in (2).

Example 2

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift.

*Nyame nhyira wo, Nyame nhye wo anan mu, onto wo nkwa nna mu*

God bless you, God repay you, and may he give you long life.

***Complimenting the giver strategy***, this is the strategy in which the actual formulations used to express gratitude involve praises. From the data, *mo/woaye adee* reflects this notion. This strategy is mostly used in situations where the interlocutors are either close friends as in (3) or colleagues as in (4) or where the beneficiary is superior to the benefactor as in (5). By using this strategy, speakers are trying to escape the use of the *thanking strategy* which threatens the face of the speaker when used. Therefore in order to be polite while saving their faces at the same time, speakers rather opt for the *complimenting the giver* strategy.

Example 3

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift.

*Mbo mbo mbo Nyame nhyira wo*

Well done, well done, well done, God bless you.

Example 4

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a colleague for assistance

*Mo! Woaye ade, Nyame nhyira wo papaapa*

Well done! You have done well, God bless you very much.

Example 5

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a subordinate for a gift.

*Nyame nyhira wo, woaye adee*

God bless you, you have done well.

From examples 3 to 5, the speakers never used the *thanking strategy* in combination with the *expressing benediction* strategy and *complimenting the giver* strategy. They rather combine the *expressing benediction* strategy with the *complimenting the giver* strategy. This is an indication that the use of the *thanking* strategy actually threatens the face of the speakers. Therefore, they rather choose to save their faces by opting for the other two strategies instead of the *thanking* strategy.

#### 4.1.3 Token combinations

As mentioned earlier, the tokens employed to realize head moves occur individually or in combination with other head moves. From the data it is revealed that a single head move as in (6) could be used to express gratitude, double head moves are used as in (7), or triple head moves as in (8).

Example 6

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a colleague for offering assistance.

*Medaase*

Thank you.

Example 7

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift.

*Nyame nhyira wo, medaase*

God bless you, thank you.

Example 8

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude for receiving assistance from a colleague.

*Medaase, Nyame nhyira wo, woaye adee*

Thank you, God bless you, you have done well.

From the data, each token combines with the other to a different extent. For instance, *medaase* combines mostly with *Nyame Nhyira wo* almost throughout the data and the two also occur mostly as a single head. The combination of *medaase* and *Nyame nhyira wo* to express gratitude could be associated to the level of sincerity of the gratitude felt; *because the gratitude one feels is so deep, it is not enough to just say thank you, so blessings are attached to the thank you to indicate the depth of the gratitude felt.*

*Mo/woayε adeε* never occurs as a single head but it always occur with *Nyame nhyira wo* and its related tokens. This could be due to the lack of a direct indication of a show of gratitude in *mo/woayε adeε* which as a result, deprived it of the chance to stand alone in expressing gratitude. Also, the occurrence of *mo/woayε adeε* only with *Nyame nhyira wo* all the time could be a way of the speakers trying to save their faces while heightening the effect of the gratitude felt.

#### 4.1.4 Internal modification

Three types of internal modification that occur in the data are intensifiers, exclaim, and address terms. While the intensifiers appear within the message to increase the depth of gratitude felt, exclaim and address terms appear in pre-message position to express an attitude towards a benefactor and to attract the attention of the benefactor respectively. The intensifiers occur only in two types namely, *MEDA WO ASE ASE* as in(9)and *NYAME NHYIRA WO* as in (10) but not in *MO*.

##### Example 9

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift

*Meda wo ase bebreε*

Thank you a lot/many thanks.

Example 10

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift

*Nyame nhyira wo papaapa*

God bless you very much.

The absence of intensifiers in *MO* could be due to the lack of a direct show of gratitude in *MO* and hence, the lack of necessity to intensify it. Examples of intensifiers that show up in the data are adverbs and adjectives which according to Schneider (2005), "...have a heightening effect on the elements of the proposition" (p. 114). Adverbs in the Akan language are sometimes formed by reduplicating an adjective. For instance the adjective *pa*; good is reduplicated to form the adverb *papaapa/papapapa*; very much. Other examples of adverbs in the data include *pii/bebree*; many/a lot. The only adjective used in the data is *piesie* as in (11).

Example 11

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a stranger for a favour

*Aseda piesie na me ne m'asefoɔ nyinaa mede ma wo*

I give you the first of thanks together with my offspring.

The Akans attach great importance to their first children because they are symbolic of a father's strength and continuity of a family's generation. Likewise, names given to Akan children are accorded much significance. This is because, apart from serving as a mark of identity, Akan names also give insight into their culture, philosophy, thought, environment, and religion. As a result, naming a child among the Akans is contingent to several factors surrounding the birth of a child. For instance, children can be named according to the order of their birth. An example is *Piesie* which is given to the first child born to a family. Agyekum (2006) explains that the name *Piesie* is made up of *pie* meaning 'erupt' and *sie* meaning 'anthill'.

Symbolically, the anthill is compared to the protruded stomach of a pregnant woman from which the first child has erupted (Agyekum, 2006). Therefore, to use the expression in example 11 above is in other words to say that I give you the symbol of my strength which is my first born. And since first children also symbolize continuity of a family's generation, the expression can also mean that I offer you my entire generation as a proof of the gratitude I feel towards you.

Exclaimis used in pre-message position mostly to express how a beneficiary feels about the favour received. Normally, when the favour received is unexpected or gratuitous, the speakers would exclaim to either show their surprise or genuine appreciation. Examples of exclaim that are used in the data include *oh*, *ah*, *ei,yee* and *aw*. There is however a difference in the positioning of *oh*. From the data, it is observed that *oh* could occur in pre-message position as in (12), and/or in post message positions as in (13).

Example 12

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift

*Oh medaase paa braa Nyame nhyira wo*

Oh thank you very much brother God bless you.

Example 13

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a subordinate for a gift

*Oh Akua, aduhwam yi a wode abre me yi m'ani aso oh, medaase oh*

Oh Akua, I really appreciate the body spray you have given to me oh, I thank you oh.

From example 13, the use of *oh* in post message position is to heighten the effect of the gratitude expression as against the pre-message position which expresses an attitude towards the listener.

The third type of internal modification which occurs in the data is the use of address terms which attracts an interlocutor's attention (Grando, 2016). From the data, they also occur in pre-message position and the choice of a particular address term is specific to the social distance between the interlocutors as in (14) and (15). Examples of address terms that occur in the data include *m'awura/m'awuraba*; my lady, *owura*; gentleman, *me nua/onua*; my brother/brother, *maame*; mother, and *barima*; man.

Example 14

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift

*Me nua, meda wo ase.*

My brother, thank you.

Example 15

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a distant and a younger benefactor for a favour

*M'awuraba, meda wo ase.*

My lady, thank you.

From example 14, the speaker refers to the benefactor as a brother to show the close communicative distance between the speaker and the hearer. But in example 15, the speaker used a more formal address because of the distance in their relationship. The use of the formal address for a stranger could be a polite way of the speaker trying to get the attention of the benefactor. Sometimes the speakers use the names of

the benefactor instead of an address term when the relationship between them is a close one (Jung, 1994) as in example 16.

Example 16

Context: Speaker is expressing gratitude to a close male friend for a gift

Kwesi, medaase de adze a morokotɔ, atɔ bi abɾem. Nyame nhyira wo, Nyame nyɛ wo kɛse.

Kwesi, thank you for giving me something I was originally going to buy. God bless you, God enlarge you.

#### 4.1.5 Supportive moves

Supportive moves have already been explained to include any other recurring expressions in the data that are not used overtly in response to a benefit but are used in the gratitude expression exchange. From the data, supportive moves sometimes occur before a head move as in (17) or after a head move as in (18).

Example 17

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift

*ntoma yi deɛafu me mupaa, medaase.*

As for this cloth it has really surprised me, thank you.

Example 18

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend for a gift

*Oh, medaase paa braa, Nyame nhyira wo, woama m'ani agye.*

Oh thank you very much brother, God bless you, you have made me happy.

At other times, multiple supportive moves are used in support of a head move as in (19)

Example 19

Context: Female speaker is expressing gratitude to a close male friend for a gift

*Timo, medaase, m'ani mpo nna se obi betumi atɔsaa ntoma yi a ne boɔ ye den mpo sei ama me. M'ani asɔyie.*

Timo, thank you, I didn't imagine anyone will buy such an expensive cloth for me. I am grateful.

Just like the head moves, the realization of the supportive moves also follows a pattern. The patterns that are identified from the data include:

**1. Expressing Surprise**

The speakers express gratitude by indicating their unexpectedness of the gift or favour received. The tokens used to realize this supportive move include

- *Afu me mu/ aye me nwanwa.*

I has taken me by surprise/it has surprised me.

- *Me ho adwiri me/ abɔ me pusa.*

I am shocked/it has shocked me.

- *M'ani nna/ mansusu.*

I didn't expect it/I didn't imagine it.

- *Agye me nsam.*

I am speechless.

This supportive move is mostly used in situations where the benefactor is a stranger. The reason could be that people usually expect the least from strangers hence, when the opposite happens, it gives rise to surprises.

## **2. Acknowledging the Imposition**

The expression of gratitude is done by affirming the value of a gift or using a seemingly discouraging statement to diminish the need for the favour. The token used to realize this supportive move is:

- *Ne boɔ yɛ den.*

It is expensive.

The speakers acknowledge the imposition of a gift or favour mostly in situations where the addressee is a subordinate or a colleague. The implication could be that usually, superiors earn more than their subordinates and equally command authority than their subordinates. Therefore, a gift or favour is best received from them and not vice versa. In view of that when situations occur in the opposite, it give rise to affirming the value of the act done partly because it might have caused them more than enough to get the act done. Likewise, in the case of colleagues, they are usually earning the same amount and facing the same challenges hence, the value of a kind gesture from them calls for acknowledgement since they have gone the extra mile to still share the little they have with their colleagues who probably already have an equal share of what they have given.

## **3. Expressing Appreciation**

The speakers express gratefulness for a gift or favour. This supportive move is realized with the token,

- *M'ani asɔ.*

I appreciate/I am grateful.

The speakers express appreciation mostly in situations where the addressee is a close friend or a subordinate. This could be a way of the speakers trying to heighten their show of gratitude. This is because by showing appreciation, the speakers show

their benefactor show they truly feel about their kind gesture towards them. Of course, close friends sometimes share their feelings so it is conceivable for the speakers to show gratefulness to their close friends for their help.

#### **4. Expressing Joy or a Feeling of Emotion**

The speakers express emotion or extreme happiness for receiving a gift or favour.

The tokens used to realize this supportive move from the data are,

- *M'ani agye.*

I am happy

- *Me were aho*

I am sad

The speakers express joy or emotion mostly in situations where the benefactor is a stranger. This could be due to the fact that people expect little or nothing from those they do not know. Therefore, any assistance or offer received from strangers come as a surprise which can either turn on emotions or increase happiness.

#### **5. Offering Invitation**

In this supportive move, the speakers invite their benefactors to have a meal with them. The token used to realize this supportive move from the data is

- *Twen ma yennidi.*

Wait and let's have a meal.

This supportive move is used only in situations where the benefit received is related to food. An Akan proverb has it that "*nsa kɔ na nsa aba*"; one kind act deserves another. Consequently, since the benefit received is food related, then there is no better way to express gratitude than to invite the benefactor to that same meal. The use of this supportive move however, just seem like a customary ritual which is not

meant to be taken genuinely because, throughout the data, the invitees turn down the invitation either by indicating they are satisfied or have to be on the run. However, it could also be that the benefactors feel that if they honoured the invitation, then their act would not be considered selfless after all.

#### **4.1.6 Summary**

It has been established from the ongoing discussions that there are several tokens for expressing gratitude in Akan. However, the use of a particular token in response to a gift or favour is sometimes influenced by contextual variables such as social distance and power. Also, the combination of different tokens to express gratitude by speakers of the Akan language is not randomly done. This is because speakers only combine tokens that will not cause them any form of face threat.

Jung (1994) argues that the speech act of thanking is not completed or effective if it is not acknowledged or responded to. Following this argument, the present study considers the speech act of gratitude expression responses to identify how speakers of Akan acknowledge an expression of gratitude. In the next section, the results on gratitude expression responses are presented.

