UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

POLITENESS IN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE HANSARD

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POLITENESS IN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE HANSARD

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DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I, Benedict Salifu Akuka, 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 own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

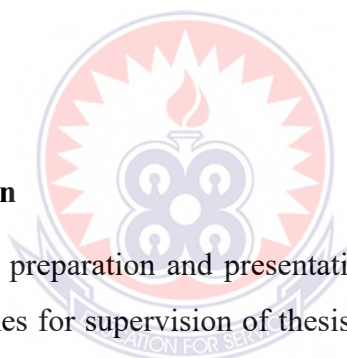Signature: ………………………………

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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Christiana Hammond

Signature: ………………………………

Date: ………………………………………

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the loving memory of my mother, Apam Awimbe Mary and my grandmother, Azupoka, aka Apo. May their souls rest peacefully with God, The Almighty!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates politeness in parliamentary discourse in Ghana. Using politeness theory as framework and the parliamentary Hansard as of source of data, the study examines the politeness strategies employed by parliamentary actors, the implications of the frequency of the usage of the politeness strategies and how the Standing Orders of Parliament determine the choice of a politeness strategy. Findings of the study show that political actors in the Parliament of Ghana use the bald on-record politeness strategies, the positive politeness strategies, the negative politeness strategies and the off-record politeness strategies in varied proportions. The study further reveals that the negative politeness strategy is the most frequently used politeness strategy and the Speaker being the highest user of the negative politeness strategy and the bald on-record politeness strategy. Again, the study found out that the off-record politeness strategy is the least used strategy. The Majority Members in Parliament use the highest frequency of positive politeness strategies while the Minority Members of Parliament employ more negative politeness strategies. The study concludes that parliamentary discourse in Ghana is more of the direct explicit polite expressions than the indirect implicit expression of politeness. The study recommends that researchers should pay critical attention to the politeness phenomenon in parliamentary discourse.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Language is essentially a means of communication among members of a society (Sirbu, 2015). This implies that human society uses language to express ideas, feelings and thoughts. Language is thus, a very important means of communication among people. Communication is a vital tool for the survival of every human society. Hammond (2017) affirms that communication is an essential tool for our daily lives and that no society can exist without the means to communicate. This implies that Communication drives everyday social and political interactions. Thus, the mastering of the art of communication enables a person to overcome instances of misunderstanding and misrepresentation. For mastery in effective communication, social and political actors are expected not to acquire only language competence but also to use language in a decorous and polite manner appropriate to their socio-cultural contexts.

The branch of linguistics which studies the use of language is in the field of pragmatics. According to Slotta (2018), pragmatics is the branch of linguistic study which investigates the ways language is tied to the context in which it is used. This means that the hidden meaning in language is context based and it takes both the addresser and the addressee to relate well with the meaning of an utterance and to the appropriate context. Yule (2017) states that pragmatics is concerned with the study of "invisible" meaning or how what is meant is recognised even when it is not said or written. This implies that effective communication does not depend merely on the

understanding of meaning derived from words and phrases uttered, but also knowing what the speaker intends by the utterances in specific contexts. This is because the literature suggests that, "more is always communicated than it is said" (Yule, 2017, p 362).

One central pragmatic feature of human communication employed by participants during interaction is the politeness phenomenon (Borris & Zecho, 2018). Politeness haviour is essential to ensure that there is good relationship between interlocutors in order to achieve desired outcomes in interaction. Sulastriana (2018) asserts that the ability to establish good communication can be seen from the ability to use polite language. In that regard, individuals are expected to maintain appropriate decorum and civility during interactions so as to avoid saying something that may hurt others. It is therefore important that efforts are made to study how an institution like Parliament employs politeness in parliamentary discourse for the purpose of maintaining good relationships among parliamentarians and to ensure that the dignity and integrity of Parliament is maintained.

Politeness is an essential tool which is applicable in political discourse. According to Balogun and Murana (2018), the political nature of man is his innate sense of dignity or self-importance that he wants others to acknowledge. This means that the desire of the politician to be respected and regarded leans to the notion of politeness or the politeness phenomenon. Political politeness is therefore a critical area that researchers should draw their attention to in their assessment of parliamentary discourses (Malima & Masindano, 2018). Parliamentary discourse is a subgenre of political discourse (Ilie, 2006) and it is prone to confrontations (Malima & Masindano, 2018). There is,

therefore, the need to employ politeness strategies to mitigate potential face threats during parliamentary deliberations (Malima & Masindano, 2018). Parliamentary deliberations could be confrontational and chaotic if the politeness phenomenon is ignored by parliamentary actors. The Graphic online of January 30, 2019 reported that the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Member of Parliament (MP) for Asawase and Minority Chief Whip, Alhaji Mohammed-Mubarak Muntaka and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) MP for Assin Central, Mr Kennedy Agyapong, employed intemperate language to the point of using invectives in the chamber of the Parliament of Ghana. This chaotic situation, according to the report, does not augur well for the performance of parliamentary duties in an era of democratic dispensation. The paper, therefore, admonished MPs to employ appropriate polite behaviours to ensure that communication does not breakdown and disrupt parliamentary business.

According to UNDP Global Parliamentary Report (2012), Parliaments are the indispensable institutions of representative democracies around the world and the roles of parliament include; to represent the citizens and ensure that public policy is informed by the people on whose lives the public policies impact. Parliament, as an institution, is guided by rules and regulations which are known as the Standing Orders of Parliament. All parliamentarians are expected to strictly observe the provisions of the Standing Orders during parliamentary deliberations. Some of the Standing Orders are to regulate the discourse of Parliament. For instance, Standing Order 93(2) states, "It shall be out of order to use offensive, abusive, insulting, blasphemous or unbecoming words or to impute improper motives to any other Member or to make personal allusions (Standing Orders of Parliament of Ghana, 2000, p 63)". Thus, this Standing Order has a relationship with the politeness phenomenon which seeks to

mitigate face threats. The focus of this study is to explore the politeness phenomenon in parliamentary discourse and how the Standing Orders determine the choice of politeness strategies using the Hansard as a source of data. According to Wood (2014), the Hansard is a verbatim official report of all speakers during parliamentary proceedings.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Dridi (2020) avers that the attention given to politeness research over the last two decades has direct effects on the study of political discourse. Parliamentary discourse is thus a critical area to explore the politeness phenomenon. In Ghana, politeness studies have largely focused on perspectives such as request making among speakers of some selected native languages (Akpanglo-Nartey, 2017; Totimeh & Bosiwah, 2015 & Anderson, 2009), adversarial radio panel discussion (Afful, 2017), administrative discourses (Hammond, 2017), research papers (Agbaglo, 2017) and folk perception of impoliteness (Thompson & Agyekum, 2015).

While Akpanglo-Nartey's (2017) study examined the use of politeness in making request by young learners of English language among native speakers of Ga, Totimeh and Bosiwah (2015) investigated how the native speakers of Akyem use politeness in making requests. Totimeh and Bosiwah (2015) and Akpanglo-Nartey's (2017) are linked in the sense that both studies sought to investigate how requests are made by two native speakers in Ghana, Akyem and Ga respectively. Both studies concluded that the indirect forms are often used when making requests from elderly persons.

Again, while Afful (2017) examines how radio hosts employ the bald on-record strategy in the context of adversarial panel discussion, my study is focused on how parliamentary actors employ politeness strategies in parliamentary discourse.

Further, Hammond's (2017) study focused on the influence of organisational structure and cultural expectations in the content of administrative discourses to indicate (im)politeness. Findings of Hammond's (2017) study revealed that there are differences in the pragmatic variations in terms of the lexical, syntactic, and textual resources to mark (im)politeness in both institutions. Whereas Hammond's (2017) study focused on politeness in administrative discourses, this current study examines politeness in parliamentary discourse in the parliamentary Hansard.

Agbaglo (2017) focused on how researchers employ politeness in the Analysis and Discussion section of their research papers and revealed that researchers use politeness strategies during the Analysis and Discussion sections of their research papers.

Thompson and Agyekum (2015) investigated the folk perception of impoliteness among Ghanaians and concluded that impoliteness is not just the reverse of politeness, but rather, the expression of non-cooperation, disapproval, and common opposition. While Thompson & Agyekum (2015) focus on communicative behaviours that signal impoliteness from the Ghanaian standpoint, my study seeks to focus on politeness in parliamentary discourse in Ghana as recorded in the Hansard.

Sarfo's (2016) study was a comparative study of the Ghanaian and British parliaments focusing on forms of questioning and the focus of debating using corpus-assisted discourse studies approach. Though Sarfo's (2016) study examined how the MPs in

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both parliaments expressed politeness, his focus was not on investigating politeness strategies of parliamentarians, which is the focus of my studies. Nonetheless, Sarfo (2016) recommended further studies on politeness in varied forms such as presupposition and conversational implicatures in parliamentary discourse.

