Face Management in Nigerian Pidgin Radio Discourse

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ABSTRACT: The conception of face and its management differ across cultural boundaries, and the need for more empirical studies investigating its operation in other cultural milieu other than the Eurocentric setting has been identified in linguistic circles. The paper therefore investigated the nature of face work in Nigerian Pidgin radio discourse in order to evolve valid data and explanation on the dynamics of its operation in Nigerian pidgin radio discourse. It takes politeness beyond linguistic strategies only, to account for culturally motivated manifestations of politeness. Using the face co-constituting theoretical model, it accounts for default and nonce face management strategies in context. The findings revealed that politeness in the context of the radio discourse consist in both normative and strategic devices. Apart from the contextual inputs of formality of speech event, the presence of audience and the degree of liking between participants, the pivotal elements of topic/domain of discourse and its socio-cultural perception in discourse is established as essential to the certitude of politeness in context.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The subject of face management in interactional discourse has engaged the attention of scholars in the area of language studies, partly as a result of its intriguing theoretical aspect, but more importantly because of its practical value in the success of everyday communicative interactions.

Proponents of the Politeness Principle (Leech, 1983) and the Face Management Theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987) have been leveled with criticisms as to the Eurocentric nature of their postulates, thereby limiting their universality in aspects of application. This is essentially so because the cultural matrix of participants/language users regulates aspects of language use and interpretation (Rundguist, 1992, p. 447), nuances that are not usually transferable or translatable across cultures. In the words of Bulm-Kulka (1991, p. 270), systems of politeness manifest a culturally filtered interpretation of interaction and strategies are understandable in the context of culture-specific social relation. It therefore becomes evident that the conception of face and its management differ across cultural boundaries thereby necessitating more empirical studies to investigate the nature of politeness and face management in different cultures other than the Eurocentric setting.

To this end, this study has sought to investigate the nature of face work in Nigerian Pidgin radio discourse, i.e., culturally motivated manifestations of politeness in Nigerian pidgin talk exchanges; and its significance for health communication. It also takes politeness in face management terms beyond the limits of linguistic strategies (conversational implicature signals/markers) to examine other means of attending to face consisting of both default and nonce *Interpritings*. (Arundale 1999, p. 134). The Arundale (1999) Face Coconstituting theoretical model (FCT) is adopted in favour of its combination of the cognitive and interactional dimensions in its analysis. Moreover, it accounts for stasis and nonce face work and accommodates contextual variables in its analysis. It is believed that this affords a wider perspective on politeness phenomena. The model is deemed appropriate to our own purpose because of its emphasis on face work in interaction compared to the Rapport Management Theory where face is considered an aspect of rapport.

Apart from providing a cultural perspective on politeness in English as second language (ESL) situation, the radio discourse medium provides a tripartite dimension to health communication contrary to precedence in politeness studies in health communication interactions which have largely focused on doctor/patient consultative forum (Sydew Campbel, 2005, Lopez, 2008). As noted by Fakuade (2008, p.2) health communicative style and strategies have been largely elitist oriented rather than citizen friendly, and if improved health awareness and standard is to be achieved in the citizenry, then a serious consideration of language and strategy of health communication is non-negotiable. It is the researcher's opinion that the message needs to reach the audience without breakdown in communication through the choice of an appropriate code they can identify with - Pidgin in this case - in the proper management of the sensitive nature of health-related issues, with the interest of participants / target audience carefully managed with the dexterity required through proper face management.

Pragmatics

A pragmatic analysis "investigates that aspect of meaning which is derived, not from the formal properties of words and constructions (as in the case of semantics) but from the way in which utterances are used and how they relate to context in which they are uttered" (Leech, 1981:290).

Its frontiers extend beyond psycholinguistics, socio-linguistics and neuro-linguistics (Levinson, 1983:2) to focus specifically the context of speech production/ interpretation; contextual factors influencing language use in specific situational contexts (Adegbija, 1999:189, Lawal 2003:150). On a general note, pragmatics may be understood as an area of linguistic studies which investigates utterance meaning in context in relation to their users. This integrates the rubrics and praxis of propositions and explications of linguistic acts including aspects of "the study of deixis (at least in part), implicature, presupposition, speech acts and aspects of discourse structure" (Levinson 1983:27).

Speech Acts

The landmark Speech Act Theory of J.L. Austin (1962), popularized in his post humously published book *How to do Things with Words* posits that "language is not only used in saying things but in performing actions" (Odebunmi, 2001, p.87).

Stratifying speech types into the constative and the performative dichotomy, Austin identified verifiable utterances (true or false) as constative, and non-truth condition utterances which may be felicitous or infelicitous as performatives. In Austin's conception, the felicity of performatives is contingent upon the existence of a conventional procedure including the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances, with participants executing such procedure correctly and completely, and possessing the appropriate thoughts or feeling required in such circumstance, as well as requisite intention to conduct themselves, and actually conduct themselves in accordance with the invocation of the procedure (Austin, 1962, pp. 14-15).

Advancing the integral complementary acts of locution, illocution and perlocution in the communicative act, he explained the locutionary act as consisting in the utterance of a statement with determinate sense and reference hence domicile in descriptive linguistics (phonic, phatic, rhetic). An illocutionary act is a non linguistic act performed through a locutionary act with or without performative verbs (Fromklin and Rodman, 1983) which may include warning, commending, threatening, promising, etc.

The perlocutionary act consists of the intentional or non intentional effect brought about on the hearer by means of uttering the sentence. Every locutionary act therefore fulfils a certain communicative function (speaker's intention) through the illocutionary force to derive the envisioned or non-envisioned effect (Huang, 2006). Overall, the success of an illocutionary act as identified by Austin is premised on the felicity or appropriateness conditions of the preparatory, the sincerity and the essential conditions, to prevent the illocutionary force from misfiring.

Searles (1969) however conceives language as a rule-governed activity regulated by the constitutive and the regulative rules. He attempted to 'systematize and formalize' Austin's work as it affects categorisation of act types, especially, Austin's non-differentiation of speech act and speech act verbs; i.e., speech act verbs not being a criteria for the existence or otherwise of a speech act as Austin supposed that "verbs in the English language correspond one-to-one with categories of speech acts (Leech 1983, p.176; Thomas, 1995, p.94).

The success of speech act is thus premised on the use of the illocutionary force indicating device (IFIDS) linguistic tool in domain of concrete action, with the attendant requisite condition for a speech act to have a particular illocutionary force (or 'count as' a particular speech act) tagged the 'felicity conditions'. In the words of Mey (2001, p.103) the kind of activity in which people are engaged and most essentially the general context determines the particular status of an utterance. Its deficiency in universal applicability notwithstanding, Searle's classification of illocutionary acts has been observed by Thomas (1995) and Odebunmi (2002) to have positive effects on cross-cultural pragmatics.