#### **4.2 Gratitude Expression Responses Realization**

The results on the realization of gratitude expression responses are presented in five sections after the same order used to present gratitude expression. In the first section (section 4.2.1), the types and tokens employed to realize head moves are discussed. These conventions of form are then related to the conventions of means in section 4.2.2. Token combinations are also presented in section 4.2.3, while internal modification (i.e. modifiers used in head moves) and external modification (i.e.

realizations of supportive moves) are examined in sections 4.2.4 and 4.2.5 respectively.

#### 4.2.1 Conventions of form of gratitude expression responses

Overall, five realization types are identified from the data and these are presented according to their dominant forms. The types are labelled in upper cases to differentiate them from their related tokens.

- *ASE-DA*            *Wɔ*            *NYAME*            *Hɔ*  
Under-sleep        belong            God                DET  
“Lying down belong to God”  
‘Thanks belong to God’
- *E-N-NA-SE*  
2SG:NEG-sleep under  
“Don’t lie under”  
‘Don’t mention it’
- *E-N-YE*            *HWEE*  
3SG:NEG-is        nothing  
“It is nothing”  
‘No problem’
- *YOO*  
Sure
- *ME*            *NSO*    *ME-DA-ASE*  
1SG            ADV    1SG-lie-under  
“I lie under you too”  
‘Thank you too’

With the exception of the type *ENYE HWEE*, all the other types record alternative tokens from the data. The tokens used to realize *ASEDA WO NYAME HO* include:

- *Yemfa aseda mma Nyame*  
Let's give thanks to God
- *Aseda nka Nyame*  
Thanks be unto God

*ENNASE* is also realized by the following tokens

- *Menna mase*  
Don't thank me
- *Ma enka ho*  
Leave it at that
- *Gyae ma enka*  
Forget about it
- *Enkasa*  
Don't talk
- *Aseda nni mu*  
There is no need for thanks
- *Esie ne kagya nni aseda*  
There is no need for thanks between the ant hill and the kagya tree.

Among the Akan, there are proverbs which speak about nature. One such proverb is *esie ne kagya nni aseda* which literally mean, there is no need for thanks between the ant hill and the kagya tree. Kagya is a plant that usually grows on ant hills. By implication, the kagya plant depends on the ant hill for life while the ant hill also depends on the plant for shade. Therefore, the two in a way support each other. Dwelling on this occurrence the Akans came up with the expression usually, to

respond to gratitude expressions and sometimes to express gratitude. The expression is used to imply that people who depend on each other for support need not bother themselves about showing gratitude to one another.

The tokens for *YOO* also include

- *M-a-te*  
1SG-PST:TENSE-hear  
Lit: “I have heard”  
‘Ok’
- *Amen*

And lastly *ME NSO MEDAASE* is also realized with the tokens

- *Me nso medaase*  
Thank you too
- *Nyame nhyira wo nso*  
God bless you too

#### 4.2.2 Conventions of means of gratitude expression responses

As already indicated, the actual formulations used by speakers to realize gratitude expression response produce speaker strategies. However, three strategies were identified from the five types. This is because with the exception of the type *YOO* and *ME NSO MEDAASE*, all the other types turn out to be realizations of the same strategy namely, *minimizing the favour*. The second and third speaker strategies are *accepting the thanks* and *returning the thanks*.

***Minimizing the favour strategy***, by this strategy, a speaker tries to assure his/her listeners that the actions that resulted in the benefit did not impose any burden on them (Farenkia, 2012; Jung, 1994). *Minimizing the favour* is a negative politeness strategy. This is because, the speakers identify that a beneficiary’s face is threatened

in thanking them. Hence, the need to adopt this strategy to minimize the threat posed to the listener's face. In totality, this strategy is realized by eight different tokens as against only two for the *accepting the thanks strategy* and another two for the *returning the thanks strategy*. This is an indication that the most common gratitude expression response strategy by Akan speakers is the *minimizing the favour strategy*. As already established, favour minimization corresponds to negative politeness. Likewise, there is a direct relationship assumed between politeness and indirectness when a person resorts to the use of negative politeness strategy (Ogiermann, 2009). This suggests that speakers can approach negative politeness strategy by using indirection as a way of showing politeness. Since Akan speakers have a high inclination to minimize the favour in responding to gratitude expressions, it can be deduced that speakers of Akan use indirectness as a mark of politeness (Obeng, 1994).

There is also an affirmation to the notion that *minimizing the favour* is the most common response strategy in West African languages (Ameka, 2006). In his study, Ameka (2006) tried to describe gratitude routines in eleven West African languages including Akan. The purpose of the study was to discover the linguistic and cultural knowledge structures needed to understand and interpret both literal and figurative expressions in these languages. Ameka argues that West African languages prefer to minimize the favour in response to gratitude expression.

The preference for the *minimizing the favour strategy* in response to gratitude expression is not only limited to West African languages. This is because it has also been confirmed as the most preferred strategy in the English language especially, the varieties spoken in Ireland, England and USA by Schneider (2005) and also in the variety spoken in Canada, Farenkia (2012). Among the Saudi Arabians, Altalhi (2014)

also records this strategy to be mostly preferred by the female speakers of the Hijazi dialect of Saudi Arabia.

The second speaker strategy identified in the data is *accepting the thanks*. By this strategy, speakers indicate their acknowledgement of the thanks (Altalhi, 2014; Farenkia, 2012; Jung, 1994). *Accepting the thanks* is a negative politeness strategy. This is because by accepting the thanks, speakers save their positive face as well as that of their listeners. In other words, speakers try to assure their listeners that they are equally beneficiaries from the act performed. From the data, the speakers used the tokens *yoo*, *mate* and *amen* to indicate their acknowledgement of the thanks. *Amen* is only used in situations where the beneficiary expresses gratitude using benediction only or, in combination with other gratitude expression strategies. The strategy is mostly used to respond to gratitude expressed by a stranger. Perhaps, this is because the benefactors feel the need to accept the thanks since they stand a greater chance of never meeting their beneficiaries again let alone to look forward to a repayment in the future.

*Returning the thanks* is the third speaker strategy that is identified from the data. By this strategy, the speakers simply respond to gratitude expressions by slightly modifying and repeating the tokens used to express gratitude. The modification is done with:

- The first person singular pronoun: *me*; I,
- An adverb: *nso*; too,
- Second person singular pronoun: *wo*; you.

By returning the thanks, the speakers show positive politeness. As already indicated, the use of positive politeness assures the listener that the speaker is equally a beneficiary of whatever act that resulted in the benefit.

#### 4.2.3 Token combinations of gratitude expression responses

The data reveals that a single head move as in (20) could be used in response to gratitude expression likewise double head moves as in (21).

Context: speakers are responding to gratitude expression by a close friend

Example 20

*Aseda wɔ Yehowa hɔ*

Thanks belong to God.

Example 21

*Ndaase nyi hɔ, ndaase wɔ Nyame hɔ*

Don't mention, thanks belong to God.

From the data, each token combines with the other to a different extent. For instance, *aseda nni hɔ* combines mostly with *aseda yɛ Nyame dea* almost throughout the data. Similarly, *mate* also combines extensively with *aseda yɛ Nyame dea* in the data. Each of the tokens also occurs as single heads in the data. It is possible that the speakers want to erase every bit of doubts that might be embedded in their responses to their listeners. Therefore, they decide to combine either *aseda nni hɔ* or *mate* with *aseda yɛ Nyame dea* to imply that it is not their place to receive the gratitude because it does not even belong to them after all.

#### 4.2.4 Internal modification in gratitude expression responses

From the data, gratitude expression responses are internally modified by exclaim and prepositional phrases. Examples of exclaim that occur in the data are *oh* and *aw*. With respect to their positioning, *oh* occurs before and/or after a gratitude expression response as in (22) while *aw* always occurs before a gratitude expression response as in (23).

Example 22

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a close friend

*Oh onua ndaase nyi hɔ oh*

Oh brother don't mention oh.

Example 23

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a superior

*Aw ennase ennase, ennase*

Aw don't mention don't mention, don't mention. (Note the repetition of don't mention).

The use of *oh* after a gratitude expression response could be a way of downplaying the favour done so as to restore any relationship imbalance that the gesture might have caused. From the data, it is also observed that the use of repetition also plays a similar role of downplaying the favour. The use of the prepositional phrase, however, is always after a gratitude expression response and the only prepositional phrase used in this regard was *kora*; at all as in (24).

Example 24

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a superior

*Ennase kora*

Don't mention at all.

#### 4.2.5 Supportive moves in gratitude expression responses

With respect to gratitude expression responses, the definition of supportive moves is not limited only to recurring expressions that are not overtly used in response to a gratitude expression. It is expanded to also include any other expression(s) that are used directly in response to a gratitude expression. This is because the speakers sometimes use supportive moves alone in response to a gratitude

expression. From the data, supportive moves widely occur after either a single and/or double head move(s) as in (25) and (26) or occur alone (supportive only) as in (27). Overall, the supportive moves are used to reinforce the negative or positive politeness expressed in the head acts.

Example 25

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a stranger

*Menda mase, mennim baabi a me nso medu baabi a mehia mmoa.*

Don't mention. I don't know when I will also need the help of another.

Example 26

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a stranger

*Mate, aseda ye Nyame dea. Ewiase dee, wonnim da a wo ho bekyere wo a wo nua nso ebeboa wo.*

Sure, thanks belong to God. You don't know when you will need the help of a brother in this life.

Example 27

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a colleague

*Nyimpa dze innyim da a wo nso wo ho bekyer wo nna innyim obi nso a ebɔko akehya no wɔ baabi, ntsi se obi ho akyer no nde na maboa no a minyim de daakye m'akatua wɔ baabi.*

As humans you don't know when you would be in need and you don't also know who you will be meeting in the future, so if I have been able to help a person in need today I know that my reward lies with another.

Just like the head moves, the realization of the supportive moves also takes after a pattern. However the patterns are limited on the basis of recurring elements. This is because they are realized in a more distinct and varied form than the head moves. The notable patterns that are identified from the data include:

### ***6. Safeguarding the future***

The speakers' responses indicate that they are uncertain about their security in the future. Therefore whatever kind gesture done today is more like a contribution they are making towards that unknown future occurrence as evident in the previous examples 25-27.

### ***7. Offering further help***

The speakers' responses indicate their readiness to help again in the future as in (28). The offering of future help by the informants could be thought of as a step to intensify the minimizing the favour strategy. That is to say that if you are not fully convinced that the act was not burdensome to me, you should at least be convinced by my willingness to help you again when the need arises.

Example 28

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a stranger

*Ndase nyi hɔ. Wodze, dabiara a wobɔkɔ ma wobɛtwere wo aduro a wɔdze bema wo de kɔtɔ biara dabiara fa bra ha na menhwɛ mmɔ wo, motumu ahwe na maboa wo kwan bi do nkakrankakra.*

Don't mention. You, anytime you are given a new prescription come to me so that I can see how to help you in any little way.

### **8. Offering repayment**

The speakers' response indicates that they acted based on a previous benefit they enjoyed from their beneficiaries as in (29) or other benefactors in time past as in (30).

#### Example 29

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a superior

*Oh edwuma mu panyin ndaase nnyi hɔ, dza eye ma hen mpo ɔbor hen do.*

Oh don't mention boss. What you do for us is beyond our imagination.

#### Example (30)

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a stranger of a same gender and age as the speaker

*Me dem adze yi ibi too me mber bi a atwa mu na obi nso ye mam ntsi na me nso mahwe ho mereye dem.*

This happened to me sometime and someone helped me that is why I am also doing this for you.

This supportive move reinforces the argument of Emmons and McCullough (2003). They note that people tend to offer help to others more frequently when they themselves have been beneficiaries of help from others. Evidently from the data, the speakers use this supportive move mostly in situations where their beneficiaries are their superiors. This could be due to the fact that one cannot directly express gratitude to their superiors for their services partly because it is considered their duty. Therefore, any kind gesture carried out towards the superiors is likely to be considered a repayment for all their unacknowledged services in the past.

## 9. *Wishing*

The speakers' responses indicate that they hope for their beneficiaries to fare well or succeed as in (31).

Example 31

Context: speaker is responding to gratitude expressed by a stranger

*Gyae ma enka, mesre wo kosekose nso de wo yare no enom aduro no a ebɔkɔ.*

Don't mention. I hope that you get well after taking the medication.