It is evident from the reviewed literature that many studies have been done in the area of politeness in Ghana. However, the focus has not been on studying the politeness phenomenon in the context of parliamentary discourse and this constitutes the research gap. Based on this research gap and the recommendations for further studies by Sarfo (2016), this study therefore, seeks to investigate politeness in parliamentary discourse in Ghana using the Hansard as source of data.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine politeness in parliamentary discourse in Ghana. The study specifically seeks;

1. To identify the politeness strategies used in the parliamentary Hansard.
2. To determine the frequency of usage of the politeness strategies in the Hansard and their implications on parliamentary proceedings.
3. To examine how the Standing Orders of Parliament determine the choice of a politeness strategy in the parliamentary Hansard.

1.4 Research Questions

This study is guided by the following research question;

1. What are the politeness strategies employed in the parliamentary Hansard?
2. What is the frequency of the politeness strategies in the Hansard and their implications on parliamentary proceedings?

3. How do the Standing Orders of Parliament determine the choice of a politeness strategy in the parliamentary Hansard?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The results of this study will make a significant contribution to both the theoretical knowledge and practical understanding of the politeness phenomenon in parliamentary discourse. First, the study will add to existing literature on the applicability of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness in an adversarial discourse environment such as Parliament. This will contribute to minimising criticisms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness as a universal phenomenon.

Students and prospective researchers who are interested in politeness and parliamentary discourse studies will find this work useful since the study is an attempt to fill a research gap by investigating politeness in Ghana's parliamentary discourse.

The findings of this study will also be beneficial to Members of Parliament or persons interested in becoming Members of Parliament since the outcome of this research will be the true reflection of how MPs make choices of politeness strategies during parliamentary proceedings. A deeper understanding and rethinking of the choices of politeness strategies by MPs will contribute to cooperation among parliamentarians which is essential for national development.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is delimited to politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon in sociolinguistics. The study specifically investigates politeness as recorded in the parliamentary Hansard. Though there are different models of politeness, this study adopted Brown and

Levinson's (1987) politeness model for the study. The study focused on parliamentary genres such as debates, urgent questions, statements and oral answers to questions.

Although the study of politeness is applicable to both interpersonal conversations and institutional setting, this study concentrates on investigating politeness in the discourse of Parliament of Ghana as an institution. The study gathered data mainly from the parliamentary Hansard within 2013 to 2020. These reports were downloaded from the website of the Parliament of Ghana.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This study is organised in five interrelated chapters. Chapter one is the introduction, which comprises the background to the study, statement of the problem, the objectives of the research, the research questions, the significance of the study, the scope and the organisation of the study. Chapter two reviews relevant literature that supports the study. The chapter also describes Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness which is used as the framework for the study. An understanding of parliamentary processes and procedures are also reviewed in chapter two. Chapter three discusses the methodology used in conducting the study. The chapter presents the research approach, research design, data collection procedures, sampling and data analysis and sample size and data analysis.

The findings of the study are presented and analysed in chapter four where the themes for each research question are presented. Chapter five discusses the summary of the findings and presents the conclusions, limitations, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides empirical and conceptual reviews of politeness in political discourse. It focuses on relevant concepts, studies and theories that will offer deeper insight into politeness as a pragmatic concept in the context of Ghanaian parliamentary discourses. The chapter specifically reviews literature on the phenomenon of politeness, role of politeness in human interaction, historical overview of Parliament of Ghana, parliamentary discourse, politeness in parliamentary discourse, the Standing Orders of Parliament and the socio-cultural and political motivations for employing politeness in parliamentary discourse. This chapter further makes an extensive review of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as the framework for analysing the data from the Parliamentary Hansard.

2.1 Empirical Review

Many studies of the politeness phenomenon in political discourse have been conducted across the globe. From the UK perspective, Saleem and Alattar (2020) conducted a pragmatic study of political blame for both offensive and defensive situations in the parliaments of Britain and Iraq. The focus of their study was to examine how politicians in the British and Iraqi parliaments employed (im)politeness strategies in political blame and blame avoidance situations. Their study was also to determine the similarities and/or differences in using pragmatic (im)politeness and rhetorical strategies in both parliaments. The researchers employed an eclectic model of drawing upon the ideas and assumptions of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model,

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Culpeper's (1996) model of impoliteness and Grice's (1975) cooperative principle. The findings of their study revealed that both British and Iraqi parliamentarians used impoliteness strategies at the blame stage. However, at the blame avoidance stage, the British parliamentarians employed politeness strategies as their main defence while the Iraqi parliamentarians exploited impoliteness strategies. Also, at the blame stage, both British and Iraqi MPs violated Grice's maxims of quality as they fabricated their statements. On the other hand, the maxim of relevance was also violated at the blame avoidance stage by both parliaments through the strategy of evasion. The study concluded that both British and Iraqi parliamentarians used certain pragmatic and pragma-rhetorical strategies to either defend themselves against blame acts or offend others' images and prove them blameworthy. Saleem and Alattar's (2020) study is relevant to the current study because of the similarity in setting. However, Saleem and Alattar (2020) study was conducted in the parliaments of Britain and Iraq, focusing on political blame game. My study seeks to investigate politeness in the Parliament of Ghana.

Murphy (2014) focused on (im)politeness during the Prime Minister's Questions (PMQ) in UK Parliament. Murphy's study sought to demonstrate that the Prime Minister's Question Time is characterised by politic behaviour, politeness and impolite behaviours among political actors on the floor of the House of Commons. The study adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory to analyse polite behaviours and Culpeper's (2011) impoliteness model for the analysis of impolite behaviour. The study gathered data from six sessions of the PMQ; three from Gordon Brown and three from David Cameron. To make for easy analysis, the study categorised the speeches of parliamentary actors into speeches made by the Prime Minister (PM), the Opposition

Leader (OL), government MPs and Opposition MPs. The study found out that the various parliamentary actors employ both polite and impolite behaviours during PMQs sessions. For instance, the study found out that the opposition MPs used impolite behaviours when asking the PM questions. On the other hand, the government MPs employed politeness in asking question. The PM, on his part, would use impolite responses for impolite questions and polite responses for polite questions. The study concluded that the tit for tat behaviour is expected in such a confrontational setting like parliament. Findings of Murphy indicated that the government MPs are in solidarity and cooperation with the PM, thus their line of questions do not threaten the face of the PM. The opposition MPs, on the other hand, ask questions that threaten the face of the PM and in return, the PM respond with FTAs. Murphy's (2014) study has relevance to my study in many ways. First, the categorisation of parliamentary actors into PM, OL, government MPs and opposition MP provides a benchmark for me to equally categorise parliamentary actors in Ghana's parliament into the Speaker, Majority MPs and Minority MPs. This will help in presenting and analysing the data. Also, the application of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model in studying the UK Parliament demonstrates the validity of replicating politeness study in the Parliament of Ghana.

Treimane (2011) employed the systemic functional parameters by Halliday and Webster (2002) and Halliday and Hasan (1991) to analyse parliamentary debates at the British House of Commons and the Latvian parliament. The study used transcripts of debates from both parliaments as data corpus. Text samples were analysed to identify the lexico-grammatical structures, particularly noun phrases and verb phrases, during parliamentary debates. Findings of the study revealed that most typical noun phrases

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are used to signify politeness in both the British House of Commons and the Latvian Parliament. For example, noun phrases such as, the (right) Honourable Gentleman/ Lady, my (right) Honourable Friend, Mr Speaker, The Honourable Member for (a constituency), The Respected Members, etc, are realised as polite utterances prescribed in the rules of order of the British parliament. The Erskine May's Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament state that, "in order to guard against any personality in debate, personal references should be avoided. Instead, 'each Member must be distinguished by the office he/she holds, by the place he/she represents or by other designations" (ibid, 380). Though politeness formulars are not codified in the Latvian parliament, the study identified conventions of politeness utterances, noun phrases, used in the parliament of Latvia. The researcher thus concluded that both parliaments use similar number of fixed politeness expressions which seemed to be indexical features of parliamentary register. The study also showed a consistent recurrence of some fixed patterns of verb phrases identified in both parliaments. Patterns of verb phrases such as, make a motion, withdraw a motion, read the bill, adjourn the debate, etc, are consistent during parliamentary debates in both parliaments. The researcher consequently agreed with Ilie (2009) that parliamentary discourse is characterised by the recurrence of lexico-grammatical features. Treimane (2011) concluded that the recurrence of fixed noun phrases and verb phrases is an indication that parliamentary discourse is characterised by certain linguistic conventions that maintains its formality. The review of this article further deepens my understanding of the analysis of parliamentary discourse from the systemic functional linguistics perspective. More especially, Treimane's (2011) study add credence to my investigation on how the Standing Orders determine polite utterances in parliament.