In Mey's (2001) analysis, both Austin and Searle operated the 'case approach'; one sentence, one case principle which uses sentences that are characteristic of 'the case' (speech act) under discussion which fails to take cognizance of contextual factors (not institutional character) for classifying speech act. According to him, "if the contextual conditions for a particular speech act being realized are not met, then there simply is no speech act, no matter what is said or written" (p. 126). Searle's typologies, as rightly observed by Alabi (2002, p.158), sidelined the societal framework in which a speech act has to be performed in order to be valid - an essential condition for a pragmatic understanding of speech acting (Mey, 2001, p.119).

Searle's work is of importance to face management as aspects of its institutional character provide the bases for the understanding and the explanation of default and stasis politeness in discourse. Its categorization of indirect speech acts provides insight into layers of meaning and their implications for instances of indirectness in facework.

Bach and Harnish (1979) initiated the intention and inference approach to speech acts where success in communication is premised on the recognition of speaker's illocutionary intention contingent on shared knowledge of interlocutors (MCBs), recovered through the inferential procedure. Dividing illocutionary acts into the communicative and non-communicative dichotomy, they identified categories of constatives, directives, commissives and acknowledgement in the first instance, while the conventional acts including affectives and verdictives which if done in certain situations count as doing something else constitute the non-communicative act category. The Bach and Harnish classification of illocutionary acts is adopted for this study.

The Cooperative Principle

Grice (1975) postulated the Cooperative Principle (CP) as an inference based approach to meaning to cater for aspects of speaker's intention and its effect on hearer; that is, processing implied meaning from expressed meaning. It is a quasi-interactional agreement which speakers enter into as they perform speech acts. He introduced four conversational maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner as tacit assumptions that underlie communication (Spencer-Oatey & Zegarac 2002). The maxims are described as instances of one super-ordinate cooperative principle:

Make your contribution such as is required at the stage at which if occurs, by the accepted purpose of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (Grice 1975, p.47).

The non-observance of the maxims in forms of flouts, violations, infringement, suspensions, opting outs generate implicature, an additional level of meaning beyond the semantic meaning of the words uttered where speaker's implicit intention is worked out through inferences (Thomas, 1995). Identifying the conventional and conversational categories of implicature, Grice described the former as invariably conveyed regardless of context, while the latter varies in consonance with the context of utterance. Examples of conventional implicatures include 'but' 'even', 'therefore', 'yet', 'for' (Levinson, 1980, p.27: Thomas 1995, p.57). Conversely, conversational implicature may derive from speaker's intentional and ostentatious breach or flout of a maxim (Levinson 1980, p.104) or from 'what other utterances the speaker could have produced but did not', (Mc Cawley, 1968, p.248).

Thomas (1995) delineated subcategories as maxim violation (with the intent to mislead), infringement (resulting from incompetence, impairment), opting out (non-observance for logical or ethical reasons) and suspension (where participants do not expect maxim fulfilment); hence, no implicature is generated, a situation ascribed by Odebunmi (2001, p.105) to cultural specifications or certain exigencies.

Grice's conversational implicature has however been faulted in aspects of the intentionality of its generation, discrimination between types of non-observance, the divergent nature of the maxims and maxim overlap, among others (Leech 1983, Thomas 1995). The neglect of the social dimension (interpersonal factors) in his theoretical model has been described as consequential to the viability and sustainability of the theory (Spencer-oatey and Zegarach, 2002). The CP's relevance to the current study is in aspects of tacit rule observance (institutional/conversational) by interlocutors which allows for success in communicative interaction. Also, as part of being cooperative, interlocutors make strategic choices which signify awareness of, and attend to other face needs in interaction.

The Politeness Principle

The inadequacies of the C.P such as the non informativeness of a number of declaratives, and the doubtful universal applicability of the CP necessitated the evolution of the Politeness Principle (PP) proposed by Leech (1983) to rescue the CP; being polite enables smooth communicative interaction. In the words of Leech (1983), politeness principles refer to verbal behaviour that maintains harmonious relations. Leech identified politeness as being relative to people and societal norms as manifest in linguistic terms. He identified the seven maxims of

Tact (regulating aspects of expression of impolite / polite beliefs), Generosity (regulating the expression of beliefs which impute cost / imply benefit to others, Approbation (expression of praise /dispraise of others), Modesty (regulating praise / dispraise of self), Agreement (regulating aspects of expression of disagreement / agreement between self and others); Sympathy, which explicates congratulations and condolences as courteous speech acts, and the

Pollyanna principle which emphasizes focus on the bright side of life rather than the gloomy side of life (an allusion to the heroin of Eleanor H. Porte's (1913) novel "Pollyanna" (Leech, 1983:147).

Face Management

Politeness principles according to Brown & Levinson (1978/1979) refer to verbal and non-verbal behaviour that enables individuals to maintain face. Politeness, which is observable in situations of social

distance or closeness, is the means by which we show awareness of another person's face, face being technically defined as 'the public self-image of a person' (Yule, 1996:60). Thomas (1999:169) pointed out that Face in the theory of politeness (as proposed by Brown and Levinson, 1987), which is an individual's feeling of self worth or self-image can be damaged, maintained or enhanced through interaction with others.Face kinds therefore include respect or deference operational in a situation of social distance e.g. superior vs subordinate and camaraderie or friendliness/solidarity which occurs in social closeness (equals).

Face, which can either be positive or negative may be saved (met) or threatened in a number of ways. The positive face represents the individual's desire for acceptance, approval, respect and appreciation of others, while the negative face is the individual's desire for independence to act without imposition by others. These desire (positive and negative faces) may thus be satisfied (saved) or denied (threatened) via illocutionary acts which may orient to one face need or the other at different times and on different occasions.

Interlocutors however regulate the damage made to face through strategic choices guided by an assessment of the size of the FTA on the basis of parameters of Power (P) Distance (D) Rating (R) of imposition (Thomas 1995) to arrive at such options as:

Performing the FTA on record without redressive action (Badly)

Performing the FTA on record using positive politeness

Performing the FTA on record using negative politeness

Performing the FTA using off-record politeness

Not performing the FTA.

Bald-on-record is characteristic of situations where external constraints exert on speaker to speak directly (emergency, imminent danger) or when FTA is in hearer's interest or the power differential between interlocutors is so great that speaker is not under obligation to mitigate his utterance or use indirectness.