This supportive move is used in the Hijazi dialect of Saudi Arabia Altalhi (2014) and also in Canadian English (Farenkia, 2012).

### 4.2.6 Summary

It has been made evident in the discussions on gratitude expression responses that there are various tokens in the Akan language used to respond to gratitude expression. But the use of these expressions is mostly determined by contextual variables such as social distance and power. It has also been made evident that speakers of Akan don't like to take credit for their kindness but like to give the credit to God. This is because the Akan believe in the supremacy of God.

Ameka (2006) proposes that an understanding of expressions of gratitude or gratitude expression responses is better aided when the socio-cultural practices, beliefs and values of the communities concerned are taken into account. In the next section, the aspects of Akan culture evident in their expressions of gratitude and responses to gratitude expressions are discussed.

### **4.3 Aspects of Akan Culture in Gratitude Expressions and Gratitude**

#### **Expression Responses**

Culture is defined as “...the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next” (Matsumoto, 1996:16). An implication of this definition is that whatever one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to a group of people can be termed as culture. Among the Akan, Saah (1986) indicates that a speaker is looked upon as incompetent if he/she uses plain or blunt language instead of euphemisms. However, a speaker who weaves proverbs, metaphors and idioms into his/her speech is seen as wise or witty among the Akan Saah (1986). This assertion is a pointer to the fact that verbal artistry is treasured greatly in the Akan language. It is against this background that the present study sought to consider any aspects of Akan culture that might be present in the expression of gratitude as well as response to gratitude expression in the Akan language. The subsequent discussions present the results from the data gathered.

#### **4.3.1 Belief in God**

The data gathered provides substantial evidence that the Akan are people who believe in the supremacy of God. For instance, it was made clear in the earlier discussions on gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses that speakers of Akan express gratitude by using prayers or benediction. The requests made in these prayers and benedictions are consequently believed and expected to be granted by God. Also, the tokens used to express benediction and prayers outnumber all the tokens used to realize the other gratitude expression strategies and gratitude expression response strategies combined. The only explanation to this large turnout of tokens for prayers and benediction is because the Akan believe in God.

The above assertion is confirmed in Tovagonze (1992) who argues that Africans all over the world worship and acknowledge God as their father, creator, eternal, completely beneficent, ethically holy and omnipotent. According to Tovagonze (1992), the knowledge that Africans have of God is made evident in their proverbs, songs, prayers, names, myths, stories and religious ceremonies which are all easy to remember and pass on to other people. Among the Akan there are various names and appellations used to refer to God such as:

- *Obɔadeɛ*  
Creator
- *Amosu*  
Giver of rain
- *Amowia*  
Giver of sun
- *Nyankopɔn*  
One and only God
- *Tweaduampɔn*  
Dependable one

Also, there are a number of proverbs and short sayings in Akan which confirm the beliefs of the Akan in the supremacy of God. Such proverbs and sayings include:

- *Obi nkyerɛ akwadaa Nyame*  
No one shows a child the Supreme Being
- *Onyame nwu na mawu*  
God will never die for me to die
- *Aboa a onni dua Onyame na pra ne ho*  
God gives help to the needy
- *Onyame ne hene*  
It is God who is king

Clearly, the discussion so far is a confirmation that the Akan people believe in God and this belief is made evident in their expression of gratitude as well as in their responses to gratitude expressions.

#### 4.3.2 The use of proverbs and idioms

As already indicated, an Akan speaker who incorporates proverbs and idioms into his/her speech is considered eloquent and wise. A proverb is defined as “a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation” (Meider & Dundes, 1981: 119). An idiom, on the other hand, is defined as “fixed combinations of words whose meaning is often difficult to guess from the meaning of each individual word” (O’Dell & McCarthy, 2002: 6).

It is observed from the data that the speakers use proverbs only to respond to gratitude expressions. Some of the proverbs used by the speakers include:

- *Nyifa guar benkum na benkum nso guar nyifa*

The left and right hands each cleanse the other (we are each other’s keeper).

- *Ensono aburoo nko na esono dɔkono nko*

The corn is no different from the food derived from it (we are one people).

- *Onipa nua ne nipa*

We are each other’s keeper

- *Esie ne kagya nni aseda*

There is no need for thanks between the anthill and the kagya tree (we are one people).

- *Onipa bewu deɛ anka sika anim ngu ase*

Better for money to be disgraced than for man to die (live life is precious than money).

Apart from that, idioms and proverbs are used to express gratitude. Examples of idiomatic expressions and proverbs used in the data to express gratitude include:

- *Afu me mu*

I am surprised

- *Dyɛnko bi sene onua* (proverb)

Some friends are better off than siblings

- *Aboa a onni dua Onyame na pra ne ho* (proverb)

God gives help to the needy

- *Woadi me buronya*

You have given me the best Christmas present.

- *Abɔ me pusa*

I am shocked

- *Nyame bɔfo sene bɔfo pa* (proverb)

The best messenger is the one from God

- *Me ho adwiri me*

I am shocked

- *agye me nsam*

I am speechless

Evidently, the examples of proverbs and idioms that are used to express gratitude and respond to gratitude expression confirm the fact that proverbs and idioms are highly cherished in the Akan culture and the speakers like to incorporate their usage in their speeches.

### 4.3.3 Hyperbolic expressions

Hyperbole is an example of figurative expressions and it is defined as an extreme form of exaggeration that either magnifies or minimizes some real state of affairs (Cano, 2004). Among the Akan, Ameka (2006) reports that hyperbolic speech formulae are routinely used as expressions of extreme gratitude. The present study affirms the report of Ameka (2006). This is because the only two hyperbolic expressions that emerged from the data are used to express gratitude as in (32) and (33).

#### Example 32

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a close friend

*Meda wo ase, woye me Nyame*

Thank you, you are my God.

#### Example 33

Context: speaker is expressing gratitude to a colleague for offering assistance

*Medaase, megye di se woye Nyankopɔn bɔfo*

Thank you, I believe you are a messenger of God.

As clearly indicated, the Akan people believe in the supremacy of God. Therefore to refer to someone as God or God's messenger is a calculated exaggeration of the authority of that person.

### 4.3.4 Summary

The purpose of this discussion so far has been to identify the aspect(s) of Akan culture in their gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses. It has been proven that gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan affirm that the Akans believe in the supremacy of God. Also, it has been established that

Akan speakers use proverbs, idioms and hyperbolic expressions in expressing gratitude and responding to gratitude expression. This shows that the culture of Akan is portrayed in the way they express gratitude and respond to gratitude expressions.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

This chapter set out to discuss the results from the data gathered on gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan. It discussed gratitude expressions, gratitude expression responses and aspects of Akan culture in gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses. It was established that there are several tokens for expressing gratitude as well as responding to gratitude expressions in Akan. However, the use of a particular token to express gratitude or respond to a gratitude expression is influenced by contextual variables such as social distance and power. Also, the combination of different tokens to express gratitude by speakers of Akan is not randomly done. This is because speakers only combine tokens that will not cause them any form of face threat. It was also revealed that speakers of Akan do not like to take credit for their kindness but they like to give the credit to God; an act which is connected to the Akans' belief in the supremacy of God.

Again, it was proven that gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan show the belief of the Akan people in the supremacy of God. Also, it was established that speakers use proverbs, idioms and hyperbolic expressions to express gratitude and also to respond to gratitude expressions. The presence of the beliefs of the Akan people as well as the use of their proverbs, idioms and hyperbolic expressions in their gratitude expression and gratitude expression response are indeed indication to the fact that there are aspects of Akan culture in these speech acts.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Overview

This chapter is in two sections. Section one presents a summary of the findings from the study while Section two discusses recommendations for further studies.

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

The findings of the study provide new insight into the use of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan. The study has established which forms of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses are actually used, how they are used and how they depict aspects of Akan culture. The study, in particular, provided information about:

- the realization of head moves and supportive moves
- the types of gratitude expression and gratitude expression response realization and their variants
- the speaker strategies
- the modification patterns
- the situational distribution of tokens, and
- aspects of Akan culture evident in their gratitude expression and gratitude expression response.

First, the present data seems to substantiate the claim that social distance and power influence the choice of a particular politeness strategy in expressing gratitude or responding to gratitude expression. For instance, the data revealed that the Akan like to express *benediction* or *compliment the giver* in expressing gratitude to their

close friends, colleagues, or subordinates. But they try to avoid *thanking* these groups of people in their expressions of gratitude because they want to save their face. Regarding responses to gratitude expressions, Akan specifically prefer the use of negative politeness strategy. This is evident in the high inclination to *minimize the favour* in response to gratitude expressions.

Concerning modification, both gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan are internally modified. For instance, gratitude expressions are internally modified by exclaim, address terms, and intensifiers. On the other hand, responses to gratitude expression are internally modified by exclaim and prepositional phrases. They are also externally modified by what is termed as supportive moves. For instance, gratitude expressions are externally supported with expressions depicting appreciation and joy. And gratitude expression responses are externally modified with expressions indicating offering of further help and wishing.

Regarding the aspects of culture in gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses, the data revealed that Akan equate gratitude expression to competence in the Akan language. This is because they express gratitude and respond to gratitude expression by using proverbs and idioms which to the Akan are also a mark of proficient speakers of the language. The Akan also like to acknowledge the supremacy of God in their expressions of gratitude as well as in their responses to gratitude expressions. For instance, they express gratitude using expressions such as *Nyame nhyira wo*; “God bless you” and respond to gratitude expressions using expressions like *aseda ye Nyame dea*; “Thanks belong to God”. Also, they like to use hyperbolic expressions to show gratitude. For instance, in order to show the depth of their gratitude, an Akan can refer to their benefactors as their God or as their messengers sent from God.

## 5.2 Recommendation for Further Studies

The present study has addressed many issues relevant to the study of gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan. But, there are yet many areas that can be explored further. First, to validate the findings from the present study, more research is needed on spontaneously produced oral role play data elicited through role play interactions. This could be video-recorded or scripted as in films so as to make it possible to examine a wider range of conversational phenomenon. This will help to explore non-verbal ways of expressing gratitude and responding to gratitude expressions in Akan.

Also, a comparative study on the various varieties of Akan can be undertaken to highlight cross-culture and cross-linguistic differences in gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses. Lastly, other sociological variables such as age and gender can also be considered in future studies to assess their influence on speaker choice of politeness strategy in expressing and responding to gratitude expressions.

## 5.3 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to present the findings from the study and to make recommendations towards future studies. The chapter touched on an overview, summary of findings and makes recommendation for further studies. On the whole, the chapter revealed that the study substantiate the claim that social distance and power influence the choice of a particular politeness strategy in expressing gratitude or responding to gratitude expression. The chapter again shows that Akans specifically prefer the use of negative politeness strategies as evident in their high inclination to *minimize the favour* in response to gratitude expressions. Also, the chapter makes it clear that both gratitude expressions and gratitude expression responses in Akan are internally and externally modified. Internally, they are modified

by exclaim, address terms, intensifiers, and prepositional phrases. They are also externally modified by what is termed as supportive moves. Lastly, the chapter reveals that there is an evidence of Akan culture and belief (e.g. belief in God, proverbs, idioms, and hyperbole) in the way they express gratitude and respond to gratitude expression. All in all, the findings from the study substantiate claims made in related studies.