O'Donnell (2013) investigated the use of some selected politeness features in the parliament of Ireland during Question Time. The purpose of the study was to determine whether a corpus from Irish parliamentary transcripts was a suitable and useful resource for linguistic study of politeness in an institutional setting. The study also sought to investigate facework, specifically, FTAs and positive politeness strategies and make a comparison in the use of some specific politeness features such as 'please' and 'thank you' and 'yes' and 'no' responses between the members of the Irish Parliament and the British House of Commons. Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness was used as framework for the study. The researcher employed corpus linguistic tools to analyse data gathered from the official parliamentary transcripts. Interview was also adopted to gather supplementary data from personnel in the production of the official transcript. Findings of the study showed that corpus gathered from official parliamentary report could be a useful resource for linguistic politeness study as long as the researcher takes into account the inconsistent nature of the official report. O'Donnell also revealed that both the Irish and British parliamentarians used a mixture of politeness strategies during Question Time some of which included positive politeness, ignoring FTAs, mitigating FTAs, and self-justification. The study, however, noted that the positive politeness strategies was more predominant in the Irish Parliament. Also, the study showed that politeness tokens such as 'please' and 'thank you' and 'yes' and 'no' responses abounded in both parliaments. The study, however, concluded that there was much greater use of formal language in the British setting as compared to the Irish setting. For instance, while the Irish used 'please' to keep order, the British used 'order'. Again, there was occasional use of "thank you to the Ceann Comhairle" in the Irish setting as compared to the use of, "I am grateful to the honorary member" in the British setting. On the part of 'yes' and 'no' responses, O'Donnell's

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study indicated that occasional use of the Irish language as in, *go raibh maith agat,* as an in-group identity marker and the British use of 'friendly' questions from the same side of the House led to overwhelmingly 'yes' response and never 'no' response. In the British setting, O'Donnell reported that there was occasional use of single-word 'yes' and 'no' responses which appeared to be face threatening as one-word response in that context might be seen as rather insufficient.

O'Donnell's (2013) study is relevant to my present study in many ways. First, it gives credibility to using official reports of parliamentary Hansard as useful and suitable source of data for the study of linguistic politeness. Also, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model was used as framework for the analysis of politeness in the Irish parliament. It is thus, justifiable for my current study to also apply Brown and Levinson (1987) in studying politeness in the parliament of Ghana.

In the American setting, Dridi (2020) used the politeness models of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Lakoff (2005) as framework to examine American Israeli Public Affairs Committee's (AIPAC) political annual speeches within 2006-2012 using qualitative research approach. The aim of the study was to determine the politeness strategies political actors use to address and please their audience in order to achieve their political intensions. The results of the study revealed that political actors rely more FTAs on record with redressive acts than FTAs on record without redressive actions and FTAs off record. The study concluded that positive politeness, particularly expressive speech acts, express inclusion, gain audience sympathy and reshape public opinion. The study thus, recommends that expressive speech acts be considered as means of power negotiation rather than mere interaction. Though this paper focused on

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speeches, its use of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness framework makes it relevant to my current study.

A number of studies on politeness in parliamentary context have been conducted from the Asian setting. For instance, Maskuri, Djatmika and Purnanto (2019) investigated the politeness strategies employed in directive speech acts in local Indonesian parliamentary proceedings. The aim of their study was to identify the intended persuasive forces used during parliamentary discourses. The findings of their study revealed that politeness strategies are employed for the directive speech acts of speakers during proceedings. Specifically, three politeness strategies were identified: on record, negative politeness, and positive politeness. The study of Maskuri et al (2019) is similar to this current study in the sense that both set out to investigate politeness in the context of a parliamentary discourse. However, while Maskuri et al (2019) specifically examined politeness in directive speech acts and situated their study in Indonesia, my study sought to investigate politeness in parliamentary discourse in Ghana.

Yu (2015) investigated questions in parliamentary discourse in Taiwan. The focus of Yu's study was to examine parliamentarians' use of politeness strategies for questioning government officials during parliamentary question and answer sessions. The study also sought to find out the factors that influence legislators' choice of questioning strategies. The study adopted Lee-Wong's (2000) framework for classifying politeness strategies for conversational interaction; revised from Brown and Levinson's (1987) classical theory of politeness. The findings of the study showed that the bald on record strategy was widely used (55.6%) whereas the other strategies of

modification and/or intensification were also used (44.4%). The study concluded that the change of political role as government supporter or opposition member influence parliamentarians' use of politeness strategies for questioning.

Also, Yasmeen, Jabeen and Akram (2014) examined how Pakistani politicians used politeness during the session of Privileged Motives (violations against the privileges of given to the parliamentarians). Their study applied Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model to analyse the politeness strategies used and how frequently they are used by the Pakistani parliamentarians. Data for the study were gathered from reports of debates of the Punjab Assembly from 2008 to 2013. Findings of the study showed that the bald on-record strategy was most frequently used to show power and carefree communication style. The study also revealed that power difference obliged the parliamentarians to employ more polite express and avoided the use of unnecessary imperatives. The study finally concluded that Pakistani parliamentarians pay little attention to the use of formal language but rather prefer to express their ideas and feelings through less formal and mixed language. Yasmeen, Jabeen and Akram's (2014) study is similar to my study in the sense that both studies are focused in a parliamentary setting. Both studies also apply Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as framework. Yasmeen, Jabeen and Akram's (2014) study provide a useful insight to my study.

Again, David, Govindasamy and Nambia (2009) analysed levels of politeness in Malaysian parliamentary discourse. The focus of their study was to determine the politeness strategies used by Malaysian MPs during parliamentary debates. Also, the study sought to identify three levels of (im)polite utterances; *politeness, not*

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impoliteness and impoliteness in the Malaysian Parliament. Again, the study sought to determine whether or not the permeative cultural features related to politeness influence the choice of strategies than the bipartisan setup of the Parliament of Malaysia; the ruling government and the opposition party. Data for the study was obtained mainly from the Hansard. Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness framework was adopted for the study. Findings of the study showed significant dominance of politeness utterances (96.8%) during parliamentary debates. The study revealed few instances of impolite utterances recorded but there was hardly any instance of 'not impolite' utterances during parliamentary debates. The study concluded that the Malaysian politeness culture has more influence in reducing instances of FTAs in parliamentary debates. According to David et al (2009), the dominant ethnic group in Malaysia, Malays, is noted to maintain a culture of politeness at all times, thus, influencing the use of politeness in parliamentary debates. The study of David et al (2009) is related to my study in many respects. Both studies focus on exploring politeness in parliamentary context, gathering data from the parliamentary Hansard and using Brown and Levinson' (1987) politeness theory as framework. A review of the study by David et al (2009) gives more insight and relevant information related to my study.

From the African perspectives, Malima and Masindano (2018) conducted a qualitative study of confrontations in the Tanzanian Parliament. The aim of their study was to determine how verbal exchanges of parliamentarians contributed to confrontations during parliamentary debate sessions. The study adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as framework. The researchers gathered data using the parliamentary Hansard and video recordings. The findings of their study showed that verbal

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exchanges of parliamentarians contributed to confrontations during parliamentary debates. The confrontations resulted due to the desire of parliamentarians to maintain and defend their reputations from being damaged by their fellow parliamentarians. The study concluded that verbal expressions such as insults, unfair accusations and contempt of some parliamentarians contributed to confrontations during parliamentary debate sessions in Tanzania. The study recommended that certain articles of the Tanzanian Constitution (Article 100) be amended to allow Article 30 (2d) to be observed for the protection of reputation, rights and freedoms of others. Whereas Malima and Masindano's (2018) study focused on confrontations in Tanzanian Parliament, my current study examines the politeness strategies employed in parliamentary discourse, the implications of the frequency of usage of the politeness strategies and how the Standing Orders determine how parliamentary select words and expressions to manifest politeness in Ghana's Parliament.

A number of politeness studies have been done from the Ghanaian perspectives. To begin with, Akpanglo-Nartey (2017) examined the use of politeness in making requests by young learners of English language among native speakers of Ga. Through role-play on request-based scenarios such as power relations, social distance and cost of imposition, the study revealed that young leaners of the English language employed different politeness strategies in different scenarios to make request to friends and teachers. For instance, the study showed that learners used the explicit strategies such as direct imperative to make requests to their colleagues in both the English language and the Ga language. On the other hand, the study revealed that the children employed more of the indirect strategies in making request to their teachers in both English and Ga. The study also observed that the children used more of the indirect strategies in

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making requests in the English language while they used the direct strategies in making the same requests in the Ga language. One dimension of the findings indicated that the children feel easier and closer in making request in their local language as compared to making request in the English language. The other dimension also revealed that learners are more likely to use more of the direct strategies to make requests to their colleagues but use more of the indirect strategies when making requests to their teachers whether in Ga language or the English language.

Totimeh and Bosiwah (2015) investigated how the native speakers of Akyem use politeness in making requests. The researchers sought to find out how social variables such as age, gender and socio-economic conditions influence how Akyem native speakers make request. The researchers employed qualitative approach to an ethnographic research design. The researchers used interviews and participant observation with 20 respondents. Data gathered for the study were subjected to content analysis using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as framework. The findings of the study revealed that the native speakers of Akyem prefer the conventional indirect strategy as the politest form of request. The study also affirmed that social variables such as age, gender and social status had an influence on how requests are made among the people of Akyem. For instance, the study concluded that Akyem native speakers tend to be politer when making request from the elderly, males and persons with high social status. The researchers also found out that social distance, as a felicity condition, counts in request making among the Akyem speaking communities.