Positive politeness on the other hand performs FTA with redress; appeals to hearer's desire to be liked or approved of (Thomas 1995:171). Brown & Levinson (1987, p, 101-29) identified fifteen positive politeness strategies through which speaker may orient himself/herself to hearer's positive face which includes the use of in-group identity markers, express interest in hearer and claim common ground among others. These are synonymous with Leech principles of politeness such as 'seek agreement' 'avoid disagreement', be optimistic, give sympathy' (Thomas, 1995:172).

Negative politeness which appeals to the individual's desire for autonomy however employs conventional politeness markers, deference markers and minimization of imposition among others. Brown and Levinson (1987) provided ten strategies for performing an FTA with redress which may include be 'conventionally indirect', hedge, minimize imposition, 'admit the impingement and beg forgiveness', use point of view distancing, go on record as incurring a debt, etc (Thomas 1995:173). Off record politeness according to Brown & Levinson (1987) may be performed using fifteen strategies including give hint, use metaphors, be ambiguous or vague, use ellipses, be incomplete, etc.

The last strategy, 'Do not perform FTA' is applicable to situations when something is so potentially face threatening that one avoids saying it.

These may take either of these forms of

OOC – genuine and OOC strategic with the former representing a genuine desire to keep the matter closed, while the latter expects a recovery of cogent implicature on the part of the Hearer. The third sort of saying nothing relates to a situation where high expectations for something to be said are not met thereby amounting to a massive FTA.

The face management theory is pertinent to this paper in aspects of its theoretical construct and categorization of face management strategies. The difference however lies in its being situated in an English as second language situation such as the Nigeria Pidgin Radio health talk as this would not only engender new data but culture specific norms of face management in L2 situations.

The Rapport Management Theory advanced by Spencer –Oatey in 2000 (re-explained in 2008) seeks to address the short-coming of the face management theory through the pragmatic tenet which views institutional interactions not strictly in terms of the transactional aspect, but also in interactional strategies and rapport building activities (Loperz, 2008 P. 57, Placencia, 2004). It revised the Brown and Levinson postulate from an individual speaker centred perspective /orientations to a group dimension. Identifying the bases of rapport to include face, rights and obligations, and interactions goals; it inadvertently demarcates between face and sociality right, thus incorporating an independent/dependent perspective (Oatey, 2000, Isik, 2006).

Conceptualizing face as either quality (desire for positive evaluation in terms of ability, competence, etc, or identity face (the fundamental desire for people to recognize and uphold our social identities or roles, e.g. as close friend, valued customer, group leader, etc), the second bases of rapport, which is rights and obligations border on interlocutors expectations in interactions which impinge on their manner of encoding and decoding of messages. Sociality right, which consists of equity and association rights, which, like face, addresses our basic assumption, belief of entitlement to fairness/ lack of imposition from others, and our belief of personal

entitlement to an association with others in accordance with the relationship we share with them and the affordances of the activities involved.

Oatey included the sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIPs) to cater for the socio-cultural exceptions to the perception of rights and obligations in different socio-cultural domains. The third component, interactional goal, is identified as either transactional (information transmission for the attainment of formal set goals) and /or interactional (for the enhancement of interpersonal comity). The RMT is therefore a departure from the Face Management Theory in aspects of the latter's individual conceptualization of face, incorporation of the social dimension to the management of relations and the line it draws between face needs and sociality rights. Hence the Brown and Levinson negative face is not treated as a face need but rather as sociality right. Therefore in Oatey's terms, rapport/harmony may be threatened either through face threatening behaviour (behaviour that 'devalue' us) and right threatening behaviour (equity and association, infringement on our sense of personal /social entitlements).

Overall the import of RMT in politeness studies as noted by Lopez (2008:79) is its injection of variegated variables into its model which provides for a general overview of causes and consequences of communicative differences across cultures, and highlights the complexity of communication as a social psychological aspect of humanity. Critics have however noted that the three bases of rapport vary across cultures, and the three bases of rapport as assumed by Oatey do not actually operate at the same level (Lopez, ibid)

A close examination and comparison of Brown and Levinson model with the RMT reveals that RMT provides for a greater level of explication of the basic ideologies encapsulated by the FM Theory, the major difference being the RMT's location of linguistic politeness within its socio-psychological context, and the incorporation of the interactional dimension too.

Nevertheless, face within the framework of the two models remains a basic desire for approval consisting of both the positive value (personal worth/quality face) claimed by the individual and the desire to be recognized or approved by others either on personal basis (self worth/qualities) or interpersonally (public worth/identity face).

The negative face/sociality right interface may be reconciled via the common denominator of their uniform orientation to the fundamental desire and expectation to be without any form of imposition and have freedom of action. Oatey's discrimination between face and sociality rights on the basis of their perlocutionary effects (sense of devaluation vs anger, irritation) may not represent two irrevocably mutually exclusive elements as they both identify "fundamental expectations' and speech acts impact negatively on them both.

For our own purpose therefore, face is conceptualized as consisting both the Brown and Levinson's positive/negative faces or the RMT quality/identity faces and sociality right considering their situation within the psychological domain; expectations tied to emotional potentials / responses triggered by people's varying responses to our basic desire/expectation for appreciation or independence. When such expectations are met, positive emotions evoked engender rapport and the societal expectation of politeness is considered upheld while the reverse may be said of impoliteness.

The Arundale Co-constituting Theory

The Arundale Co-constituting theory is a direct response to the inadequacy of the Brown and Levinson's theoretical model in accuonting for the emergent properties of social interaction. It is an improved conceptualization of politeness anchored on a dynamic interactional achievement of communication. It advocates the recognition of the default interpriting because the nonce principle (conversational implicature) presumes the default principle, and only subsists when default interpreting is terminated. Arundale (1999) maintains that 'the balance' principle where reparation of debt is achieved through redress suggests the stasis mode of routine face maintenance where no inbalance is created in the first place (p.144), thereby contravening the Brown and Levinson's basic assumption that politeness is always communicated by particularised conversational implicature. The Arundale model therefore captures both the routine (stasis) and the non-routine (balancing) face maintenance as well as outright face threat and outright face support as co-constituted by interlocutors. Aspects of default and nonce face management are specifically focused in the present study.

Cross-Cultural Pragmatics

Language is culture specific. It does not stop at expressing thought or feelings but equally expresses culture which is the totality of ways of life of any given people; their world view, beliefs, etc. Language and society are inextricably tied together. Hence, humans process utterance meaning from personal/individual cultural perspectives, a process wrongly perceived at times as universal (Wierzbicka, 1991, p.9). Participants within a communicative enterprise need to share basic background knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions in order for communication to succeed.