## REFERENCES

- Adler, M. G. & Fagley, N. S. (2005). Appreciation: Individual differences in finding value and meaning as a unique predictor of subjective well-being. *Journal of Personality*, 73, 79-114.
- Agyekum, K. (2004). The socio-cultural concept of face in Akan communication. *Pragmatics & Cognition* 12(1): 71–92.
- Agyekum, K. (2006). The sociolinguistic of Akan personal names. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 15(2), 206–235.
- Agyekum, K. (2010). The sociolinguistics of thanking in Akan. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 19(2), 77-79.
- Aijmer, K. (1996). *Conversational routines in English: Convention and creativity*. London and New York: Longman.
- Akpanglo-Nartey, J. N., & Akpanglo-Nartey, R. A. (2012). Some endangered languages of Ghana. *American Journal of Linguistics*, 1(2), 10-18.
- Altalhi, H. (2014). *Speech act of thanking and thanking responses by Hijazi females*. (Unpublished masters thesis). Ball State University: Muncie Indiana.
- Ameka, F. K. (2006). “When I die, don’t cry”: The ethnopragmatics of “gratitude” in West African languages. In C. Goddard (Ed.), *Ethnopragsmatics - Understanding discourse in cultural context* (pp. 231-266). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Armasu, V. D. (2012). Modern approaches to politeness theory: A cultural context. *Language and Culture*, 11(1), 9-11.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bach, K. (2014). Consulting the reference book. *Mind and Language*, 29, 455-474.
- Bachman, L. (1990). *Fundamental consideration in language testing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in interlanguage pragmatics: Learning how to do things with words in a study abroad context*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., & Kasper G. (1989b). Appendix – The CCSARP coding manual. In Blum-Kulka S., House, J., & Kasper G. (eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: requests and apologies* (pp. 273-294). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Boadi, L. A. (1997). *Forms and meaning in Akan*. Department of Linguistics: University of Ghana, Legon. Manuscript.
- Bodomo, A., Anderson, J. A., & Dzahene-Quarshie, J. (2009). A kente of many colours: Multilingualism as a complex ecology of language shift in Ghana. *Sociolinguistics Studies*, 3(3), 357-379.
- Brown, P. & Levinson, S. C. (1978). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Canale, M. & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics*, 1(1), 1-47.
- Canale, M. (1983). From communicative language competence to communicative language pedagogy. In J. C. Richards & R. W. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and Communication* (2-27) London: Longman.
- Cano, M. L. (2004). At the risk of exaggerating: how do listeners react to hyperbole? *Anglogermanica online* 13-25.
- Cheng, S. W. (2006). *An exploratory cross-sectional study of interlanguage pragmatic development of expressions of gratitude by Chinese learners of English*. Iowa Research online. <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/104>.
- Clark, H. (1996). *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, H. H. (1979). Responding to indirect speech acts. *Cognitive Psychology*, 11, 430-477.
- Coffman, S. (1996). Parents' struggles to rebuild family life after Hurricane Andrew. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 17, 353-367.
- Cohen, A. D. (1996). Speech acts. In S. L. McKay & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching* (383-420). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cohen, A. D. & Olshtain, E. (1994). Researching the production of second-language speech acts. In E. E. Tarron, S. M. Gass, & A. D. Cohen (Eds.), *Research methodology in second-language acquisition* (143-156). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- De Valoes, L. (2014). Importance of language: why learning a second language is important. Adjunct Faculty.
- Deda, N. (2013). The role of pragmatics in English language teaching. Pragmatic competence. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary studies*, 2(4), 63-70.
- Demeter, G. (2007). Role-plays as a data collection method for research on apology speech acts. *Simulation and Gaming*, 38(1), 83-90.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methodologies*. Oxford University Press.
- Eisenstein, M. & Bodman, J. W. (1986). "I very appreciate": Expressions of gratitude by native and non-native speakers of American English. *Applied Linguistics*, 7(2), 167-185.
- Elwood, K. (2010). An analysis of expressions of gratitude in Irish English and New Zealand English. *The Cultural Review*, 36, 109-153.
- Emmons, R. A. & McCullough, M. E. (2003). Counting blessings versus burdens: An experimental investigation of gratitude and subjective well-being in daily life. *Journal of Personality and social Psychology*, 84(2), 377-389.
- Emmons, R. A., & Crumpler, C. A. (2000). Gratitude as human strength: Appraising the evidence. *Journal of Social and Clinical psychology*, 19, 56-69.
- Farenkia, B. M. (2012a). Face-saving strategies in responding to gratitude expressions: Evidence from Canadian English. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 2(4).
- Farnia, M. (2009). An interlanguage pragmatic study of expressions of gratitude by Iranian EFL learners: A pilot study. *Malaysian Journal of ELT Research*, 5.
- Fraser, B. (2010). Pragmatic competence: The case of hedging. In G. Kaltenböck, W. Mihatsch, and S. Schneider (Eds.), *New approaches to hedging*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Frederickson, B. L., Tugade, M. M., Waugh, C. E., & Larkin, G. R. (2003). What good are positive emotions in crises? A prospective study of resilience and emotions following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 365-376.
- Gallup, G. H. Jr. (1998). *Thankfulness: America's saving grace*. Paper presented at the National Day of Prayer breakfast, Thanks-Giving Square, Dallas, TX.

- Ghana Statistical Service (2012). Population and housing census: Summary report of final results. Ghana Statistical Service.
- Goffman, E. (1955). "On facework. An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction." *Psychiatry*, 18, 213-231.
- Golato, A. (2004). *Compliment and compliment responses – grammatical structure and sequential organization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Goldschmidt, M. (1996). From the addressee's perspective: Imposition in favour asking. In S. Gass and J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech acts across cultures* (65-86). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goldsmith, D. J. (2000). The impact of politeness and relationship on perceived quality of advice about a problem. *Human Communication Research* 26, 234-263.
- Goldsmith, D. J. (2006). Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. In B. Whaley & W. Samter (Eds.), *Explaining communication: Contemporary theories and exemplars*. (219-236). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Grando, A. (2016). *Acknowledging gratitude in American English: A pragmatic study of native speakers' role play data*. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Padua: Italy.
- Hymes, D. (1966). *On communicative competence*. Paper presented at the Research Planning Conference on Language Development among Disadvantaged Children.
- Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In B. Pride and J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ifert, J. D., Roloff, M. E., & Rifee, M. A. (2004). Politeness theory and refusals of requests: Face threat as a function of expressed obstacles. *Communication Studies*, 55(2), 227-238.
- Jung, W. (1994). *Speech act of thank you and responses to it in American English*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics (16<sup>th</sup> Baltimore, MD.).
- Kasper, G. (2008). Data collection in pragmatics research. In Spencer-Oatey (ed.), *Culturally Speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory* (pp. 279-303). London: Continuum.

- Kendler, K. S., Liu, X., Gardner, C. O., McCullough, M. E., Larson, D., & Prescott, C.A. (2003). Dimensions of religiosity and their relationship to lifetime psychiatric and substance abuse disorders. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 160, 496-503.
- Krause, N. (2006). Gratitude toward God, stress, and health in late life. *Research on Aging*, 28, 163-183.
- Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Leech, G. N. & Svartvik, J. (1994). *A communicative grammar of English* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). London: Longman.
- Lyubomirsky, S., Sheldon, K. M., & schkade, D. (2005). Pursuing happiness: The architecture of sustainable change. *Review of General Psychology*, 9, 111-131.
- Maha, L. (2014). Cross-cultural perspectives on linguistic politeness. *CSCanada*, 10: 56-60.
- Manela, T. (2015). "Gratitude". In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/gratitude/>.
- Mao, L. R. (1994). Beyond politeness theory: 'Face' revisited and renewed. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21, 451-186.
- Matsumoto, D. (1996). *Culture and Psychology*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- McCarthy, M. & O'Dell, F. (2002). *English idioms in use: 60 units of vocabulary reference and practice; self-study and classroom use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCraty, R., & Childre, D. (2004). The grateful heart: The Psychophysiology of appreciation. In R. A. Emmons & M. E. McCullough (Eds.), *The psychology of gratitude* ( 230-255). New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCullough, M. E., Emmons, R. A., & Tsang, J. (2002). The grateful disposition: A conceptual and empirical topography. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 112-127.
- McCullough, M. E., Emmons, R. A., Kilpatrick, S. D., & Larson, D. B. (2001). Is gratitude a moral affect? *Psychological Bulletin*, 127(2), 249-266.
- Meider, W. & Dundes, A. (1981). *The wisdom of many: Essays on the proverb*. New York: Garland Publishing.

- Obeng, S. G. (1994). Verbal indirection in Akan informal discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21, 37-65.
- Ogiermann, E. (2009). Politeness and indirectness across cultures: A comparison of English, German, Polish and Russian requests. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 5, 189-216.
- Ohashie, J. (2008). Linguistic rituals for thanking in Japanese: Balancing obligations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40, 2150-2174.
- Okamoto, S., and Robinson, W. P. (1997). Determinants of gratitude expressions in England. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16(4), 411-433.
- Ouafeu Y. T. S. (2009). Thanking responders in Cameroon English. *World Englishes* 28(4), 544-551.
- Özdemir, C. & Rezvani, S. A. (2010). Interlanguage pragmatics in action: Use of expressions of gratitude. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 3, 194-202.
- Panpothong, N. (2004). *Thai ways of responding to an expression of gratitude*. (Unpublished). Chulalongkorn University: Thailand.
- Peak, V. (2009). Twi (Chwee). M. Ed. In TESL Program: Language group specific information report. Rhode Island College.
- Pruyser, P. W. (1976). *The minister as diagnostician: Personal problems in pastoral perspective*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Saah, K. K. (1986). Language attitude in Ghana. *Anthropological Linguistics*. 28(3): 367- 377.
- Sansone, R. A. & Sansone, L.A (2010). Gratitude and wellbeing. The benefits of appreciation. *Psychiatry (Edgmont)*, 7(11), 18-22.
- Sarpong, P. (1974). *Ghana in retrospect. Some aspects of Ghanaian culture*. Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation.
- Schauer, G. A. & Svenja, A. (2006). Expressions of gratitude in corpus and DCT data: Vocabulary, formulaic sequences, and pedagogy. *System*, 34 (1), 119-34.
- Schneider, K. P. (2005). No problem, you're welcome, anytime. Responding to thanks in Ireland, English and the USA. In A. Barron & K. P. Schneider (Eds.), *The*

*pragmatics of Irish English* (pp.101-139). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110898934.101>.

Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. R. (1979). A classification of illocutionaryacts. *Language in Society*, 5:1-23.

Seligman, M. E. P., Steen, T. A., Park, N., & Peterson, D. (2005). Positive psychology progress: Empirical validation of interventions. *American Psychologist*, 60, 410-421.

Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, 4(2): 91-112.

Tovagonze, V. (1992). God concept: "supreme being" in African tribal religions. *Journal of Dharma: Dharmaram Journal of Religions and Philosophies*, 17(2), 122-140.

Watkins, P. C., Grimm, D. L., & Hailu, L. (1999). *Counting your blessings: Grateful individuals recall more positive memories*. Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Society, Denver, CO.

Watkins, P. C., Van Gelder, M., & Maleki, L. (2006). *Counting (and recalling) blessings: Trait gratitude predicts positive memory bias*. Poster presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA.

Watts, R. J., Ide, S., & Ehlich, K. (2005). *Politeness in language: Studies in its history, theory and practice*. Walter de Gruyter. ISBN 978-3-11-019981-9.

Yang, L. (2016). Learning to express gratitude in Mandarin Chinese through web-based instruction. *Language Learning & Technology*, 20(1), 191-208.

Yankah, K. (1991). Oratory in Akan society. *Discourse and Society*, 2, 47-64.

APPENDIX A

Role Play Scenarios for Data Collection

AKAN VERSION

CONTEXT A	
<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔdi kan:</u> Woresie sika akɔtɔ ntoma bi a eye wo fe paa enna w’adamfo paa bi atɔ saa ntoma korɔ no ara de abekye wo.	<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔtɔ so mmienu:</u> Woatɔ ntoma feɛfe bi akɔkye w’adamfo paa bi.
CONTEXT B	
<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔdi kan:</u> Odwumayeni baako a ɔhye w’ase wɔ adwuma mu no atu kwan akɔ amanɔne enna watɔ aduhwam bi a ne boɔ ye den yie de abekye wo.	<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔtɔ so mmienu:</u> Woatɔ aduhwam bi a ne boɔ ye den yie firi amanɔne abekye w’adwuma mu panin.
CONTEXT C	
<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔdi kan:</u> Worekɔtɔ aduro nanso wo sika enso nnuro a Dɔkota atwere ama wo no nyinaa tɔ. Onipa a ɔtɔn nnuro no de ne bɔtɔ mu sika asɔ wo so atɔn nnuro no nyinaa ama wo	<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔtɔ so mmienu:</u> Wode wo bɔtɔ mu sika asɔ ɔyarefoɔ bi sika so atɔn nnuro a ohia no nyinaa ama no.
CONTEXT D	
<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔdi kan:</u> Woahwie wo bankye a woredi awɔka. Onipa bi a wone no bɔ atipen abepue wo so agye aduane no nyinaa awɔ ama wo awie.	<u>Okasafoɔ a ɔtɔ so mmienu:</u> Woaboa onipa bi a wo ne no bɔ atipen awɔ ne fufuo ama no.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

CONTEXT A	
<u>Speaker A:</u> You are saving money to purchase a beautiful cloth and a close friend of yours has bought that same cloth for you as a gift.	<u>Speaker B:</u> You have bought a beautiful cloth for a close friend for a gift.
CONTEXT B	
<u>Speaker A:</u> A worker who works directly under you bought you an expensive body spray from his travel outside the country.	<u>Speaker B:</u> You have bought an expensive body spray from your journey outside the country as a gift for your boss.
CONTEXT C	
<u>Speaker A:</u> At a drug store, you don't have enough money to purchase all your prescriptions. The store attendant whom you do not know adds his own money to yours and sells all the drugs for you.	<u>Speaker B:</u> You have sold all the prescribed medicines to a patient whose money could not afford his total cost for the medicines
CONTEXT D	
<u>Speaker A:</u> You are pounding and stirring your fufu at the same time. A person about the same age as you comes to help you pound.	<u>Speaker B:</u> You have helped pound fufu for someone about the same age as you.