Afful (2017) examined the use of the bald on-record politeness strategy by four hosts of adversarial panel discussions on radio. Although the bald on-record strategy appears to be the least desirable choice among interlocutors, the findings of Afful (2017) established that the bald on-record, though seen as an impolite and face-threatening behaviour, seemed to be common and effective in managing adversarial talk. The use of bald on-record strategies by the radio host was noted to be appropriate insomuch as the intent is perceived to optimise information transmission to the listeners. Thus, the bald on-record was not perceived to be absolutely impolite in the context of radio as a community of practice. The review of Afful's (2017) study is relevant to my study because both studies focus on an adversarial discourse setting and use Brown and Levinson's (1987), politeness theory as framework.

Further, Agbaglo (2017) explored how researchers, particularly in the Department of English of the University of Cape Coast, use politeness in the Analysis and Discussion section of research papers. The study gathered data from 20 Analysis and Discussion sections of research papers written by the university lecturers within the 2010-2015 period. The study adopted both content qualitative method and quantitative descriptive statistics to analyse the data. Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Myers' (1989) politeness models were used as the framework. Findings of the study revealed that the lecturers used politeness strategies during the Analysis and Discussion sections of their research papers. Both positive and negative politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Myers (1989) were present with the negative politeness strategy being dominant in the study. The study concluded that the use of positive politeness strategies during the Analysis and Discussion sections of research articles enabled the lecturers to signify solidarity and involvement with the views of other

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researchers. The negative politeness strategies were also used to indicate independence of the reader. This study therefore, makes a significant contribution to knowledge on politeness in written discourse. The use of Brown and Levinson's (1987) model gives me the insight on how Brown and Levinson's (1987) model is applicable to written discourse analysis.

Thompson and Agyekum (2015) investigated the folk perception of impoliteness among Ghanaians and concluded that impoliteness is not just the reverse of politeness, but rather, the expression of non-cooperation, disapproval, and common opposition. Thompson and Agyekum established that communicative behaviours that signal impoliteness include 'interrupting others', using 'invectives' and 'offensive non-verbal forms of communication. Thompson and Agyekum (2015) concluded that the use of these impolite communicative behaviours threatens interpersonal relationships and shows that a speaker who employs these strategies is communicatively incompetent. Thompson and Agyekum (2015) ranked the impolite communicative behaviours on a 'pardonability' scale and concluded that among Ghanaians, the use of invectives is the most offensive and least pardonable impolite communicative behaviour while the use of offensive nonverbal communicative forms was the least offensive and most pardonable impolite communicative behaviour. However, Thompson and Agyekum (2015) added that the order in the arrangement of the degree of offensiveness or pardonability displayed on the scale is not strictly tied to all speech events.

Mensah and Wood (2018) examined the issues female parliamentarians contributed to during parliamentary proceedings. Their study also evaluated the dynamics in the issues and how they contributed to the mandate of the women MPs. The researchers

adopted textual analysis of the Hansard and used the critical discourse analysis theory of gender and power as framework for their analyses. The findings of the study revealed that female MPs were highly interested in issues described as 'soft issues' and contributed passionately to such issues that concerned women, children, the youth, health and education. Again, the study found out that a greater percentage of the issues the female MPs contributed to were gendered as they showed in their contributions that they were the mouthpiece of women, children and the vulnerable in society. The study concluded that the contributions of the female parliamentarians during parliamentary proceedings reinforced the stereotypical roles that women are given by society. While Mensah and Wood's (2018) study examined the dynamics of the issues female MPs raised and contributed to in parliament, the current study is focused on politeness in parliament.

Sarfo (2016) investigated the similarities and differences in questioning and debating between the parliaments of UK and Ghana. Sarfo adopted a corpus-assisted discourse studies approach to examine questions from transitivity and debates from evaluatory perspectives. Findings of the study revealed, among other things, that question forms in both the UK and Ghana's parliaments were similar. However, there were differences in relation to how the MPs expressed politeness. Whereas the Ghanaian MPs mark politeness with direct linguistic forms such as modal past, the UK parliamentarians expressed politeness indirectly. The study concluded that the differences that exist in marking politeness seemed to be influenced by Ghanaian language interference and the cultural differences between Ghanaians and the British. On the part of the transitivity process types, the study revealed that both parliaments most frequently used the mental process interrogatives, followed by verbal, relational and then material processes.

Thus, the researcher concluded that political discourse in parliament could be represented through *think, tell, evaluate* and *do* (TTED) processes. Again, the study showed that the MPs focused their debates on the needs of the people but while the government MPs believed that the socio-economic conditions of the people were better, the opposition MPs thought that their conditions were worse. Therefore, the researcher came to the conclusion that evaluation in parliamentary debates could be described as a rectangle to reflect the disproportionateness of the ideological biases of the MPs. Sarfo recommended, among other things, further studies on politeness forms such as presupposition and conversational implicatures. My study is thus, informed by recommendations in Sarfo's (2016) study.

2.2 Conceptual Review

Politeness is one of the central features of human communication and to be polite means to be aware of and respect the feelings of persons, thus, a polite person always pleases others with polite behaviour and good manners (Borris & Zecho, 2018). Rabab'ah, Rabab'ah & Naimi (2019) also assert that politeness as a pragmatic concept is a necessary part of both verbal and non-verbal human interactions. Yule (2017) asserts that politeness relates to ideas like being tactful, modest and nice to others. This implies that communicators are to employ tact and modesty in order to be perceived as being polite. Politeness is altruistic (Leech, 2014) which means that to be polite is to demonstrate regard and respect for the other person. Thus, the speaker has to demonstrate that the other person is making sense and that the addresser does not intend to take the territory of the addressee. This art of politeness has the capacity to harmonise social interactions and foster good interpersonal relationships among members of a society. The politeness phenomenon is to prevent both physical and

psychological face threat to interlocutors and to ensure that communication does not breakdown. The politeness phenomenon is universal to every human society and culture (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Thus, politeness is not only fundamental in attaining success in interpersonal communication but crucial in institutional interactions, one of which is the institution of Parliament.

Leech (2014) defines politeness as communicative altruism. He argues that to be polite is to speak or behave in a way that appears to give value or respect to the other person(s) you are engaged with in a piece of conversation. Brown (2015) further states that politeness is basically about taking into consideration the feelings of others and learning how to treat them during interactions so that a could act appropriately regarding social status and relationship. Brown and Levinson (1978) are of the view that politeness involves an expression of the intention of the speaker to mitigate threats of the face which are carried out by face threatening acts (FTAs) towards other persons during interaction. According to Agbara (2018), in every human interaction, interlocutors endeavour to maintain appropriate decorum and politeness in order to avoid offending the other person's self-esteem or image. Agbara explains further that the respect for the face want of participants in any interaction is a necessary strategy for achieving effective and efficient communication. What stands out clearly from the definitions of politeness is the notion that politeness is about the face want of the other person. Thus, caring for the face need of the other person by letting the other person feel respected, honoured, liked and accepted is central to the notion of the politeness phenomenon.

Politeness is a human phenomenon but it is expressed differently in many different cultures (Borris & Zecho, 2018). What is considered polite in one culture may not be seen as polite in another culture. This means that every culture perform politeness but it might be done differently.

2.2.1 Role of Politeness in Communication

Politeness has become an essential ingredient in everyday communication. The role of politeness in everyday interaction is important for societies to conform to their norms and acceptable behaviours. Bremner (2012) states that politeness is a necessary pragmatic behaviour which ensures that communications between interlocutors are orderly so as to achieve the desired goal. Ambuyo (2018) posits that politeness norms are designed to safeguard communication from breaking down and to avoid psychological and physical harm to interactants. According to Borris and Zecho (2018), politeness improves relationships with others, it helps to build respect and rapport, boost self-esteem, confidence and improves communication skills. Brown (2015) avers that politeness is crucial for maintaining social relationships. This implies that politeness in communication is central to human interaction and cooperation.

Omar, Ilyas and Kassem (2018) state that politeness involves the use of a set of conventional strategies to maintain social relationships and avoid interpersonal conflicts. Politeness, though not a compulsory phenomenon, is a valuable ingredient that ought to be well sought after by persons who wish to be considered as good communicators for purposes of maintaining relationships as it is seen as fundamental in building good relationships and social interaction. According to Yasmeen, Jabeen and Akram (2014), politeness basically works to reduce the force of friction, roughness of

behaviour, conflict and the rudeness between speaker and hearer in a personal communication.

2.2.2 Parliamentary Discourse

Parliaments are the most dynamic political systems of democracy which are traditionally open to confrontational discourse (Ilie, 2015). Parliamentary discourse, according to Ilie (2006), refers to all interactions that take place on the floor of Parliament. Bayley (2004) explains that parliamentary discourse is a political sub-genre that is formal and institutionalized. Ilie (2009, p. 61) avers that parliamentary discourse is "a norm-regulated interaction among politically elected representatives for deliberation and decision-making purposes in specific institutional settings and which displays a number of particular communication patterns". Parliamentary discourse genres include, ministerial statements, interpellations, parliamentary speeches, parliamentary debates, parliamentary questions (written and oral), and question time, all of which constitute goal-oriented forms of demands or requests for actions, reaction and/or information (Ilie, 2015). Van Dijk (2004) on his part, points out that parliamentary discourse is largely contextual and in doing parliamentary discourse analysis, consideration should be given to where it is held, what it is about and who the participants are.