In his concluding remarks, Leech (1983) in his book *Principles of Pragmatics* observes that the transfer of the norms of one community to another may lead to pragmatic failure and

To the judgment that the speaker is in some way being impolite, uncooperative, etc...but, there is no absolute sense in which this can be true. (Therefore), my expectation is that the general paradigm represented in these chapters will provide the framework in which contrastive studies of pragma-linguistic strategies can be undertaken (p. 231).

In response to the contextual cultural constraints on speech acts in particular, and communication in general, Emuchay (2002, p. 194) affirms the inadvertent interdependence of language and culture thus "...it is not possible to use language without a cultural base". Hence, the pragmatic validity of a speech act (like any other use of language) will vary when considered from an intercultural perspective (Mey, 2001).

The socio-cultural milieu (culture, nationality, gender, and age, among others) must set the standard in the assessment of the pragmatic validity and appropriateness/acceptability of speech acts in cultural context rather than the misconceived pragmatic universals advocated by some ethnocentric language groups. Hence, pragmatic components such as speech acts politeness, indirectness, paralinguistic devices, silence, implicature and presupposition are filtered by cultural values (positive/negative) and norms, cultural orientation therefore dictate societal nuances and details as it affect the management of seemingly universal interactive talk rubrics such as cooperation, turn taking and face management among others. Gudykunst and Ting-Tooney (1988, p. 86) through their study on cultural influence on face observed that face would differ in modes and styles of expression and negotiation from one culture to the next. These include variations in addressivity and the use of deference markers, (Baklitin 1994, p. 99; Mey 2001: p. 272).

In Aremu's (2009) classification of honorifics in Nigerian English usage, categories reflect the Nigerian socio-cultural norms, ethics, beliefs and traditional colorations to signal awareness of (i) socio-cultural norms (ii) signification of professions, social status, religious affiliation and experience and educational attainment; this he pointed out are distinct from the Standard British English norm. Circumlocutions have equally been identified as preference for referring expressions by Nigerian Pidgin Speakers (Egbe, 1999).

Cross-cultural pragmatics is significant to health talk and face management because health communicators need to realize that communication across cultural boundaries must demonstrate sensitivity to cultural preferences so that their patients, hearers, or interlocutors, as the case may be, do not adjudge them as being proud, insensitive or culturally confused (Fakuade, 2008 p.33), a potential blockade to the attainment of health talk communicative goals.

Nigerian Pidgin

Nigerian Pidgin (hereafter NP), like other world pidgins, was borne out of the exigencies of a contact situation (trade contact between Nigerians along the coast and the Europeans), with time it gained acceptance among the heterogeneous linguistic communities of the coast and expanded into the mainland through such European interests as Christianity, trade, exploration, government, and education. Today NP has attained the status of the language of informal communication among Nigerians from different linguistic backgrounds, majorly through urbanization. N.P has also creolized (become the first language) in places such as Calabar, Warri, Port-Harcourt and Sapele areas of Delta State.

Although there are a number of geographical/regional dialects of NP (Faracles 1991 p.510, Elugbe 1995, p.298) the varieties remain mutually intelligible. Elugbe and Omamor (1991), through an empirical study, clearly demonstrated a clear distinction between NP and broken English, Patois and playground English.

Then co-existence of NP and standard British English may be regarded as symbiotic rather than conflictive (Egbe, 1999 p. 156) as NP serves as an informal variant of English, most often to signal intimacy or a relaxed mood (Adetugbo, 1970, quoted by Jowitt 1991, p. 14).

Although critics discriminate against NP largely on socio-economic grounds (non-formal procedure/setting of its acquisition and employment largely by the unschooled), the fact, happily, remains that such discriminations remain non-linguistic and unfounded as scholarly studies such as Mafeni, 1971, Ofuani, 1981, Elugbe and Omamor 1991) have proved that NP like any other world language is rule governed, complex and adequate in meeting the exigencies of everyday communication need of its users. In the words of Idiagbon (2011, p. 423) NP affords its speakers the much linguistic maneuver needed to reflect their original thought and ethnosycracies (politeness markings inclusive) in a relaxed conversational context.

The linguistic features of the NP data recorded and transcribed for the current analysis demonstrate instances of interjection of Standard British English and Educated Nigeria English at regular discourse intervals. Hence the NP data used may be describes as dialectal English (acrolectal variety) within the Nigeria linguistic context.

Moreover, being the lingua franca of the geographical domain of Edo State and its environs, where the data was obtained, NP in radio discourse is not only germane to the subject matter of health and target audience

but it equally provides for spontaneity, originality and the socio-cultural nuances in interaction of which face management is an essential component.

II. METHODOLOGY

The analysis consists of methodological and theory triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Altrichter, Feldman, Posch, & Somekh, 2008) which provides for a combination of methods and theories for data gathering and analysis. Data was obtained by permission of the Edo State Broadcasting cooperation. It was then transcribed and analysed by the application of the Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies (including ratings of imposition), the Bach and Harnish (1979) speech acts categories, and the Arundale Co-constituting theory in aspects of stasis and nonce face management. The analysis takes a tabular format followed by a discussion of the general features observable on the table.

III. DATA ANALYSIS

 Table Showing Speech Act Types and Face Management Strategies in Datum (Cashew)

 FACE SAVING ACTS

S/N	EXPRESSION	IIOCUTIONARY ACT	FSA STRATEGY	FUNCTION
1	My people	Constative (Ascriptive)	In-group identity marker	Claims common identity with H.
2	Una well done O	Acknowledgement (Greet)	Greet	Attends to hearer's want desire to be appreciated, acknowledged
3	This na <u>our</u> programme	Constative (Assertive)	In-group identity marker	Claims in group membership with H (collectivism)
4	Your popular programme	Constative (Ascriptive)	Intensifies approval of H's wants	Praises what H loves
5	En, before we discuss	Directive (Prohibitive)	Hedge	Discourse particle ameliorating the weight of imposition of the directive which follows.
6	Iyabiye greet <u>our</u> people	Directive (Requisitive)	Normative politeness using in-group identity marker	The directive 'greet our people', ameliorated with the hedging device in 5 and the in- group marker in 6 serves as a presequence to the discourse.
7	I salute all <u>our</u> people	Acknowledgement (Greet)	Greet/in-group identity marker	Pleasantry for phatic bonding
8	The ear wey you dey take listen to God no go let the ear get problem O	Acknowledgement (Bid)	Give Gift To H (Good will)	A positive politeness strategy expressing good will to H The prosody of 'O' (high rise) establishes utterance as a wish supplication
9	(i) <u>You know</u> say ii you dey get botanica name	(Constative) Retrodictive	Hedge/attenuati on focusing on H. (ii) state imposition as a general rule	Ameliorates the impositional weight of request for botanica name while (ii)serves as an attenuating device (Holmes, 1984) by focusing on H ' you dey get'
10	Anacardium Occidentale	Constative (Assentive)	Intensify interest	S's repetition of botanica name Intensifies interest in H.