## APPENDIX B

### Text transcripts of oral data

NB//: speaker A is the beneficiary and speaker B is the benefactor. The transcripts are in accordance with the various contexts.

The transcription conventions used is:

# unclear speech

### Context A transcripts

#### A.

**Speaker A:** oh Leila, Nyame nhyira wo ate, etam yi a meyeɛ m'adwen de mepɛ de motɔ bi nka medze kɔ onua Ayeɛh na ayefor yi enna edze bi abre me Nyame nhyira wo dodo, meda wo ase bebree. Sika yi a mesieɛ mpo de medze bɔtɔ etam yi enam dze abre me nti motum dze ayɛ biribi fofor Nyame nhyɛ w'anana mu onye wo kese, medaase.

**Speaker B:** oh onua ndaase nyi ho oh, ndaase wo Nyame ho. Na yeyɛ nyimpa yi de, mennim da a obi nso ne ho bekyere no. Nnansa yi nso, nyifa guare benkum na benkum nso guare nimfa nti ndaase nyi ho.

**Speaker A:** yoo maate, maate maate, iyi dzi, mede erokɔ aunty Mina ho ma wadwedwe me style a aba yi bi ma mabɔ me tekua fɛfɛfɛw medze akɔ, mbo mbo mbo Nyame nhyira wo. Saa na edom ampa. Meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** Wo ara nso Nyame nhyira wo de woagye no akoma pa mu.

#### A1.

**Speaker A:** Yeee! Me nua eii! Wei deɛ yese onko bi sene onua ampa. Adeɛ a m'ani da so a meehwehwepaa na wode abre me yeee meda wo ase meda wo ase woyɛ me Nyame meda wo ase oh!

**Speaker B:** Aseda wo Yehowa ho

**Speaker A:** Meda wo ase hɛɛ! Sie a masie sika no woahu,

**Speaker B:** Aw

**Speaker A:** Ase wowɔ m'adwene mu

**Speaker B:** saa?

**Speaker A:** woaye adeɛ medaase, mape bi akyiri akwan akye paa medaase

**Speaker B:** ɔyɔnkɔɔ brɛbɔɔ sɛ wo ara wonim

**Speaker A:** me aa metumi hu oh! Yehowa nhyira wo

**Speaker B:** medaase ennee meekɔ oh

**Speaker A:** yoo.

### A3.

**Speaker A:** Ei me nua, wei deɛ, ntoma yi deɛ afu me mu paa o, nnansa yi masiesie sika kotoo sɛ anka saa ntoma korɔ yi ara bi ara na merekɔ akɔtɔ na, ntoma yi a wode abre me yi deɛ na kyere sɛ mannya ankɔ ankɔtɔ enti no, mede saa sika no, ede beye ade foforɔ na kyere sɛ deɛ wode aba abɛkye me no deɛ mede eno akɔ akɔye deɛ mede rekɔ akɔye no enti no, medaase.

**Speaker B:** Aw, aseda wɔ Nyame hɔ, sɛbe mpaninfoɔ se: “ensonon aburoo nko na ɛsonon dɔkono nko”. Sɛbe o, kafra, wodidi na woma wo nua bi di a enna eye enti me ara no nnansa yi na ewɔ me nhyehyee mu sɛ anka mehwe na mape ayi kakra bi abre wo na aye sɛ nnoɔma bi na antotɔ yie enti wobefa wei saa. Awurade pɛ bosome so a mɛhu ade foforɔ a metumi aye de aka ho, wae?

**Speaker A:** Yoo me nua medaase bebree, Nyankopɔn ɔnhyira wo, ɔnhye w'ananmu, adwuma biara a woye biara no ɔntɔ nsuo foforɔ ngu so na ɔnto wo bɔtɔ mu nso na biribibiara a wobeye biara nso enkɔso waanowaano, medaase bebree.

**Speaker B:** Aseda wɔ Nyame hɔ.

### A4.

**Speaker A:** Charlie, atare wei maye m'adwene se morokotobi paa o. Ah masie sika akyere paa o na ede bi abre me yi o, wei dee medaase woate? Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** Ah nyimpa nso ye abade ah? Wei oye boys boys ebia na wo nso next time asupport me woahu a?

**A5.**

**Speaker A:** Aw Nyame nhyira wo. Nyame nhyira wopaa because etam wei na maye m'adwene se mereboaboa sika ano akotobi. Na adee a woaye ama me yi dee, wei dee Nyame nhye w'anan mu. Esiane seenye obiara na obetumi aye saa adee wei. Wei dee medaase, Nyame nhyira wo paa, Nyame nhyira wo, onto wo nkwa nna mu.

**Speaker B:** Oh aseda nka Nyame. Nipa dee, yenam yi, yedane yen ho, enne na manya bi abre wo a okyena bi no, ebia me nso mehia wo mmoa enti eno dee, aseda no nyinaa ye Nyankopon dea. Bible no koraa eka se yensoa yen ho nnesoa abia enti aseda mmom enka Nyame.

**Speaker A:** Saa na ewose oyankopa ye, meda wo ase.

**A6.**

**Speaker A:** Aw! Me nua eii! Wei de yese oyanko bi sene onua ampa. Adee a m'ani da so ara na wode abre me yi. Meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** Oh aseda ye Nyame de.

**A7.**

**Speaker A:** oh, medaase paa bra Nyame nhyira wo. He, wose Awurade, Awurade kaa n'asem wose ei, aboa a onni dua nipa ayi Onyame na opra ne ho ampa woaboa me papa. Mese ntoma yi, maya m'adwene se merokotobi perepere a mereboaboa me sika ano na wode aba yi wei de, aye se Nyame kasa kyere wo wei de nne de woama m'ani agye woadi me buronya koraa ye! ye! ye! Wei de Nyame nhyira wo papa meda wo ase papapapapapa

**Speaker B:** enna ase

**Speaker A:** Awurade nyɛ wo kese

**Speaker B:** enna ase, esie ne kagya nni aseda, yɛmfɛ nnaseɛ mma Awurade.

**A8.**

**Speaker A:** Ei! Koo, deɛ meehwehwɛ yi ara na me nsa aka yi o adeɛ wei na pɛ a mapɛ ara na ennɛ wode abre me wei deɛ Nyame bɔfɔɔ paa na ɛde wo abre me o medaase medaase Nyame nhyira wo wae

**Speaker B:** Oh mate mate sɛ wei deɛ enna ase ɛnyɛ wo nko me nko me ara me nua ne wo,

**Speaker A:** medaase

**Speaker B:** menyaa woanya, woannya nsoso a me nso mennya enti nna ase, aseda ye Nyame dea.

**Speaker A:** Yɛda Nyame ase.

**A9.**

**Speaker A:** Kwesi medaase dɛ adze a morokɔɔ, atɔbi a abrem Nyame nhyira wo, Nyame nyɛ wo kese

**Speaker B:** Amen. Ndase ye Nyame dze, na yeresre ne dɛ, ɔmmɔ hɛn ho ban ma dze ɔbɛba no, ɔnsen wei ntsi ndase nka ɔno ne dzin.

**A10.**

**Speaker A:** Abi medaase paa Nyame nhyira wo, m'akoma so adeɛ na woayɛ ama me yi nti meda wo ase Nyame nhyira wo

**Speaker B:** Ndase nyim.

**A11.**

**Speaker A:** Timo, medaase, medaase bebree because ntoma yi madwene ho akɛ paa sɛ, mepɛ sɛ mentɔbi esiane sɛ ɛyɛ ntoma papa nso a ɛfiri, yɛfrɛ no edin bi sɛ Holland

saa ntoma no bi no, matwen dadaada mapɛ sɛ mɛtɔbi paa but masie sika no asieasieasieasie nso esiane sɛ ne boɔno yɛ den nti, ɛmma mentumi, sika no masie ara enso da. Na wei deɛ kyere sɛ woama no abɔme pusa koraa woama kyere sɛ woama me ho adwo, kyere sɛ m'ani mpo nna sɛ obi betumi atɔ saa ntoma yi a ne boɔ yɛ den mpo sei ama me ɛnna woaye saa adeɛ wei ama me enti medaase bebree Nyame nhyira wo wɔ akyɛdeɛ kɛsɛ wei a wode abekyɛ me yi. Na me werɛ nso ɛmfiri da na mɛpam nso ahyɛ, mɛpam no kamakama ahyɛ ama wo ankasa wohu a woahu sɛ adeɛ no a wotɔ maa me no m'ani asɔyie. Meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** ɛnna ase, ɛnna ase, mehyɛda, meɛɛ sɛ anka mede bɛma wo, ɛnso na meehwɛ adeɛ bi a, ɛda no a wodii w'awoda no na meehwɛ adeɛ bi a ɛsombo ma wo, na metena aseɛ ara na mehunu sɛ ɛntoma yi sɛ, mede kye wo a, w'ani bɛsɔ, enti no ɛnna ase, aseda yɛ Nyame dea

**Speaker A:** yoo

**Speaker B:** aseda nyinaa yɛ Nyame dea

**Speaker A:** yoo, ɛnneɛ Nyame nhyira wo bebree nso

**Speaker B:** ɔnhyira wo pii nso

**Speaker A:** yoo, ɛnneɛ bye bye

**Speaker B:** bye.

## A12.

**Speaker A:** oh, medaase paa Kofi Nyame nhyira wo. Hɛ, ntoma yi, mayɛ m'adwene sɛ mɛrɛkɔtɔbi o, kyere sɛ maboaboa me sika ano koraa awie ɛne sɛ woabrɛ me bi yi. Wei de Nyame nhyira wo papa meda wo ase pii.

**Speaker B:** Ah yenni aseda

**Speaker A:** Awurade nyɛ wo kɛsɛ

**Speaker B:** Yoo

**A13.**

**Speaker A:** Me nua, woakyere ɔdɔ oh. Ah masie sika akyere paa oh saa ntoma korɔyi ara ho nti. Nyame nhyira woate? M'ani asɔ papaapa.

**Speaker B:** Oh wo a anka wobeyɛ onua, menna mase.

**Speaker A:** Mate, Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** ɔnhyira wo nso.

**A14.**

**Speaker A:** Aw Nyame nhyira wo. Nyame nhyira wopaa, ɛfiri sɛ, adeɛ a woayɛ ama me yi deɛ, enyɛ obiara na ɔbeyɛ. Wei deɛ medaase, Nyame nhyira wo paa, Nyame nhyira wo, ɔnto wo nkwa nna mu.

**Speaker B:** Oh aseda no nyinaa yɛ Nyankopɔn de. Sebe, deɛ eyɛ a wo nso woyɛ ma me no, enyɛ maka na meretua de nanso ɛfata sɛ me nso meyɛ wei de kyere wo sɛ, mewɔ nkaɛ.

**Speaker A:** Saa na ɛwɔsɛ ɔyɔnkopa yɛ, meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** Me nso medaase.

**A15.**

**Speaker A:** Ei! Kwaku, meda wo ase paa. Yee wei de, menhunu deɛ menka memfa menkyere wo. Woayɛ m'akoma so ade ama me awia yi. Nyame nhyɛ w'anan mu.