Agbara (2018) argues that parliamentary discourse should be regarded as argumentative discourse. Agbara explains further that parliamentarians use their communicative behaviours to express varied ideologies and interests which sometimes contradict the interests and judgements of other parliamentarians. This is sometimes clearly demonstrated when the views and interests of one political party or ideology

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contradict the views held by another political party. However, in the midst of this argumentative discourse characterized by series of disagreements, participants have to ensure that co-participants are not 'hurt' by their utterances. The idea not to hurt co-participants lies in the politeness phenomenon.

Malima and Masindano (2018) also assert that Parliamentary discourse is prone to confrontations. Confrontations obviously lead to face threatening. Based on the confrontational and adversarial nature of parliamentary discourse, investigating how parliamentarians employ politeness strategies to mitigate the face-threatening acts seems to be appropriate.

Dijk (2000) considers parliamentary discourse as a political discourse since the language is generally used in political institutions and by persons involved in politics, for instance the MPs, Ministers, Party Leaders, Presidents, Prime Ministers, etc. Dijk's view that parliamentary discourse is political discourse seems to be right in the sense that parliament is one of the political institutions of a state and Members of Parliament are elected by their constituents to represent them for the legislative function. Most of the MPs are elected to the house based on party tickets. The discourse of parliament is thus political and partisan.

2.2.3 Historical Overview of the Ghanaian Parliament

According to Darfour (2014), the British colonial administration established a semblance of a Parliament, known as the Legislative Council in 1950 in the then Gold Coast. The Council consisted of the Governor and at least two other persons appointed by the colonial government. The main mandate of the Council was to make laws and ordinances that were necessary for a peaceful and orderly governance in the Gold

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Coast. Darfour further explains that the Council was merely an advisory body and had no oversight power over the colonial administration and due to various agitations against the colonial government for the lack of equal representation and universal suffrage, there was a change from non-elected legislature to an elected Legislative Assembly in 1954.

Darfour (2014) stated also that when Ghana gained independence in 1957 from the British colonial rule, its independence constitution was fashioned after the Westminster model. Ghana experienced four different republics; 1960, 1969, 1981 and 1992. However, Parliaments under the first three republics were truncated as a result of military interventions in government. Nonetheless, Ghana experienced a more stable democracy under the Fourth Republican Constitution which was promulgated in 1992.

Justice Srem-Sai (2014), corroborates that the 1992 Constitution classified Ghana's democracy as a hybrid of the Westminster parliamentary model and the American presidential system. Thus, Article 78(1) of the 1992 Constitution requires the President to appoint not less than half of the ministers of state from within Parliament.

Darfour (2014) asserts that the Parliament of Ghana is a unicameral legislature composed of 275 members. Members are elected for a four-year term with no limit on the number of terms a representative can serve. Parliament is headed by the Speaker who presides over parliamentary sessions. The Speaker is nominated by the majority party in Parliament. The Speaker is not a Member of Parliament, but must possess the qualifications to stand for elections as a Member of Parliament. The Speaker is assisted by two Deputies, who must not come from the same political party. Both the Speaker

and Deputy Speakers are elected by Members of Parliament at the first meeting of a new Parliament.

According to Ilie (2003, p 73), "Parliamentary debates presuppose, on the one hand, a spirit of adversariality, which is manifested in position-claiming and opponent challenging acts, and, on the other, a spirit of cooperativeness, which is manifested in joint decision making and cross-party problem-solving processes in order to reach commonly acceptable goals regarding future policies and suitable lines of action at a national level". The adversarial engagements often lead to experiencing face threatening as the Members of Parliament (MPs) challenge one another in their performance of duty. For instance, Graphic online on January 30, 2019 reported that the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Member of Parliament (MP) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) MP, on Wednesday exchanged insults in the chamber of Parliament. This chaotic situation does not augur well for the performance of parliamentary duties by the MPs.

Based on the adversarial and cooperative nature of the business of Parliament, there is need for MPs to employ appropriate polite behaviours to ensure effective deliberations of parliamentary affairs.

2.2.4 Parliamentary Hansard

Wood (2014) states that the Hansard is a full official report of all speakers in parliamentary proceedings and it is considered as a comprehensive, accurate and authoritative account of every parliamentary proceedings. Even though Hansard is verbatim reports of parliamentary proceedings, it is edited by the Hansard Department of Parliament to remove obvious mistakes and repetitions.

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According to the Factsheet Number 10 of Kenyan National Assembly 2017, Hansard is the name given throughout the commonwealth countries to the daily printed record of the debates in Parliament. Historically, Hansard was named after Thomas Curson Hansard (1776-1833), a London printer and publisher who was the first person to officially print reports of Parliament at Westminster. Factsheet 10 further states that the Hansard is an important document not only for members of parliament but also for government ministries, the law courts and the Attorney General's Department. For instance, government ministries refer to the Hansard before they implement resolutions passed by the House of Parliament. Also, the law courts make reference to the Hansard to interpret Acts of Parliament. Again, the Attorney General, before sending Bill for presidential assent, has to refer to the Acts of Parliament in the Hansard. For presidential assent after parliament has passed a Bill. The Factsheet asserts the Hansard is also a relevant source of data for researchers studying parliamentary proceedings.

2.2.5. Standing Orders of Parliament

Parliaments all over the world have a common formal and institutionalized setting where discourses are regulated to ensure that certain well-known politeness formulas are employed to address leaders of the House and other colleague MPs. The Standing Orders serve to safeguard and regulate the behaviour of parliamentarians. Parliament is guided by Standing Orders and all parliamentarians are expected to strictly adhere to them during parliamentary deliberations. According to Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987) as cited by David, Govindasamy and Nambiar (2009), the Standing Orders serve to manage discourse between parliamentarians and also seek to maintain respect and integrity for Parliament as an institution. For instance, Standing Order 93(2) of the parliament of Ghana states, "It shall be out of order to use

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offensive, abusive, insulting, blasphemous or unbecoming words or to impute improper motives to any other Member or to make personal allusions (page 63)".

Yu (2015), asserts that though parliamentarians are immune from being responsible for whatever is deliberated in parliament, the Standing Orders serve as the code to regulate the behaviour of parliamentarians in the chamber.

Darfour (2014) states that the Standing Orders are rules of procedure and conventions that regulate Parliament as to how business and debates should be conducted. Darfour further argues that the Standing Orders also contain various procedures and tools such as Questions, Motions, Statements, Censure Motions and others that members can use to ensure executive accountability.

Ambuyo, Indede and Karanja (2011) state that some politeness strategies are used as a ritual requirement by the Standing Orders of the Kenyan Parliament, which dictates behaviour and the language that is acceptable in Parliament. From the arguments of the various studies, it appears that some specific Standing Orders relate directly to the concept of politeness. The idea of face wants, maintaining respect and decorous behaviour appears to be inherent in some Standing Orders.

In Ghana, some of the Standing Orders of Parliament serve to regulate the behaviour and language choice of parliamentarians during parliamentary business. For instance, Standing Order 93(2) states that, "It shall be out of order to use offensive, abusive, insulting, blasphemous or unbecoming words or to impute improper motives to any other Member or to make personal allusions (page 63)". Also, Standing Order 94 states that, "if a Member uses objectionable words and on being called to order fails to retract

or explain the words and offer an apology to the satisfaction of Mr. Speaker, any Member may, with the consent of Mr. Speaker, move that the Member using the objectionable words be no longer heard, and the Question on that motion shall be put forthwith without amendment or debate". These Standing Orders seem to compel the Members of Parliament to be decorous in their language.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Al-Hindawi and Alkhazaali (2016) argue that politeness theory is a set of language theories that associate linguistic act or behaviour to human social behaviours. They explain further that politeness theories try to scientifically formulate and conceptualise common sense notion of politeness.

My current study employs the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) as framework. Watt's (2003) politic behaviour, and Grice's maxims are also frameworks that are referred to in the study.

2.3.1 Politeness Theory

Brown and Levinson (1987) developed the politeness theory in an attempt to identify and publicise politeness as a universal phenomenon. The theory assumes the existence of a Model Person endowed with rationality and face. These two fundamental attributes of rationality and face are described as universal concepts accounting for the linguistic behaviour of interlocutors of a natural language. Rationality in this context refers to the application of a specific mode of reasoning which infers from ends to means that will satisfy those ends. On the other hand, face; 'public self-image', consists of a) the negative face, seen as the basic desire for freedom from imposition and b) positive face, the desire that one's wants be appreciated and approved. Based on the notion of

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face, Brown and Levinson introduce the concept of Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) as acts that inherently threaten the speaker's or the hearer's face. When faced with the challenge to do an FTA, the speaker has five options of politeness strategies s/he can choose from. Thus, the basic concepts that underlie this theory that this study will explore are the concept of face, Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and politeness strategies.

2.3.2 The Concept of Face

Central to the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) is the concept of *face*, which is defined as the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself or herself. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 61) stated that their "notion of *face* is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or *losing face*. Thus, face is something that is emotionally invested, and that it can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction".

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 61) assume that "all competent adult members of a society have and know each other to have '*face'*, the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself". They categorise face into two related aspects: negative face and positive face. The negative face is the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. This implies that negative face is the desire of people to do things independently and not be imposed on. Thus, it is necessary that interlocutors should manage communications such that they don't appear to be claiming each other's

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territories and /or imposing their ideas and opinions on the other persons as this is likely to threaten the face want of the other persons.