11	It's okay	Constative (Assentive)	Seek agreement	Attends to Hearer's wants.
S/N	EXPRESSION	IIOCUTIONARY ACT	FSA STRATEGY	FUNCTION
12	So wetin come be the thing wey dey inside cashew nut today	Directive (Question)	Hedge	The conjunction 'so' and time adverbial 'today' minimize the imposition of question preclausally and post clausally respectively.
13	<u>Come</u> , but na the cashew nut we dey talk no be cashew.	Constative (Disputative)	Include S&H in activity / assert common ground.	The inclusive hedge 'come/we' ameliorates the prohibitive status of the disputative locution in the attempt to re- channel discourse
14	Yes the cashew nut gongon	Constative (Confirmative)	Seek agreement	A positive politeness strategy which serves to give deference to H
15	Okay okay	Constative (Assentive)	Intensify interest in H	Minimal feedback
16	Okay, okay vegetable oil	Constative (Supportive)	presuppose/raise common ground	Supportive inference claiming common ground in knowledge
17	Vegetable oil	Constative (Confirmative)	Seek agreement	Claims common ground (point of view) with H
18	Okay	Constative (Assentive)	Express interest in H	Indicates interest in and support of H's locution as well as constitute a back channel to prompt H on.
19	You see <u>all</u> <u>those people</u> wey be_say dey go talk say if dem waka dey go dey stagger, their brain go dey be say e no dey correct well	Constative (Descriptive)	Exclusive indefinite plural referent	A negative politeness strategy which distances the persons of S & H from the negative propositional content of utterance
20	E go dey lose balance	Constative (Supportive)	Assert common ground	Saves H's face by filling the discourse gap created by H's search for the right word
21	Yes, e go dey lose balance	(Confirmative)	Seek agreement	Saves S's and H's faces simultaneously by way of confirmation of knowledge and propriety of expression in context
22	Okay	Constative (Responsive)	Seek agreement	Serves as back channel/ minimal response to H and signals H to continue the

				discourse.
23	Their own be say if people dey chat now so your level of thinking wey be say may be the rate wey you take dey contribute e no dey concide with wetin other people	Constative (Descriptive)	Impersonalizati on by way of distancing H & S from referent through exclusive plural NP as anaphoral in impersonalizing the antecedents 'your' and 'you'.	The third person plural indefinite reference"their own" antecedentally impersonalizes and distances the personal pronouns "your" "you" from the personality of H to achieve politeness. "maybe" serves as a hedging device for indirectness

S/N	EXPRESS	IIOCUTIONAR	FSA STRATEGY	FUNCTION
24	ION So e dey enrich brain cells	Y ACT Constative (Suggesive)	Presuppose common ground/ attend to H's needs	The expression functions as a completive in aiding / supporting H's communicative effort.
25	Yes, yes, e dey enrich brain cells, even the nerves	Constative (Supportive)	Exaggerate approval of H	Saves both H and S's faces simultaneously by way of assent and confirmation respectively.
26	Okay	Constative (Responsive)	Seek agreement (C)	Back channel as feedback.
27	You know say even the nerves of the brain	Constative (Ascriptive)	Claim common ground /include S&H in activity	Pragmatic particles functioning as positive politeness marker to ascribe common knowledge to hearer
28	Okay	Constative (Responsive)	Seek agreement	Minimal feedback serving as discourse prompter.
29	Cashew is very, very good e dey balance the nerves of the brain	Constative (Assertive)	Attend to H's want	Adverbial intensifier "very very" accentuates benefit to H.
30	Like <u>all</u> <u>those</u> people wey be say <u>dem</u> <u>dey</u> get brain problem	Constative (Descriptive)	Impersonalization of referent and distancing of H from negative proposition content	Impersonalization and distancing attenuate the face threat of propositional content in relation to H
31	E dey part of all those things wey we dey use as an ingredient, <u>a no talk</u>	Constative (Dissentive)	Disclaimer; negates presupposition or assumption	Self defense as face saving act for S not as redressive strategy for what is said but what he might be taken to have said (Ting Toomey, 2005)

32	say na only cashew o, those are part of ingredient other medicinal things dey, Iyabiye wait, wait first	Directive (Requisitive)	First name and restrainer "wait" serve as presequence to minimize the imposition of the	Expression serves as hedge in the introduction of the imposition request that follows
			successive directive.	
			successive uncenve.	
33	Make you give us <u>expo</u> make we talk other medicinal things	Directive (Requisitive)	Joke /don't presume or assume.	Impositional weight of request for provision of information is minimized / trivialized as Joke in the use of the expression 'expo' to facilitate the elicitation of information.
34	A teacher will never give a student expo	Constative (Assertive)	Detachment	A metaphorical mitigation of FTA (non-response) through deictic origin of utterance; detachment of utterance from its actual source by way of impersonal construction (Haverkate, 1999)
1				(11avc1Kalc, 1999)
S/N	EXPRESS ION	IIOCUTIONAR Y ACT	FSA STRATEGY	FUNCTION
S/N			FSA STRATEGY	
S/N 35	Youweyyousetexam, youno go give		FSA STRATEGY Attenuation focusing on H/Give reason	
	Youweyyousetexam,you	Y ACT Constative	Attenuation focusing	FUNCTION Perceived face threat of decline on information provision is mitigated through focus on H as

38	medicinal value and to know the kind of food they are having in their environmen t and to know their important [Sic] that is the essence of this programme We are not trying to tell them the combinatio	Constative (Informative)	Offer reason	The reason for the FTA (non- response) is advanced as a defence against possible misapplication/ mismanagement of information.
	n of all those things because even if they know the combinatio n they will not know the rightful way of applying them			
39	So that is why we reserve that, ehem, combinatio n.	Constative (Responsive)	Relative conjunction 'So'/ give reason	The reflective function of 'so' in this case attenuates the weight of 'reservation of combination'.
40	So_if you get any discomfort inside your body, <u>may</u> be you dey get general weakness of the body	Constative (Suppositive)	Contingency/indirect ness	Contingency and hedging devices function in the mitigation of direct reference to 'you' by way of eventuality and relativism.
41	your chest dey pain you, you seek an expert advice or you fit see us for no 1 before walain for	Directive (Advisories)	Optionality	The presentation of directive to H as possible options serve to minimize the impositive status of the FTA

S/N	back of NTA EXPRESS ION	IIOCUTIONAR Y ACT	FSA STRATEGY	FUNCTION
42	Make una remain blessed and make you dey eat beta food o.	Acknowledgment (Bid) Directive (Advisory)	Give gift / Attend to H's want	Orients to H's positive face by attending to H's want and the offer of Gift (good will).