**Speaker B:** Oh Kwadwo, enyɛ hwee.

**Speaker A:** Yoo, medaase

**Speaker A:** Yɛda Nyame ase.

**Context B transcripts**

**B.**

**Speaker A:** M'akyere ba, meda wo ase wɔ aduhuam yi a atɔ ɛdze abrem yi, ɔnyɛ obi biara na ɔbeyɛ dem. enam de ɛhyɛ m'ase dze nanso ɛdze bu kese na ɛdze amam.

ekɔeyi de akaem na atɔ dem aduhuam a ne bo ye den ede abɛkyem. Nyame nhyira wo, na ɔnkɔdo ɔnto wo nkwa mu na ɔmma wo nkɔ kan wɔ abrabɔ mu.

**Speaker B:** Oh adwuma mu panyin ndase nyi hɔ, dza eye ma hen mpo ɔboro hen do. Osan de ɔtɔ da bi mpo a, na yenni sika biara wɔ hen ho nso yetum yeba wo hɔ ma ema hen sika ma yedzi to hen ho ama bosome no so a, atew afiri hen akatua mu nye obiara na ɔbeyɛ dem. Afei nso mpo nye adwuma mu mpaninfoɔ nyinaa na ɔrebeyɛ dem, bosome soe ara emma ade mpo nkye do na atua hen ka fɛfɛfɛw afei nso mpo mekra wo de meretu kwan makɔ baabi no, ɛgyee me anoyie ma mekɔeɛ, mebaeɛ nso asane nso agyem afa me adwuma yi mu a ɔboro m'adwen ne me nteaseɛ so. Enti dze a mereka nyinaa ne de mara so medaase yie wɔ asetena pa a enye hen wɔ wɔ adwuma yi mu.

**Speaker A:** Kɔdo ara na ye papa na woakatua wɔ soro.

**Speaker B:** Yoo meda wo ase.

**Speaker A:** Mara nso medaase de atɔ ade de abrem.

**Speaker B:** Medaase.

**B1.**

**Speaker A:** Oh Akua, mese, aduhwam yi a wode abre me yi m'ani asoo! ei, medaase o, eye hwam koraa dodo

**Speaker B:** saa?

**Speaker A:** Mm

**Speaker B:** Mehyɛda na metɔbrɛ wo

**Speaker A:** saa?

**Speaker B:** sɛ mewɔ ha asetena pa a wo ne me tenaee no eno nti na emaa metɔbrɛ wo no

**Speaker A:** Aw

**Speaker B:** Me nso m'ani sɔɔ deɛ woye maa me no paa nti na mekae wo no

**Speaker A:** medaase paa sɛ woakae me mmeretenten wei nyinaa medaase

**Speaker B:** Aw ennase ennase, ennase koraa

**Speaker A:** Aw

**Speaker B:** Deɛ nipa bɛyɛ ara na mayɛ no wae

**Speaker A:** mm medaase, wei deɛ mede bɛgu me ho papa

**Speaker B:** ɛyɛ a fagu wo ho na memfa nnye animuonyam no bi wae

**Speaker A:** Aane ah, obiaa bisa me a mɛka sɛ Akua kɔɔ aburokyire na ɔde brɛɛ me

**Speaker B:** Mate.

### B3.

**Speaker A:** Ei Pascal meda wo ase; meda wo ase; meda wo ase. Wei deɛ, woamma mammɛ angu oo, woama manya me brɛ so mfasoɔ. Nyame nhyira wo papapapa sɛ woakae me. Awurade nhyira wo woate?

**Speaker B:** Oh braa panin, aseda deɛ, ɛwɔ Tweaduampɔn Nyankopɔn hɔnom. Esiane sɛ ewiase no, sɛ obi yɛ wo papa a ɛyɛ sɛ wo nso no, deɛ nipa no aye ama wo no, ɛyɛ sɛ woma no hunu sɛ deɛ nipa no aye ama wo no, ɛsɔ w'ani anaase, w'ani sɔ. Enti no, sɛdeɛ wonim no, nnaano na metuu kwan kɔɔ kuro kɛsɛɛ mu enti mereba no enna mehoo saa ade no, na mehwe saa ade no nso a ɛyɛ ade bi a ɛsombo, ɛsɛ fata sɛ woye m'adwuma mu panin yi deɛ, metɔ na mede abre wo, na ahyɛ wo animuonyam sɛ wofaa me no, woannu wo ho. Enti no, bra, aseda biara nni mu. Medaase.

### B4.

**Speaker A:** Hɛ! meda wo ase papa hɛ ɛyi de m'anyiwa nda koraa hɛ, ama me ho agow awiabere yi ankasa, medaase medaase sɛ ɛyi de anka ɛwɔde ɛme na meyoɔma wo o! oo ama m'ani agye ama m'ani agye dodo.

**Speaker B:** Oh enye hwee, asetena pa a wo ne me tenaee no, eno na ema menyaa eho adwempa ama metoodem ade yi de bree wo enti enye hwee.

**Speaker A:** oh na ano Nyame nhyira wo Nyame nhyira wo paa

**Speaker B:** yoo

#### **B5.**

**Speaker A:** Eii! Aduhwam, ei, lafenta na wode abre me awia yi saa no? Adeee wei paa kyini a makyini ne pe a mappe bi. Da no a menyaa bi no na akyere yie besi nne mennyaa bio! Enti meyeee m'adwene koraa se se obi retu kwan bi a ete sei a memane no bi. Oh oh oh oh oh oh, wei deeeeee aye se meebɔ mpaee no na wowɔ ho, aye se meehwehwe bi na wowɔ ho. Wei dee Nyame bɔfo sene bɔfo pa. Nyankopɔn nhyira wo paa ei. Wobehyee mase wɔ adwuma mu yi enna anka meyeee wo kaikai mennye nni se anka wobɛtumi de ade a ete sei mpo koraa mpo abre me aw aw aw aw, wei dee aseda nka Nyame. Esie ne kagya nni aseda. Wei dee Nyame enna ayi wo ama ede adee yi abre me awia yi. Nyame nhyira wo paa. Mahwehwe bi akye, Nyankopɔn nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** enda ase, na mehweentete pa a mebaa adwuma yi mu wode maa me, osom pa a meresom wo a mboa a wode boa me a, enni kwan se woda m'ase bebre sa, enni kwan se woda m'ase efiri se mehwe dee woaye ama me no a, esombo na ewose anka meto deeeboro saa mpo nanso wo deenkaa akyire. Menim se, eda foforo a meko no, biribiara beko so na matumi ato nea ekyen saa koraa abre wo. Meda wo ase.

**Speaker A:** Aw, Nyame nto wo nkwa nna mu, me mmom na meda wo ase,

#### **B6.**

**Speaker A:** Asem yi aye me nwanwa kakra. Yeee! Mansusuw se wobeye eyei. Aw aw woakyerse se wodɔ me ampa na nea woye ma me nyinaa nso m'ani sow woate koso ara na boa me wɔ adwuma yi mu wae? Adwuma no benyin a efiri wo ara nea woatɔabre me no nso m'ani sow dodo mede guw me ho obiara reka se eye kama

Nyame nhyira wo paa na ɔntrew w'ahye mu, na daa ne daa nyinaa nya bi, saa adom no nti amen, enye ho.

**Speaker B:** oh aseda nni ho aseda ye Nyankopɔn de, Nyankopɔn na ema nipa nyansa na ɔtumi de aye biribiara enti, nea mato ede abre wo yi efiri Nyankopɔn na emaa me nyansa ena ɔsane too me nsam a menyaa sika a mede ato eyi ede abre wo enti aseda bi wo ho a, yemfa mma Onyankopɔn enti aseda eye Onyankopɔn de.

**Speaker A:** meda wo ase papaapa Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** Meda wo ase pii

**B7.**

**Speaker A:** Zita, nea woaye yi afu me mu mpo, na m'ani nna, mennim se wobetumi aye see. Meda wo ase papaapa

**Speaker B:** Oh nnase nni ho boss wo ara wonim, mmoa nkakrankakra merəkoyi ne ade wo ara na wosensan me papers ne me nnooma, maa me. Eyi na mede reda wo ase, mereshow appreciation kakraa bi akyere wo enti nea edi akyire bebree mpo beba, medaase.

**B8.**

**Speaker A:** Yee ɔbaa ɔbaa Nyame nhyira wo Nyame nhyira wo Nyame nhyira wo Nyame nhyira wo. Yee yenni nipa bone yenni nipa bone, woaye adee, woaye adee,

**Speaker B:** Oh boss enye hwee

**Speaker A:** medaase bebree paa, dee woahwere biao Nyame nhye w'anan mu

**Speaker B:** dee woaye ama me koraa meka se meetua wo ka a metumi atua ka? Wei ye biribi ketewaa bi

**Speaker A:** adee wei dee ne boɔ ye den

**Speaker B:** Oh boss nye hwee nye hwee

**Speaker A:** Nyame nhyira wo Nyame nhyira wo medaase bebree

**Speaker B:** enye hwee.

**B9.**

**Speaker A:** oh eno Serwaa, meda wo ase paa wɔdze aye, enne ebema me ho aye huam, ɔnye den? aduhuam a edze brɛm no ɔsombo, na yesre Nyame de, abre ne abre nyinaa ara, ɔmboa wo, na etwa ahoma a ɔngu w'anyim na atum aye ma ɔsene dem edze amam. Meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** Oh wɔnda ase. Se awo dze eye abɔfra pa enti wɔnda ase, mɛnda mase. eye abɔfra pa enti na mehwe wo mekye wo dem adze yi.

**B10.**

**Speaker A:** Oh Akua meda wo ase, m'ani nda de dem adze a esombo yi bekyem ### meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** Oh aseda nyi ho ɔpanyin.

**B11.**

**Speaker A:** Maame, medaase, aseda piesie paa na mede ma wo, nea woahwere wo ho biara Onyame nhye w'anan mu, wɔanimuonyam hye a woahye me, seesei enne, yereka akesefoɔ a me nso metumi de me nsa si me bo ka se me nso meuse amanɔne nnoɔma. Nea woahwere wo me ho biara no, mebɔ mpaee se Nyame nhye w'anan mu, Nyame nhyira wo pii. Mo opiafo, wo nea woaye ho. Nyame ɔnhyira wo, na ɔnye wo kese. Afeda seseɛ no, na Awurade aye w'akoma so adeɛ nyinaa ama wo.

**Speaker B:** Boss, boss, wei deɛɛnye aseda o, wei deɛɛnye aseda biara, na me boss ne wo na matu kwan na matɔ adeɛ abre wo a, oh adeɛ ketekete wei, wei sika koraa nni hɔnom anka deɛ meye mpo deɛ anka ebekyen so sei enti boss me dea ara ne se wo deɛeno ara ne se woda a wobɛɔ mpaee ama me na Nyame aye me adom na me nso maduru mpɛnpɛnsɔ a wo nso woabeduru yi bi me nso metumi akɔ m'anim wo

abrabomu abeduru even mpo matumi akyen wo kakra, medaase medaase medaase nso Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker A:** Nyame nhyira wo, enye nipa nyinaa na ebeye dee woaye no, dee woaye no woama me ho adwiri me, abo me pusa, seesei menhu nea menye na menhu nea menye. Nea meka ara ne se nea aboo soro boo awia no, onhwie osoro nhyira ngu wo so na ebekyen me wo w'adeye nyinaa mu, medaase paa.

**Speaker B:** medaase.

### **B12.**

**Speaker A:** Meda wo ase barima, woaye adee se woakae me. Awurade nhyira wo woate?

**Speaker B:** Oh adwuma mu panin, aseda de, ewo Tweaduampɔn Nyankopɔn ho. Esiane se ewiase no, de onipa gu na otwa. Woagu odo enti ne so aba na woatwa no enne yi. Enti aseda ye Nyame de.

### **B13.**

**Speaker A:** Ababio, nea woaye yi ye me fe paa, na me were remfi da. Meda wo ase papaapa

**Speaker B:** Oh nnase nni ho adwuma wura. Medaase se w'ani gye ho mpo.

**Speaker A:** eso m'ani paa.

**Speaker B:** Medaase.

### **B14.**

**Speaker A:** He! meda wo ase papa. Ah wonim guam paa ade na eye hwam see. Medaase, enne woakyerɛ se wodwene me ho ampa.