The positive face on the other hand, is the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others. (Brown & Levinson, 1987). With this notion of positive face, the theorists argue that every rational person desires that his wishes, opinions and aspirations be valued, respected and approved by others. Consequently, positive face is threatened when participants seem not to respect and appreciate the views of the other person. Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory posit that for mutual benefit of the speaker and the hearer, it is important that each participant tries to maintain both the negative and positive face of each other. Both the negative and negative face are basic needs for a successful interaction thus, paying attention to face wants is construed as the rationality of the practical means-end reasoning of the model person.

2.3.3 Face Threatening Acts (FTAs)

Brown and Levinson (1987) assume that certain speech acts are intrinsically face threatening to interlocutors. The theorists explain that "acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker are referred to as FTAs." (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 65). Brown and Levinson argue that the existence of FTAs is of crucial prominence because it is in relation to FTAs that politeness is necessitated. To say it in another way, politeness becomes a requirement as a redressive action to mitigate FTAs that might occur in some communicative acts (69-70).

FTAs are differentiated based on whether the speech acts threaten the positive or negative face want of interlocutors. Brown and Levinson make a distinction between acts that threaten negative face and those that threaten positive face. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that:

> Those acts that primarily threaten the addressee's negative-face want, by indicating potentially that the addresser does not intend to avoid impeding the addressee's freedom of action, include: orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminding, threats, warnings, dares, offers, promises, compliments, expressions of envy or admiration and expression of negative strong emotions toward hearer (p, 66).

Brown and Levinson (1987) indicate,

> Those acts that threaten the positive-face want, by indicating potentially that the speaker does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants, etc, include: expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusations, insults, contradictions or disagreements, challenges, expressions, expression of violent emotions, irreverence, mention of taboo topics, bringing of bad news about hearer, raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics, blatant non-cooperation in an activity and use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters (p, 66).

Although Brown and Levinson (1987) employ these two classifications, they also state that there could be overlaps between positive and negative face threats. For instance, complaints, interruptions, threats, strong expressions of emotion, requests for personal information are threats to both negative and positive face. Hence, any classification of FTAs can only be approximated to take care of only the most noticeable direction of the threat involved.

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2.3.4 Strategies for Doing FTAs

Another critical assumption of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness is the notion of strategies for mitigating FTAs. According to Brown and Levinson, "in the context of the mutual vulnerability of face, any rational agent will seek to avoid these face-threatening acts, or will employ certain strategies to minimize the threat" (p68). Thus, the authors suggest three wants the speaker has to consider, relative to weightings, in employing specific strategy:

a)   The want to communicate the content of the FTA x,

b)   The want to be efficient or urgent, and

c)   The want to maintain hearer's face to any degree.

Based on these 'wants', Brown and Levinson (1987) classify the strategies to mitigate FTAs on a scale of risk to face as follows:
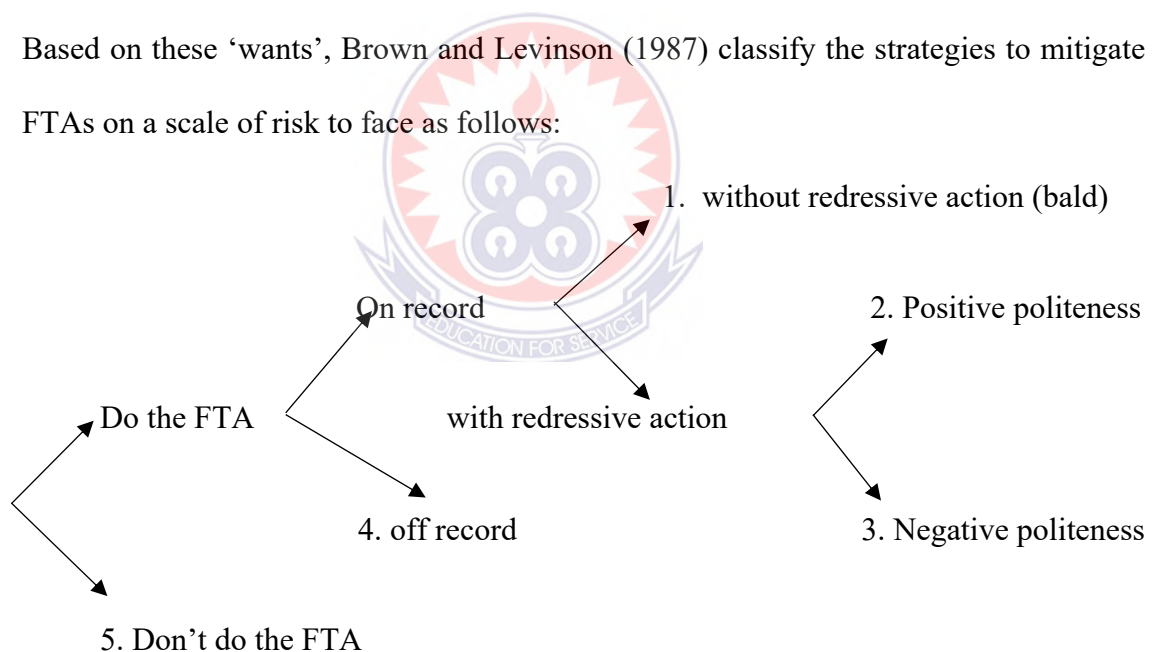

Figure 1: Strategies for doing FTAs

From fig. 1, there are five strategies that are proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) to doing FTAs. To secure a minimum threat to face, a speaker chooses the highest-number; (5- don't do the FTA), which is the one with the least risk of face threat.

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However, to choose not to do the FTA has the disadvantage of completely withdrawing from achieving one's communicative goals. Consequently, the option is to do the FTA off record by choosing the second highest number (4- off record), which has the least threat to face or do the FTA on record with redressive action (3- negative politeness and 4- positive politeness) or do FTA without redressive action (1. bald on record). Brown and Levinson claim that the rational person will usually try to lessen the threat to the listener's face unless the speaker gives it a priority to threaten the hearer's face with maximum efficiency, in which case the FTA is done bald on record.

Brown and Levinson argue also that in choosing a particular strategy, the speaker has to consider the advantages as well as the drawbacks associated with specific politeness strategy.

2.3.5 Bald On-Record Strategy

According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p.69), "doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible as in for example, making a request, saying 'Do X!' The authors argue that the bald on record strategy resonates with Grice's Principle of Cooperation (Grice, 1975).

Grice (1975) proposed four maxims under the cooperative. Principle. They include the Maxim of Quality, which emphasises that participants need to being truthful; the Maxim of Quantity, which implores participants to be informative by not giving more or less of the information that is require; the Maxim of Relation admonishes interlocuters to say what is relevant in the conversation and finally, the Maxim of Manner which states that participants should avoid statements that are ambiguous and

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obscure and rather be brief and orderly in their contributions to a conversation. The bald on record strategy is in tune with Grice's maxims.

Brown and Levinson (1987, p.67) stated that there are certain circumstances that call for a speaker to go bald on record, including;

a. in circumstances where speaker and hearer both agree that the relevance of face demands may be suspended in the interests of urgency or efficiency

b. where the danger to hearer's face is very small, as in offers, requests, suggestions that are clearly in speaker's interest and do not require great sacrifices of speaker (e.g., 'Come in' or 'Do sit down'); and

c. where speaker is vastly superior in power to hearer, or can enlist audience support to destroy hearer's face without losing his own.

The major advantages of bald on record strategies range from clarity and efficiency in communication. It however, pays little or no attention to face wants. Due to that, it is considered as the worst form of politeness strategy. The bald on record strategies are usually employed by persons who have close relations with their listeners, such as close friends or family. Speech acts such as direct imperatives for great urgency or desperation, sympathetic advice or warnings, welcoming, farewells, and offers are associated with the bald on record strategy.

2.3.6 Positive Politeness Strategies

Brown and Levinson (1987) are of the view that Positive politeness is focused on the positive face want of hearer i.e., the positive self-image that he claims for himself. Positive politeness strategies aim at general expression of solidarity, shared values and

common goals. The speaker treats the hearer as member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose needs and character traits are recognised and approved.

Brown and Levinson outline fourteen strategies under positive politeness. These are:

1) Notice/attend to hearer's wants (his interests, wants, needs, goods).

2) Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with the hearer).

3) Intensify interest to hearer Use in-group identity markers.

4) Seek agreement

5) Avoid disagreement

6) Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

7) Joke

8) Assert or presuppose people's knowledge and concern for H's wants.

9) Offer, promise.

10) Be optimistic

11) Include both S and H in the activity

12) Give (or ask for) reasons

13) Assume or assert reciprocity and

14) Give gifts to hearer (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

2.3.7 Negative Politeness Strategies

According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p.129), "Negative politeness is redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded". It is the maximum show of respect to the hearer. The authors outline ten strategies for doing negative politeness. These are:

1) Be conventionally indirect

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2)   Question, hedge

3)   Be pessimistic

4)   Minimize the imposition

5)   Give deference

6)   Apologize

7)   Impersonalize speaker and hearer

8)   State FTA as a general rule

9)   Nominalize and

10)   Go on record as incurring a debt off record as indebting.