IV. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Contextual / Conventional Strategies (Default Face work)

Normative constraints have been identified as principal regulative factors to face work in cultural or situational contexts (Janney and Arndt,1993; Earley, 1997: 95-97) where expressive choices may not be at the disposal of, or evolution of participants, the adjudication of what constitutes (im)politeness in such contexts, according to the post modernisms; (Watts, 2003), becomes a function/ prerogative of appropriateness in relation to the perceived norms of the situation, "the C of P (community of practice) or the perceived norms of the society as a whole" (2003, p.77).

In the situation under study, normative politeness is perceivable in aspects of the programmme presenter's (P) introduction consisting of acknowledgement of a fellow interlocutor/ resource person (C) and a listening audience(s) (L) by way of greeting and formal introduction of the topical focus (eg welcome to... Good afternoon, this is... etc). The cultural diversity angle is however introduced / observable in both lexical and structural politeness strategies as opposed to what obtains in some other formal situational contexts where the observance and expression of normative politeness as grounder (presequence) to the body of discourse may be devoid of emotive, collective and phatic strategies as demonstrated by the datum. The norm of interaction in context equally has a bearing on how aspects of interaction are construed/interpreted as manifesting (im)politeness. The politeness status of the interactional interface of interruption, turn allocation, conversational dominance; and the politeness status of directives in context derive their (im)polite status from what is expected of the discourse type, topic and domain. The radio discourse domain allots power and, invariably, control differently to participants on the scene. The moderator/presenter exercises institutional power while the resource person operates expert power. The presenter by the very nature of the situational context seeks to meet expectations upon him by catechizing the resource person in the achievement of the fundamental expectations/ideals of the programme. To this end, he strategically controls conversation flow in the direction of set objectives through elicitation of information by quizzing, and keeping conversation on track with the operational tools of interruptions, corroborations, dissentives, etc. The resource person, on the other hand, by virtue of the situational constraints, principally operates in the respondent caliber as opposed to the presenter who functions as conversational initiator. Although turn allocation is at the instance of the presenter here, conversational "dominance" in terms of volume of expression is exercised by the resource person in consonance with his expert power (knowledge) and normative expectations in context. Such conversational control Vs dominance as observed above may not be considered as indices of (im)politeness as opposed to what obtains in some other situational contexts as they remain features of, and product of norm of interaction in this context.

Personal Politeness Strategies (Nonce Face Work)

By personal/strategic choices of politeness we mean mitigating devices affordable within the rubrics/resources of natural language expressing itself in lexical, syntactic and prosodic nuances with politeness import.

Positive Politeness

(i) Lexical

Strategic choices of interlocutors in the management of positive politeness as demonstrated by the data include a culture of collectivity expressed as in-group identity with such lexical markers/address forms as 'my people', 'our programme' 'our people' (in five occurrences) instead of the more formal 'listeners/audience'. By this strategy, participants on the scene draw on the linguistic facilities provided by the NP to claim common identity/in-group membership, and associate with the listening audience for the purpose of self ingratiation and endearment of the audience.

(ii) Structural

The structural achievement of positive politeness may be seen in terms of the structural layout of discourse where the opening/introductory segment consisting of greetings, goodwill, introduction, etc. serves an affective function in establishing rapport between participants (P, C, & L) involved. In Edmondson and House's (1989) perception, such a discourse move as this serves as grounder, with a hearer-supportive function to ingratiate the speaker, the programme and the ensuing discourse to the audience (eg. 'een... before we discuss, Iyabiye greet our people ...). Looking at the cultural and social significance of greetings within the immediate social cultural milieu, it becomes evident that in accordance with Blum-kulka etal's (1989) assertion, this entire segment functions as external mitigation/pre-sequences with positive politeness significance for the entire discourse.

Back Channel/Minimal Feedback

The sample data is replete with occurrences of responsives like 'okay', 'yes' 'it's okay', 'okay, okay', etc, which may be understood functionally on the basis of their points of occurrence in discourse. While some are concessionary, others operate severally to intensify S's interest, express interest in H/attend to H's wants, express approval of/agreement with H, ground information as common, etc, others function as grounders in the anticipation of subsequent build-up of conversational contributions.

Occurrences that may be categorized as indicative of positive politeness are therefore instances where such responses serve as alignment, express interest in H, express agreement with H and signify support for H to carry on with the discourse. Some examples include the following:

C: The botanica name of cashew na en we dey call anacadium occidentale.

P: anacadium occidentale (alignment)

P: Come but na the cashew nut we dey talk no be cashew.

C: Yes, the cashew nut gongon (concession).

P: Okay, okay (expresses agreement with H and signifies support for H to carry on with the discourse).

C: The oil no dey fit stay last... that's why you no go fit see the oil buy for market as other groundnut oil and other emm... em

P: Vegetable oil—(attends to H's want by way of lexical filler as completive, saves H's face by filling the discourse gap created by H's memory lapse)

C: Vegetable oil (agreement with H)

P: Okay (Grounds information as common).

Others include expressions 22, 25, 26, 28 on table 2.

(IV) Syntactic Devices / Hedges

Hedging devices employed in positive politeness include syntactic and lexical devices as exemplified by the following expressions on table 2:

1) Common Ground/Common Knowledge (20,21,27),

C: Their brain go dey be say e no dey correct well

(20)P: E go dey lose balance

(21)C: Yes, e go dey lose balance

(27)C: <u>You know say</u>, even the nerves of the brain....

2) Joke

(33)P: Make you give us expo, make we talk other medicinal thing

(34)C: A teacher will never give a student expo.

3) Give Gift

(8)C: The ear wey you dey take listen to us, God no go let the ear get prblem o

(42)P: Make una remain blessed and make you dey eat beta food.

Negative Politeness Strategies

The possible face threat of negative effects of illocutionary forces are attenuated in the data in several ways including devices focusing on hearer (Holmes, 1984) in order to cushion the impositional weight of directives as in s/no 9 (you know say you dey get the botanical name ...). It is however noteworthy that the same attenuating device (focus on H) can conversely be employed in orientation to H's positive face epistemologically as in s/no 27. ((You know say even the nerves of the brain (edey balanc am))). Adverbial lexical attenuating devices equally serve politeness functions as in the instances of adverbial conjunctions and time adverbial such as 'so' and today in s/no 12 (so wetin come be the thing wey dey inside cashew today), which ameliorate the directive both pre and post clausally.