**Speaker B:** Oh enye hwee, wei ye asetena pa a wo ne me tenae no ho aniso kakraa bi na merekyere akyerɛ wo.

**Speaker A:** oh Nyame nhyira wo Nyame nhyira wo paa

**Speaker B:** yoo

**B15.**

**Speaker A:** Yee Osei, woaye ade, mo mo mo. Ah ade na eye hwam sei yi? Medaase paa woaye adee.

**Speaker B:** Oh mepaakyew ennase biara nni mu Owura. Nneema a woye ma me no, menni ho hwee a meka na wei de enye hwee.

**Speaker A:** Aw, menhuhu nea menka mpo, Nyame nhyira wo pii

**Speaker B:** Amen.

**Context C transcripts**

**C.**

**Speaker A:** M'awuraba, meda wo ase wo adee a aye ama me yi ho de me sika nso mpo na nduro yi a mebetoe yi ede akyem, meda wo ase Nyame nhyira wo. Na mesre Nyame ne nhyira kese ma wo de bibribiara a ede wo nsa beso mu no onye yie. onko do a na nya adwuma, w'adwuma yi ontre na onye kese. Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** Oh maame, ndase nyi ho koraa nka owode meye mpo ma osene dem nanso obi n'adwuma a merehwe do nanso kakra a motumi aye medze aboa wo ara nono na mmom dza meka akyere wo a nye de kodo na fefa wo nduro no na w'apomudzen no, onye yie mmom mesre wo bebre kodo na nom na wodze, dabiara a wobokoma wobetwere wo aduro a wodzi boma wo de kotobiara dabiara fa bra ha na menhwe mmowo, metumu ahwe na maboa wo kwan bi do nkakrankakra.

**Speaker A:** M'awuraba Nyame nhyira wo. Nyame nhyira wo de ede akyem

**Speaker B:** Yoo maame mate mate

**Speaker A:** Me sika nso nso na ede akyem

**Speaker B:** Mate maame mate

**Speaker A:** Medaase

**Speaker B:** Yoo

**Speaker A:** Nyame nhyira wo.

**C1.**

**Speaker A:** Madam, wei deɛ meda wo ase o nka nye wo a yee obi dom bie meda wo ase, woate, Onyankopɔn nhyira wo meda wo ase paa

**Speaker B:** Oh mama aseda wɔ Onyankopɔn hɔ

**Speaker A:** Mate mate Onyankopɔn nhyira wo na ɔmma wo ### deɛ woayɛ ama me yi m'ani asɔ paa woate? Mhmm daakye bio meetwa mu wɔha a wae?

**Speaker B:** Yoo mama

**Speaker A:** Medaase.

**Speaker B:** Yoo aseda nni hɔ

**C3.**

**Speaker A:** Yee owura wei deɛ meda wo ase, Awurade nte n'ananim nkyerɛ wo. Yese Nyame bɔfoɔ sene bɔfo pa wei deɛ na m'ani nna. Madwendwen ho ara a kwan a mɛfa so koraa na agya matumi aduro yi no, ɛne sɛ anka mese mereba na maba abɛhwɛ agya kakraa bi a me sika besɔ no, magye na makɔ akɔnom no saa a Nyame aka w'akoma ama woadom me sei. Awurade nhyira wo wae.

**Speaker B:** Oh me nua, wei deɛ aseda nni mu. Dabiara meka sɛ, ewiase a yewɔ mu yi ankasa no, yen nnipa no a yete mu ankasa no, yenhyɛda nte yen ho ase yie esiane sɛ, sɛ woyɛ papa ɛde ma wo nua a na wonyɛɛ hwee. ɛfiri sɛ Bible koraa mpo se: “sɛ yen yɔnko ɛkɔ ahohiahia mu a anaase ɔwɔ ahohiahia mu a yemmɔ mmɔden sɛ yebeboa no saa kwan no so anaase mmoa biara a ɛsɛ fata sɛ yeβetumi de aboa nipa no yemmoa no”. Enti no wei no a mayɛ no, manyɛ amma nipa ɛnna manyɛ amma wo na mmom

meyɛde ma Awurade. Sika ne dweɛte nyinaa ɛfiri awurade hɔnom, enna adwuma biara no, ansa na ɛbɛkɔso nso no, ɛye Nyankopɔn nhyira ɛnye sika dodoɔ enti no braa aseda biara nni mu na mmom aseda wɔ Onyankopɔn hɔnom. Medaase

#### C4.

**Speaker A:** Oh ɛyi dze ama me werɛ aho dodo ama me werɛ aho meda wo ase ankasa meda wo ase paa he ama mo ho agow me ankasa. Dem ade yi nye obiara na obeye oh meda wo ase papaapa.

**Speaker B:** Oh aseda ye Nyame de o, wei ndase biara nyi mu ndase sɛɛfata Nyankopɔn. Me dem adze ɛbi too me mmere bi a atwa mu na obi nso ye mam nti na me nso mawhe ho mereye dem adze no enti menim dɛɛye nnooma a ɛtaa si enti aseda ɛye Nyame dea.

**Speaker A:** Yoo medaase Nyame nso mma w'adwuma nkɔ do.

**Speaker B:** Yoo, ɛnnee akyire.

#### C5.

**Speaker A:** Papa Pharmacist, Ei! me ho adwiri me, Nyankopɔn nhyira wo. Nokwa ni, se manhyia wo da no awia bere a Dɔkota twerɛ nuuro brane bi maa me se menkɔto a na ne boɔ menni ho ahoɔden biara no manhyia wo a anka mewuie anka mennye nni se saa mmere yi mpo anka matumi mpo anante aduru ha. Nyankopɔn nhyira wo, nnuro no a wo ara wo de wo sika sɔɔ so bi wɔ hɔ koraa no a waonna bi wɔ w'adwuma mu ha wo ara wokɔtotɔɔ de kaa ho de maa me kɔnomeɛ no agye me na medaase paa na se anka manhyia wo a anka menim se wu ara na anka mewu Nyankopɔn nhyira wo Nyame nto wo nkwa nna mu esie ne kagya nni aseda. Papa mesre wo mewu a sɔ me ti na menka asem bi nkyere wo ɛfiri se woaboa me. Nyame nhyira wo dodo Nyame nhyira wo pii.

**Speaker B:** Oh onua, awo dze menda mase ɔsan de nyipa ne nua nye nyipa. Mennim baabi a amo nso medu baabi a mehia mboa. Enti se maboa wo a menyim deembere bi beba a Nyankopɔn nso, ɔno nso beye ahye m'anan mu bere a mo nso mehia emboa enti awo de gyae ma enka gyae ma enka biribiara wɔ Nyame ho na mesre wo kosekose nso de wo yare no enom aduro no a ebɔko.

**Speaker A:** Nyankopɔn nhyira wo paa.

### C6.

**Speaker A:** Enti Kofi aduro to na mebaa se anka mereba abeto wɔ adurotonbea ha nanso mebae me sika anso na Nyankopɔn adom enam se wonam a wohyia Nyankopɔn bɔfopa enti mebae sika yi anso nanso woato wo kotoku mu ayi sika ede asow me sika yi so ama matumi anya nnuro a ese ne nyinaa a mede rekɔsa me ho yaree a, mede Nyankopɔn ye den? egya wo, na mesane de Nyankopɔn nso eda wo ase pii wɔ mmoa a woaboa me ama me nsa atumi aka aduro yi a mede rekoye nea ese na efata ama atumi asa me yaree ama me ho ato me. Mede Nyankopɔn eda wo ase pii.

**Speaker B:** Yoo wei de me nua barima obi nnim faako a obehyia ne boafo, na me nso nea meka ne se Nyankopɔn enam akwan ahorow bebree so ena ɔfa de boa nipa eno nti wei de me no maafam de se nipa ena maye yi aseda nni ho aseda ye Nyankopɔn de se ɔno nso boa me na me nso manya ho aboa wo eno na aseda nni mu wae aseda nni mu koraa Nyame nka wo ho na onhye wo den

**Speaker A:** wo nso Nyankopɔn nso nka wo ho na onhye wo anan mu.

### C7.

**Speaker A:** Medaase, nka wei de meye ho den? Me sika nso nso wei de woaboa me, Nyame nhyira wo. Wei de wonnim me wɔ baabiara a woaboa me woama agye me nsam mpo, aw Nyame nhyira wo meda wo ase paa. Me honam me sisi ne ade nne aduru yi mede ye baako na ekoe a wei nka nne mede refa he ni? Meda wo ase Nyame

nhyira wo paa, papa wonnim me wo baabiara woaye saa mmoa yi de woama m'ani agye, meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** Yoo obaa, onipa nua ne nipa enti na maye see ama wo yi yemfa aseda mma Nyame.

**C8.**

**Speaker A:** Oh boss, Nyame nhyira wo woate? Obi a mennim wo wo baabiara, ena woatumi aye wei ama me Nyame nhyira wo woate? Dee woasee biara onhye w'anan mu wo ho, meda wo ase, Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** Mate mate, emma ne nha wo, aseda ye Nyame dea, ewiase dee, wonnim da a wo ho bekyere wo a wo nua nso ebeboa wo, ena nipa nua nso ne nipa enti ahodon na ehia, aseda no dee ye onyame dea.

**C9**

**Speaker A:** Nyame nhyira wo, de adze a meebotoyi, atua kaw ama me Nyame onye wo kese.

**Speaker B:** Amen. Ndase nka ne dzin, oye me ahohoahoa de maye dem osan de nkwa hia, nyipa bowu ma sika betena hodze, sika nkoma nyipa nya nkwa nti dem na Nyame yeresre ne de omboa hen na yen nya bi na abre ne abre nyinaa nso yeaye no dem enti ndase ye ne dze.

**C10.**

**Speaker A:** Medaase Nyame nhyira wo onto wo nkwa mu

**Speaker B:** Amen onye ho.

**C11.**

**Speaker A:** Nyame nhyira wo, onye wo kese, wo adoye a woayi no adi ede akyere me. Se woama mahunu se ewiase yi mu, enye nea odo wo nko ara ne nea wo ne no te fie. Mebaee yi, wo animte ne akoma pa a ene odo a woayi no adi akyere me. Seenne,

mafiri ayaresabea na merekofie a, nea mereka ne se Nyame onhyira wo, amma woadeyo nyinaa enye fromfrom na medaase paa wo nea woaye ama me yi ho, Nyame onhyira wo pii. Aseda piesie na me ne m'asefo nyinaa mede ma wo.

**Speaker B:** oh aseda eye Onyame dea, esiane se se me nua ho akyere no a mentumi nhwe no saa se onwu. enna aduro yi nso wobae yi, ebi wohnom na wo sika na enso enti mentumi nhwe wo anihaa se ko na kowu efiri se sebe, ebetumi aba mpo se se mamfa aduro yi amma wo na ebia wrekoyi ara wotwa hwe tim, na mete se obi koraa behu se woobetw aduro wo me ho enna mamfa amma wo na wawu tim na seesei yi ara woda ho a mentumi kyere se me ara me tirim koraa bebu me fo enti bro. mentumi enhwe w'anim saa se wu esiane se ewiase no ara yammegye hwee enti se wo nua ho kyere no a ewose woba no enti mentumi nhwe wo anihann se ko enti na emaa mede maa wo no enti meda wo ase bebree nso enti enye hwee.

**Speaker A:** meda wo ase paa Nyame nhyira wo. Nea onipa beye ara na woaye yi. Nea mereka aa ne se, aseda piesie se adee kye na se wote se akoko abon anaase woso w'akasanoma na wote se yerekasa wo so a na eye me ne m'asefo enna ede aseda piesie ema wo, nea yeka nyinaa ne se Awurade enkoso enhwie enhyira mma wo na woadeye nyinaa mu no Awurade ensum wo ngu nhyira mu wo ayeyede ne do ne akoma pa a woanya ede agye me nkwa Nyame nhyira wo pii.

**Speaker B:** yoo

**Speaker A:** medaase paa nso

**Speaker B:** yoo, aseda ye Nyame dea. Mpaee a merebo koraa ne se wo ho betw wo eno na ehia efiri se aduro no wobetumi anom nanso Nyame nsa nni mu a enye adwuma enti no, mpaee a merebo aa ne se Nyankopon beye wo adom na wo ho atw wo na biribiara aye kama nkwa na ehia.