2.3.8 Off-Record Politeness Strategies

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 211) posit that, "A communicative act is done off record if it is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act". In this case, because the off-record strategy is subjected to different interpretations, a speaker can do an FTA, and deny responsibility for doing it. It is up to the hearer to decide how to interpret it. In off-record strategy, the speaker avoids direct face threatening acts but rather uses indirect strategies of either inviting conversational implicatures or being deliberately ambiguous or vague. Fifteen off-record strategies are proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) comprising;

1)   Give hints/clues

2)   Give association clues

3)   Presuppose

4)   Understate

5)   Overstate

6)   Use tautologies

7) Use contradictions

8) Be Ironic

9) Use metaphors

10) Use rhetorical questions

11) Be ambiguous

12) Be vague

13) Over generalize

14) Displace hearer and

15) Be incomplete, use ellipsis.

2.3.9 Factors Influencing the Choice of Strategies

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that two major factors influence the choice of politeness strategies, namely the intrinsic payoffs and the relevant circumstances.

Intrinsic Payoffs

For intrinsic payoffs, Brown and Levinson (1987) provide a number of payoffs, generated on a priori grounds, under each of the politeness strategies. They added that by choosing on-record strategy, the speaker can potentially access the following advantages:

1. solicit public pressure against the addressee or in support of himself

2. get credit for honesty, for indicating that he/she trusts the addressee;

3. get credit for outspokenness, avoiding the danger of being seen to be a manipulator;

4. avoid the danger of being misunderstood; and

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5. have the opportunity to pay back in face whatever he/she potentially takes away by the FTA.

By going off record, the speaker has the following intrinsic payoffs to choose from;

1. get credit for being tactful non-coercive

2. run less risk of his act entering the 'gossip biography' that others keep of him

3. avoid responsibility for the potentially face-damaging interpretation.

4. give (non-overtly) the addressee an opportunity to be seen to care for speaker (and thus he/she can test hearer's, feelings towards him/her).

In this latter case, if a hearer chooses to respond to the potentially threatening interpretation of the act, he/she can give a 'gift' to the original speaker. Thus, if the speaker says, 'there is heat in the room' and the listener says, 'ok, then I will open the windows!', the listener may get credit for being generous and cooperative, and the speaker then avoids the potential threat of ordering the listener around.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), by choosing to go on-record with positive politeness strategy, the speaker enjoys some payoffs including;

1. Minimising the face-threatening aspects of an act by assuring the addressee that speaker considers himself or herself to be 'of the same kind', that he or she likes him/her and wants his/her wants.

2. The speaker can avoid or minimise the debt implications of FTAs as in making requests and offers, either by referring indirectly to the reciprocity and on-going relationship between the addressee and himself/herself (as in the reference to a pseudo prior agreement with 'then', for example, 'How about going for lunch then?' or by including the addressee and himself/herself equally as participants

in or as benefiters from the request or offer by the use of an inclusive 'we', as in 'we should go on a walk or let's go on a walk'.

Brown and Levinson (1987) state also that by going on record with negative politeness, a speaker has some benefits including;

1. Paying respect, deference, to the addressee in return for the FTA, and can thereby avoid or lessen future debt.

2. Maintaining social distance, and avoiding the threat or the potential face loss of advancing familiarity towards the addressee.

3. Giving a real 'out' to the addressee (for example, with a request or an offer, by making it clear that he/she doesn't really expect addressee to say 'Yes' unless he\she wants to, thereby minimizing the mutual face loss incurred if addressee has to say 'No').

4. Giving conventional 'outs' to the addressee as opposed to real 'outs', that is, pretend to offer an escape route without really doing so, thereby indicating that he/she has the other person's face wants in mind.

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that the final strategy, 'Don't do the FTA', the addresser basically avoids saying something to the addressee, in which case, addresser also fails to attain his/her desired communication. Based on that the "don't do the FTA" is often given minimal attention in politeness discussion (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Relevant Circumstances

In relation to the relevant circumstances, Brown and Levinson (1987, p.74) identify three factors that influence the choice of a particular politeness strategy comprising;

(i) Social distance (D) of speaker and hearer (a symmetric relation)

(ii) Relative power (P) of speaker and hearer (an asymmetric relation)

(iii) Absolute ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture.

Social distance is explained as the distance between people as in relationship, social class and several social parameters (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The strategy that may be used among people with close relationship may be different from the strategy that may be employed by people with distant relationship. Also, the strategy that is used by people who belong to same social group will be different from people who belong to different social group.

The power relation between the speaker and hearer determines the choice of a strategy. Power is control, thus, a superior has more relative power than a subordinate in a particular context. A leader in parliament has more power than a backbench parliamentarian. This power relation can determine the choice of a particular strategy.

The absolute ranking is related to the degree of the imposition of a speech act. Some speech acts are weightier and face threatening than others. For example, making a request like, "can I use your car?" is raked higher and weightier that, "can I use your pen?"

2.3.10 Criticism of the Politeness Theory

Politeness theories are widely criticised by modern politeness researchers. Al-Duleimi, Rashid and Abdullah (2016) questioned the universality of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model and claimed that politeness is not a natural phenomenon thus, can vary from culture to culture. Therefore, what is perceived as polite in one culture

might not be seen as polite in another culture. Some critics also argue that Brown and Levinson (1987) focused on only western societies. Consequently, their theory appears not to lend on non-western cultures (Matsumoto, 1989; Mao, 1994 & Ide, 1989). Chen (2001) also argues that Brown and Levinson (1987) might not consider the necessity of saving one's own face since the theory seems to focus on how to save the face of the addressee. Watts (2003) also criticised Brown and Levinson for their static view of politeness phenomena, arguing that politeness is an emergent property from the interactants' interpretations and evaluations of particular behaviour. Watts (2003) avers that there is a distinction between politeness as a lay concept of polite and impolite behaviour (politeness 1) and politeness as a technical term with particular language features used in social interaction (politeness 2). According to Watts, politeness 1 is the only valid means to developing a social theory of politeness because to locate a polite behaviour, one must examine closely the flow of social interaction in order to identify a behaviour that is deemed as polite. This means that, politeness must be perceived by the participants themselves and not defined by a model of society. Watts therefore makes a distinction between politic behaviour and polite behaviour. He defines politic behaviour as behaviour which is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of an ongoing interaction. Thus, much of what has been regarded as politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987) is seen as politic; a conventional, ritualised behaviour that is situationally expected. Polite behaviour is perceived to be beyond what is expectable.

From Watts' perspectives, linguistic features should not be the basis for examining politeness instead, politeness should be perceived by the participants themselves. Watts seems to disagree with Brown and Levinson (1987) who used a model person and linguistic features to justify the universality of the politeness phenomenon. This current

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study seeks to demonstrate that Watts, politic behaviour is subsumed under Brown and Levinson' (1987) politeness theory.

2.3.11 Relevance of Theory to the Study

In spite of the criticism, Yu (2015) argues that the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) has been the most influential pragmatic theory of politeness. This is in line with Alabdali (2019) who also asserts that Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is one of the most comprehensive and widely tested theories in the field of pragmatic politeness. Alabdali (2019) further explains that the theory covers many areas and has proven to be highly applicable in most cultures.

According to Ilie (2015), one of the unique political institutions of democracy traditionally set for open confrontational discourse among elected representatives is the Parliament. As a highly confrontational institution, Parliament is thus, an ideal area to explore Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness and to determine if the discourses of parliamentarians resonate with the fundamental assumptions of the politeness theory. Again, the setup of Parliament provides for parliamentary deliberations to be carried out on the basis of majority against minority members. Consequently, the division of Parliament according to political affiliation gives way for the manifestation of biases toward the parliamentarians in government on one hand (Majority MPs) and parliamentarians in opposition on the hand (Minority MPs). This division of parliament into the majority side and the minority side reflects in the discourse of using positive politeness strategies for the purpose of expressing solidarity and appreciation for group members on one and the use of negative politeness strategies in order to minimise face threat of members of the other group. Thus, Brown

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and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness is highly applicable to the study of politeness in parliamentary discourse in Ghana.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the methodology employed for this study. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), methodology refers to the framework within which the research is conducted. The chapter therefore, describes the research approach, the design of the study, data collection procedures, the technique used in sampling data for the study, data analysis plan and summary of methodology.

3.1 Research Approach

This study adopted a qualitative research approach in order to gain information about how human societies function. According to Cropley (2019), qualitative research examines how people use their own minds and words to make sense out of own their real-life experiences. Cropley (2019) further explains that qualitative research is grounded on the notion that, 'reality' is subjective thus, every person, particularly researchers, constructs an individual, personal view of the world based on his or her specific interactions with the world. Consequently, what an individual considers as reality is based on a set of impressions, inferences and opinions. Qualitative research approach therefore, offers the researcher an opportunity to investigate how politeness is employed in the discourse of parliamentarians.

According to Creswell (2014), qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human phenomenon. Qualitative research process involves emerging questions and procedures, collecting data naturally in the participant's setting, analysing data

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inductively by building from specific to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of individual meaning of the data thus, making the structure of the final written report flexible.