The negative politeness strategy in 13 (come, but na cashew nut we dey talk no be cashew) attenuates lexically through joint focus on speaker (come...we) and epistemic content (but na cashew nut we dey talk no be cashew) for the amelioration of the prohibitive status of locution.

Indirectness

Impersonalization is found to have been employed as a distancing negative politeness strategy in the data. Instances of this include the use of exclusive singular and plural nouns, and exclusive second and third person pronouns in indefinite reference to persons with particular disease conditions in focus. These include expressions such as 'all those people... if dem waka dey go dey stagger, their brain go dey be say e no dey correct well' (19,) 'e go dey lose balance' (20,12), 'their own be say...' (23) 'like all those people... den dey get brain problem' (30). The avoidance of direct reference to the persons of affected people (by the use of 'you', 'I') saves such persons' negative faces by creating a deictic gap between them and their ailments.

A stimulating dimension to politeness in the data lies in the instances of direct reference (definite personal pronouns) which are either presequentially ameliorated by indefinite plural pronouns (if <u>dem</u> dey congregation... <u>your</u> level of thinking..., the rate... <u>you</u> take dey contribute; 23), or they are employed in positive collocation with benefits (cashew dey good for inside our body), advice/and disarmers (your chest dey pain you, you seek an expert advice or you fit see us...; 41) or preceded by suppositives (<u>so if</u> you get any discomfort; 40).Other observable strategies of indirectness as negative politeness strategies include contingency (if, may be; 40) and optionality (you fit, 41).

Disclaimer

Tin-Toomey (2005) identified preventive face work as attempt to minimize face-loss before the threat occurs, which may include strategies such as credentialing, appealing for suspended judgment, pre-disclosure, pre-apology, hedging and disclaimer. Pre face-loss self face maintenance is typified by S in s/no 31(... a no talk say na only cashew o) to negate possible face threatening erroneous assumption or implicature of utterance on the part of the hearer. This is so considering the fact that the statement comes next in sequence to speaker's improbable claims to the healing potentials of cashew. Conversely, the face move above may be seen as a demonstration of collectivistic culture, a mutual – face protection move which simultaneously prevents the H from jumping to wrong conclusions and the S from being mistaken.

Moral Accountability

Moral accountability (Heritage, 1988:128) is strategically employed as a negative restorative politeness strategy (Ting-Tooney 2005) after the occurrence of FTAs. This is exemplified in situations where S offers reasons, excuses and explanations for performing a perceived unavoidable threat in order to redress such acts. Instances of these in the data include: "our people dey write dey ask…'; 36; 'the most important thing about this programme... is just for them to know the medicinal value... 37; "...We are not trying to tell them the combination of those things... if they know the combination, they will not know the rightful way of applying...', 38; 'so that is why we reserve that...eem combination' 39.

Joke

The use of humour in s/no 33 (Iya Abiye wait, wait first, make you give us expo, make we talk) may be seen as di-functional both as a positive and a negative politeness strategy; a further refutation of Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim that only a single face work (positive/negative) may be done at a time. The structure and status of the locution as a joke (eliciting laughter from H in this instance) qualifies the locution as a positive politeness strategy with intent for saving H's positive face wants. Conversely, the employment of the academic argot 'expo' presupposes S's expression of indebtedness in soliciting unmerited, unusual privileged information which serves to mitigate the impositional weight of expressed directive.

Pidgin

Pidgin expressions such as 'our people/ programme', 'your programme' operate as in-group emotive markers and approbation respectively in discourse unlike the native English setting where they might represent undue intimacy/ familiarity (FTA). The word 'expo' saves H's face in the pidgin context contrary to its native English denotation of a large exhibition or trade fair.

V. CONCLUSION

Holmes (2006, p.716) observed that the contextual inputs to politeness exceed the trio (PDR) identified by Brown and Levinson in their analysis of the weight of FTA. He rightly observed that other relevant factors include the level of formality of the speech event, the presence of an audience, and the degree of liking between the participants. In addition to Holmes' submission above, and on the basis of the evidence of the data, the current researcher wishes to adduce the pivotal element of the topic/domain of discourse and its socio-cultural perception in discourse as an essential input to the certitude of politeness in context. The shared deleterious cultural disposition to the distasteful subject of diseases may then explain the dexterity demonstrated in speaker's utterances, and hearer's concomitant inference in relation to what is considered polite or offensive in the context of the subject matter.

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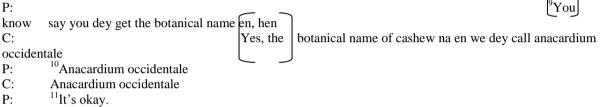
APPENDIX I

HEALTH AWARENESS PROGRAMME IN PIDGIN

Datum: Cashew

¹My people ²una well done o. ³This na our programme, ⁴your popular grogramme, the world of herbs P: with Iyabiye. Iyabiye dev with me for studio and he just bring bottle of cashew come give me now. ⁵En, before we dicuss, ⁶Iyabiye greet our people.

⁷I salute all our people wey dev at home wey be say dem dev listen to this our programme. ⁸the ear wey C you dev take listen to this our program, God no go let the ear get problem o, Today we dev discuss on cashew nut, whether you call it cashew nut, cashew fruit or cashew apple, na different way na en dey get



- C: Then the family name of cashew na en be anacardia sea, na en be the family name of

cashew nut ¹²So wetin come be the thing wey dey inside cashew nut today

Cashew is a important fruit, very very important fruit because cashew nut we dey get am through C: cashew tree. So, once you get this cashew tree for your house make you no destroy am, e dey very very good. Apart from the economic important of cashew, maybe to plant am to take get moni but the medicinal value of it e dey very very advantageous

¹³Come but na the cashew nut we dey talk no be cashew

C: ¹⁴Yes, the cashew nut gon gon ¹⁵Okay, okay. P:

C: So cashew dev good for inside our body. Like the cashew nut wey we dev see so, e get oil wey be say we dey extract from it when you comot that

oil

P:

P: Okay okay

but only say the oil C: You go see say that oil dey good for our body system P: Okay C: no dey fit stay last, e come dey produce some kind of odour so that is why most time you no dey see the oil buy for market as other groundnut oil and other em... oil

¹⁶Okay, okay vegetable oil P:

¹⁷Vegetable oil. So the oil ma self, na medicinal things e still dey do for inside body. Like cashew nut C: it's very rich in magnesium

P: ¹⁸Okay

C: Its very rich in potassium, iron dey inside and phosphorous dey inside em... cashew; all those are mineral wey be say you fit find for inside cashew nut and what about all the vitamin there? The vitamin there, you can find thiamine eem... as a vitamin inside it either as vitamin B1, you can find mieasem wey be say na vitamin. You can find ... em riboflavin; all these are vitamins, you can find folic acid all these are vitamin wey be say you fit get for inside this cashew nut. So, once you don get cashew nut... P: let us discuss the

medicinal aspect of cashew

Yes, the medicinal aspect of cashew be say, you see all those people wey be say they go talk say if dem C: waka like this they go dey dey stagger, their brain go dey be say e no dey correct well, wey be say if person dey talk

²⁰E goldey lose balance. P:

- ²¹Yes, e go dey lose balance C:
- ²²okay P:

C:

²³Their own be say if people dey chat now, if dem dev congregation now wey people dev chat, so your level of thinking wey be say, maybe the rate wey you take dev contribute to wetin people dev talk e no dev

coincide with wetin other people dem dey do, wetin dem ask you, so e dey go ²⁴So e dey enrich brain cell P: C: ²⁵Yes, yes e dev enrich brain cells, even the nerves ²⁶Okay P: C: ²⁷You know say even the nerves of the brain e dey balance am ²⁸Okay P: ²⁹Cashew is very very good, e dey balance the nerves of the brain ³⁰like all those people wey be say C: dem dev get brain problem, we dev use cashew nut as medicine for them too, ³¹e dev part of all those things wey we dev use as an ingredient - a no talk say na only cashew o, those are part of ingredient, recipes wey we dev use for all eem... part of But other medicinal things Ρ C: Other medicinal things still dev wey we take join am ³²Iyabiye wait, wait first, ³³make you give us expo, make we talk other medicinal thing P: ³⁴<laughs>A teacher will never give a student expo, we no dey C: gi... P: Because, because C: ³⁵You wey you set exam you no go give am P: ³⁶Our People dey write, dem dey ask wetin be other medicinal thing ³⁷Ah! The most important thing about this programme is an enlightenment programme C: P: Okay C: It's just for them to know the medicinal value and to know the kind of food they are having in their environment and to know their important. P: Um hum That is the essence of this programme. ³⁸We are not trying to, to tell them the combination of all those C: things because they, even if they know the combination they will not know the rightful way of applying them

P: Okay ⁹So that is why we reserve that e... eem combination C: P: So how they go come see you? C: So how they go come see us be say, we no too get em [... too much time P: Time

⁴⁰So if you get any discomfort for inside your body, maybe you dey get general weakness of the body, C: discomfort of the body depression of the body, movement all over the body, body dev bite you inside your body dey hot, general weakness of -⁴¹your chest dey pain you, you seek an expert advice or you fit see us for number 1 before Walain for back of NTA for T.V road for Benin City here. You wey dev Sapele, we dev for Benin Road for Sapele. You wey you dey Agbor we dey for Benin-Sapele express way by Urobi junction inside that new Lagos motor park for Agbor, and you wey you dey Onisha we dey for number 53 for savoy Junction, Okar Road, for Onisha; and you wey dey Auchi, we dey for number 6, Obudu house, for inside Golden Palace Hotel for Auchi. You wey dey Auchi, you wey you dey Sabongida Aura, we dey for number 35 for commercial lane for Sabongida Aura. So, anywhere you dey for inside Nigeria, you fit call me, my G.S.M number na en be 08034102250, I repeat 08034102250. ⁴²Make una remain blessed and mey you dey eat beta food. P: My people that na una programme today o, make una stay well.

APPENDIX II

English Language Glosses of Some Pidgin Expressions.

Introduction

The information provided below represents a simple English translation of some core pidgin expressions in the corpus analyzed. The entire text is not translated into English word for word considering the implication of such for the present volume. Consequently, words \expressions considered as portending semantic impediment do non-pidgin speakers are extracted and provided with their English Language equivalents.

S/N	Pidgin Word /Expression	English Equivalent	Example
1	A /I	I	A know say = I know that
2	E	It, (subjective case), it is, He	E dey good = it is good E good for the body = It is good for the body If e dey among people = if he is in the midst of people
3	Get	Have, Has	E get oil = it has (contains) oil
S/N	Pidgin Word /Expression	English Equivalent	Example
4	For For	In/At From	For studio = in (the) studio Any discomfort for inside your body = Any sickness in you
5	Wey	That	The ear wey you= the ear that you
6	Dey	Forms of 'be' : am, is, are forms of 'do' To	You dey = you are wey e dey your body = that is in your body Thiamine dey there = thiamine is there you dey get pain = you do have pains we dey use am dey cure = we do use it to cure
7	Go	Will /shall Auxillary verb	Dem go tell you = they will tell you
0	Go dey	Will be	Dem go dey say = they will be saying
8	No E no	Not (negator) It is not	God no go = God will not
9	No dey	Negator + do (do not), subsuming the auxiliary and usually preceded by a noun or pronoun subject	You no dey give am = You do not give it Eno dey coincide = It does not coincide
10	Na Na	Is It is	Information na power = information is power But na cashew nut = But it is cashew nut
11	Una	You (plural) Your	Make una no miss this programme o =Don't (you) miss this programme This na una programme = This is your programme
12	Say	That	I think say = I thought that You know say = you know that
13	Am, En	It (objective case)	Eat am = Eat it Na en be the thing = That is (it) the thing
14	Dem	They	If dem dey congregation now = If they are in a congregation
15	Waka	Walk	If dem waka from one pole to another = if they walk from one pole to another
16	Be	Are, is or other forms of 'be'	I dey wonder why be say = I wonder why it is (the case) that
17	Gongon	emphatic pronoun	Cashew nut gongon = cashew nut itself/(the very nut)

18	Wetin	What	Wetin other people dey talk = what other(s) (people) are saying.
19	For	Would have	a (I) for say = I would have thought (said) that
20	Wan	Want/want to	If dem wan piss = If they want to urinate
21	Fit	Can	A (I) fit talk say = I can say that
22	Moni	Money	to take get money = in order to get money
23	Comot	Leave, remove, extract	When you comot that oil = when you extract the oil.

APPENDIX III TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION.

The following represent the convention adopted in the transcription of the radio discourse. P: presenter

C: Resource person (commentator)



- Overlapping utterances
- <> Explanation of paralinguistic convention/ nonverbal cue

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