**Speaker A:** mate Nyame nhyira wo paa.

**C12.**

**Speaker A:** Me wura, Nyame nhyira wo paa. Ade wei a woaye yi, mede Nyankopon da wo ase. Woaye Nyame so adwuma.

**Speaker B:** Emma no nye wo nwanwa pii se maye see ama wo. Megye di se, daakye bi, se wo nso obi ho kyere no na wowo mmoa a, woboa. Enti yemfa nnase mma Onyankopon.

**C13.**

**Speaker A:** Opanin, meda wo ase, se nnuro a merebetoyi, me sika nso ne nyinaa na atua sika no asow so ama me Nyame nye wo kese paa.

**Speaker B:** Oh enye hwee. Sebe, se nipa bewu ama sika atena hode, anka sika anim ngu ase.

**Speaker A:** Woaka no yie, medaase.

**Speaker B:** Yoo

**C14.**

**Speaker A:** Medaase, nka wei de, eye obi mpo na ekobaa no sei a, anka oremfii me koraa. Nyame nhyira wo. Wei de wonnim me wobaabiara nso woaboa me sei, meda wo ase.

**Speaker B:** Yoo, yemfa aseda mma Nyame efiri se onno na woama kwan ama maye see ama wo. Nyame nhyira wo pii.

**C15.**

**Speaker A:** Ei, na mennim se Nyame abofo da ho ye adwuma wonne mmere yi mu nanso ade a woaye ama me yi ama masesa m'adwene. Se woreye w'adwuma na wonnim me da, na merebetoaduro wowo haa me sika nso, enna wo ara woaton nnuro no de ama me, Nyame omma w'adwuma nkoso, onhyira wo mma ebi nka w'asefo. Meda wo ase papaapa.

**Speaker B:** Oh boafo ne Awurade, enti yemfa aseda mma no.

**Speaker A:** Yoo mate

### Context D transcripts

#### D.

**Speaker A:** M'awuraba fɛɛfɛw, meda wo ase ma awiabere yi abesom ma masi me fufu bankye dzendzen yi awie, Nyame nhyira wo bebree Nyame nhyira wo, meda wo ase paa.

**Speaker B:** Nyimpa dze enyim da a wo nso wo ho bekyere wo enna enyim obi nso a ebekɔakehyia no wɔ baabi, enti se obi ho akyere no nde na maboa no a menim de daakye makatua wɔ baabi.

#### D1.

**speaker A:** Ah me nua,

**speaker B:** yees

**speaker A:** Medaase o

**speaker B:** Oh ennase

**speaker A:** Woagye me bre papa hwe me nsam nyinaa ye me ya

**speaker B:** Oh enye hwee nipa nua ne nipa

**speaker A:** na mepaakyew yefre wo sen?

**speaker B:** Mede Akua

**speaker A:** Akua aaa

**speaker B:** me na me dan toa mo so mmeensa wɔ akyire ha sei no

**speaker A:** aa agya Ntow mo fie ho

**speaker B:** mepaakyew aane

**speaker A:** aaaa oh okay medaase paa woate? Wei de woama me bre nyinaa to atwa.

Na mentwa kakra mma wo anaa?

**Speaker B:** Oh dabi medaase wo deɛ meetutu so, Yehowa boa a da foforo ebia yebesɛn ahyia ebi koraa na wo nso woaboa me kwan foforo so woahu:

**Speaker A:** Aw, yoo

**Speaker B:** enti ennase koraa

**Speaker A:** medaase paa wae Nyankopɔn nhyira wo.

### D3.

**Speaker A:** Ei me nua, adeɛ a woayɛ ama me yi deɛ, ɛboro m'adwene ne me nteaseɛ so, nnansa yi sei yi ara o, metumi di awɔka saa ara, obi retwam koraa ɔnfii, obi tumi twa mu sei na ɔrehwe m'anim sei haaa na ɔse braa mepa wo kyew na wo yere wɔhe? Na maka akyerɛ no sɛ menwareɛ, ɛbi wɔhɔkoraa no a, na woabeyi bankye adi, mehwe sɛ anka ɔbeboa me kakra ɛwɔfufuo ne wɔmu nso saa ara na wɔde retwa mu saa ara. Na wo deɛ, wobɛtoo me no a meredi awɔka no, woantwa mu, woabɔ wo ho mmɔden aboa me wɔ fufuo no wɔ mu. Enti aberanteɛ, wei deɛ deɛ mɛka ara ne sɛ medaase, na mmom, woawie dea memma wo nkɔ saa ara kwa, bɔ mmɔden na tena ase, na mempe bi na di na agya wo nso nya ahɔɔden foforo na kɔ baabi a wookoro no.

**Speaker B:** Oh owura, ɛyɛ wei deɛ me nso mɛda wo ɛno ho ase. ɛyɛ ara ɛna ase Nyame nsa mu na aseda wɔ sɛbe o yɛse esie ne kagya ɛnni aseda biara ɛyɛ sɛ yɛsosɔsosɔ yen ho yen ho mu abia. Sɛbe o kafra nipa nua ne nipa enti ɛnha wo ho bebree wae.

### D4.

**Speaker A:** Oh onua, ɛnyɛ wo a anka seesei nyinaa menwie fufuo yi wɔo! Awo de twɛn na yɛndidi wae?

**Speaker B:** Oh dabi, ma ara me nan si kwan do, medaase, Nyame nso nhyira wo de masɔwo mu mpo awo nso esane nso ama me bi awo de ɛnyɛ hwee enti awo da fofor.

**Speaker A:** Na ano Nyame nhyira wo, akyiri.

**Speaker B:** yoo, mate.

**D5.**

**Speaker A:** Wei deɛ medaase paa, medaase, enye obiara na ɔbetumi aye nea woaye yi, esiane se mennim wo baabiara. Wei deɛ megye di se woye Nyankopɔn bɔfoɔ, meda wo ase, meda wo ase Nyame nhyira wo, Nyame nhyira wo papaapa.

**Speaker B:** Oh yenna ase, nipa deɛ, wo nua ho kyere no a ese se woboa no.

**Speaker A:** Na ewose wotwen na yedidi o

**Speaker B:** Oh mepaakyew aduane deɛ, medaase mefirii bi ho ara na mereba yi madidi amee anka medi dodo.

**Speaker A:** yoo medaase, Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** Aseda nka Nyame.

**D6.**

**Speaker A:** Oh eyi de mepaakyew na wofre wo den koraa woammowo din ankyere me

**Speaker B:** mepaakyew wofre me Donkor

**Speaker A:** Oh! Wei de dakoro na wodehu nipa Nyame nhyira wo woate meda wo ase paa eyi nka mede fa he? Fufuw me nkutoo enso woaba abesome mu Nyame nhyira wo dodo wae? Eyi de w'ahoden a wode aboa me Nyame nhyira wo mansusuw koraa da Nyame nhyira wo onto wo nkwa da mu wae

**Speaker B:** Wo nso onhyira wo nso

**Speaker A:** Daa ne daa nyinaa onye wo kese

**Speaker B:** Anka seneɛ anka ese okanni ba biara se oye no, eno na maye yi, se anka woretwa mu na wohu se anka onpanin, eso biribi anaase oye adwuma bi a sebe eboro n'ahoden so a ese se nidi ne obuo mu no anka okanni ba a woye okanni pikode eye

sɛ wokɔna wotumi boa ɔpanin no na ɔwie na ɔda wo ase a esen senea ɔde sika mpempem aye den? akyɛ wo enti eyi de aseda enni ho

**Speaker A:** Yoo, Nyame nhyira wo

**Speaker B:** wo nso ɔnhyira wo nso.

**D7.**

**Speaker A:** Maame semanhyia, mo! Woaye ade, fufu wɔyi nti, mmɔfra nyinaa aguan afiri fie, wo a mennim wo mpo ɛna woaye eyi sei ama me yi Nyame nhyira wo papaapa

**Speaker B:** Wei de nnase nni hɔwei de sɛ eye ade ketewa bi koraa nnase nni mu wae.

**D8.**

**Speaker A:** Oh maame medaase medaase paa Nyame nhyira wo woaye adeɛ nne deɛ manya wo a,

**Speaker B:** Oh

**Speaker A:** Anka me ho bekyere me paa

**Speaker B:** ɛnkasa

**Speaker A:** Nne manya wo a anka mawu

**Speaker B:** ɛnkasa na deɛ eso kyɛn sei koraa yeɛ

**Speaker A:** Nyame nhyira wo Nyame nhyira wo

**Speaker B:** Wei deɛ sɛ menyɛɛ hwee mm

**Speaker A:** Nyame nhyira wo deɛ woahwere biara ɔnhyɛ w'anana mu

**Speaker B:** Amen amen yoo

**Speaker A:** ɔnhyira wo paa bye bye

**D9.**

**Speaker A:** oh m'awura eyi dze menhu dze a menka, ewiabere yi manko mehyɛ ha merebre kakra ma ebosome mu, Nyankopɔn na ara ɔmma ho ahoodzen, ɔmma wo tum

na abre na abre nyinaa ara enam na ekoto ndzemma a ote dem a atum aye mmoa, na yewawie yi dze megye medzi de ebeka wo nsa so kakra ansa na akobaabia oye de eko

**Speaker B:** Oh wonda ase, abofra dze, ekoto panyin de oleye adze a etum sone mu enti wonda ase. Abofra dze owode dze meye ena mereye yi.

**D10.**

**Speaker A:** Oh Maa mepaakyew medaase na mmom tena ase na yendzidzi na yedzidzi wie a atoa do na ako

**Speaker B:** Oh maa mepaakyew medaase na ma onka ho.

**Speaker A:** medaase.

**D11.**

**Speaker A:** Ei barima ye na, na wo ntena ase koraa na me ntwaa aduane yi bi mma wo nni ene se woaboa me na woawie na worekoyi? Wei dee mesre wo gye akonnwa na mentwa bi mma wo na agya fa kyeakyea w'ano kakra.

**Speaker B:** Maame, merokobaabi na mede bere na eye adwuma enti no woadaworoma,

**Speaker A:** Oh wei dee

**Speaker B:** eye ma no nsi ho

**Speaker A:** Wei dee mesre wo mesre wo yen Akanfoono enye saa na yeye adee

**Speaker B:** Maame mepa wo kyew, me koraa no, kyere se mefirii fie ara ni, mekokoom'ano twedee firii fie ara enna mese merokoa nhyiamu yi a mede duruu ha no enti no, eye, medaase paa Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker A:** Barima ye na woaka saa a mate, meda wo ase bebree nso, Nyankopon nhyira wo bebree baabiara a wobekobiara wobedi no yie esiane adoye a woaye me yi nti meda wo ase bebree, Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** Me nso medaase. Na mmom enna mase eye masedee.

**D12.**

**Speaker A:** Owura, medaase papaapa. Nanso wei de, mesre wo, ma yennidi ansa na woako.

**Speaker B:** enye hwee. Na mesre nso se ma yenye adidie no da foforo. Medaase.

**Speaker A:** Oh saa? Yoo medaase paa.

**Speaker B:** Yenna ase koraa

**D13.**

**Speaker A:** Ei adwuma a woaye ama me awia yi de, ase de mereso dae no. Wobegye adi se mehyee ase siw fufu yi no, nnamfonom mmeensa na abetwam ha akya me ko? Nanso, woabeso me mu awo fufu yi nyinaa ama me. Meda wo ase onipa nua.

**Speaker B:** Oh aseda nni mu.

**Speaker A:** wei de maye yenka yen ano ansa na woako

**Speaker B:** Aw, anka medi dodo nanso, ewose meduru baabi seesei yi aa enti medaase.

**Speaker A:** Yoo, ennee akyiri.

**D14.**

**Speaker A:** Wei de medaase paa. Fufu wo nye adwuma kumaa nanso wode w'ahoden ne wo bere abeso me mu awo me bankye bawee yi nyinaa ama me. Nyame nhyira wo.

**Speaker B:** Mepaakyew yoo.

**D15.**

**Speaker A:** Megyefo, meda wo ase. Se woammeso me mu awia yi a, anka mennye nni se mawo bankye yi mu fa koraa awie. Mesre wo, tena ase, na didi ansa na woatoa wo nante so.

**Speaker B:** Oh aduane no de eye. Na menna mase efiri se sebe, ahokyere wo ho nti na emmoa nso wo ho. Enti enye hwee.