3.2 Research Design

Fairclough and Fairclough (2015) assert that texts, in a broader sense, include written texts (for example, policy documents), 'multimodal' texts (texts which combine written and other semiotic modalities including visual images) and spoken texts (for example, various political talks including political speeches and parliamentary debates). Fairclough and Fairclough (2015) posit further that texts are 'multi-functional', which means that texts simultaneously perform various functions such as denoting action, representing people, objects or events and enacting identities. Thus, textual analysis is essential for identifying the various functions and connecting them. Fairclough and Fairclough (2015) concluded that textual analysis is part and parcel of discourse analysis and a discourse-oriented interpretive political analysis. Therefore, the research design chosen for this study is the textual analysis design. Textual analysis design is appropriate for this study because the Hansard is the text under study which will be analysed and interpreted to reveal politeness in the discourse of parliamentarians. Braun and Clarke (2013 outlined the following sources of textual data for research: newspapers, magazines, public health information leaflets, textbooks, billboard advertisements, websites, blogs, bulletin boards, political speeches, Hansard, television talk shows, adverts, comics and documentaries. Textual analysis design was therefore adopted as a data analysis method to analyse the Hansard reports of the Parliament of Ghana from the period 2013 to 2020 to identify expressions of politeness among parliamentarians. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), in analysing text, the

researcher can access people's experiences and perspectives without shaping their responses through our data collection questions and methods. Again, textual data can be used to explore the socio-cultural meanings surrounding a particular topic, either generally or in relation to a particular context. Braun and Clarke (2013) further indicated that textual analysis design makes use of pre-existing textual data available in written or audio-visual form and this makes data easy to access by researchers. In this case, the researcher does not play a role in the production of the data. Also, as secondary sources of data, issues of ethical concerns are sidestepped because the researcher does not directly interact with participants to generate data. The Hansard is a pre-existing data thus, making data readily available and accessible for this current.

Some critiques have questioned the validity of textual analysis approach by arguing that the selection and reading of a text resonate the viewpoint of the researcher and that the specific approaches used to analyse texts are as ideological as the texts themselves (Given, 2008). This criticism appears unconvincing because text is never totally understood because meanings of texts are culturally and socially situated.

3.3 Sampling and Sample Size

Qualitative research, like any research, involves selecting data samples for analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This study used the purposive sampling technique to sample Hansard reports within the Sixth Parliament and the Seventh Parliaments of the Fourth Republic Ghana. This period was chosen in order to determine how Members of Parliament from the two major political parties; the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), employ politeness in their discourse while in government and also while in opposition. In the Six Parliament (2013-2016), the NDC

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was in government while the NPP was in opposition. The reverse occurred in the Seventh Parliament (2017-2020). The selected period will enable the researcher to generalise politeness utterances of MPs in government, otherwise known as Majority MPs and MPs in opposition, referred to as Minority MPs without reference to political parties.

According to Odekro report, the Sixth Parliament of the Fourth Republic of Ghana had 275 Members of Parliament of which 147 were NDC; NPP 123; CPP 1; PNC 1 and independent MPs 3. In relation to gender, 245 were men while 30 were women. Odekro report revealed also that the Seventh Parliament was made up of 168 MPs from NPP, forming the majority side and 107 for NDC MPs forming the minority side. There was any other political party or independent MP representation in the Seventh Parliament. The number of women in the Seventh Parliament increased to 37 as against 168 men.

In qualitative research, the purposive sampling technique is typical with the benefits of generating insight and in-depth understanding to be able to provide rich information on the topic (Patton, 2002), cited in (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Forty (40) Hansard reports were purposively sampled for the study; 20 Hansard reports were from the Six Parliament and the other 20 transcripts were from the Seventh Parliament. The purposive sampling approach afforded the researcher the opportunity to sample some selected Hansard reports that contained information on debates of the President's State of the Nation Address, debates on the government's Annual Financial Policy Statement, Statements and Urgent Questions and Oral Answers to Questions. As Ilie

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(2006) indicated, parliamentary discourse genres include ministerial statements, speeches, debates, oral/written questions and question time.

The purposive sampling technique therefore, enabled the me to select Hansards that reflected the various subgenres of parliamentary discourse and this provided the study with rich information for the analysis.

3.4 Data Collection Procedure

Creswell (2014) states that data collection involves the steps for setting the boundaries for the study, gathering data through unstructured or semi structured observations and interviews, documents and visual materials, as well as establishing the protocol for recording information. Document analysis procedure was adopted for the study.

The parliamentary Hansard is the main document that was used in gathering data for this study. The parliamentary Hansard is pre-existing. Braun and Clarke (2013) state that using pre-existing data refers to taking data from a source which already exist and is available to the public. In this case, the data is not original to the researcher; it is secondary data to the researcher. Such data can exist in written or audio-visual form. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), pre-existing data include newspapers, magazines, books, movies, billboards, speeches, Hansard, and many more. The reason for choosing Hansard reports is because the Hansard is a verbatim record of parliamentary proceedings even including all interruptions and this gives a true picture of the proceedings as they happen in the floor of parliament. Also, Hansard is a public document and hard copies are available at the Hansard Department for interested researchers to pick. The Hansard reports are also published in the website of Parliament of Ghana.

To obtain valid data for the study, I went online to the original website of Parliament of Ghana and downloaded the relevant Hansard reports. Then I checked for completeness and accuracy of the Hansard. After checking for accuracy and completeness, I searched for portions in the Hansard reports that contained the relevant data for the study. In this case, the study collected data from parliamentary discourse genres such as motions for debates, Urgent Questions sessions, statements made on the floor of the House and Oral Answers to Questions sessions. For instance, I gathered data on motions to thank the President for the State of the Nation Address (SONA) and to approve the Financial Policy Statement (FPS) of Government, which are usually moved and debated in the House of Parliament. Article 67 of the Constitution of Ghana states that, "The President shall, at the beginning of each session of Parliament and before the dissolution of Parliament, deliver to Parliament a message on the state of the nation". Article 179 of the same constitution states also that, "The President shall cause to be prepared and laid before Parliament at least one month before the end of the financial year, estimates of the revenues and expenditure of the Government Ghana for the following year". Data for the study was gathered also from the Urgent Questions, statements made on the floor of the House and Oral Answers to Questions sessions usually with sector ministers on the floor of the House. I repeatedly read the Hansard reports to familiarise myself and to determine polite utterances and the types of politeness strategies inherent in the interactions (Braun & Clark, 2013). While reading through the Hansard, I took note of the kind of politeness strategies that were employed in the interactions and the frequency of occurrences of the various politeness strategies. This enabled me to determine the frequency of usage of the politeness strategies during parliamentary proceedings.

3.5 Data Analysis Plan

Data analysis in qualitative research involves the process of managing and reducing data into themes through a coding system (Creswell, 2014). In this study, I employed thematic analysis for the analysis the data. Braun and Clarke (2013), as cited in Herzog, Handke and Hitters (2019), assert that thematic analysis is the most commonly employed approach in analysing qualitative data. Herzog et al (2019) further described thematic analysis as the method of identifying and analysing data into meaningful patterns or themes. The researchers explained also that thematic analysis is widely applied in qualitative studies because it is cost-effective and flexible in explorative study.

Alhojailan (2012) avers that thematic analysis enable researchers to code and categorise data into themes for easy interpretation. Coding is made much easier with thematic analysis plan. Herzog, Handke and Hitters (2019) stated that coding can be either data-driven or theory-driven. A theory-driven thematic analysis is adopted by employing Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies as the themes for the analysis of data of the current study.

Brown and Levinson (1987) categorised politeness strategies into four and these are: the bald on-record strategy, positive politeness strategy, negative politeness strategy and off-record politeness strategy. There are sub strategies under each of the four broad strategies. These sub strategies were identified and coded under the main strategies which served as the man themes for the study. The table below shows the coding scheme for thematic analysis of politeness strategies.

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Table 1: Coding Scheme for Thematic and Textual Analysis

Theme	Codes
Bald on Record	1. Giving direct imperatives for great urgency or desperation, 2. Giving sympathetic advice or warnings 3. Welcoming and farewells 4. Giving offers
Positive Politeness	1) Noticing/attending to hearer's wants (his interests, wants, needs, goods). 2) Exaggerating (interest, approval, sympathy with the hearer). 3) Intensifying interest to hearer 4) Using in-group identity markers. 5) Seeking agreement 6) Avoiding disagreement 7) Presupposing/raising/asserting common ground 8) Making jokes 9) Asserting or presupposing people's knowledge and concern for hearer's wants. 10) Offering and promising. 11) Being optimistic 12) Including both speaker and hearer in the activity 13) Giving (or asking for) reasons 14) Assuming or asserting reciprocity 15) Giving gifts to hearer (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)
Negative Politeness	1) Being conventionally indirect 2) Questioning, hedging 3) Being pessimistic 4) Minimizing the imposition 5) Giving deference 6) Apologising 7) Impersonalising speaker and hearer

	8)	Stating FTA as a general rule
	9)	Nominalising
	10)	Going on record as incurring a debt off record as indebting.
Off Record	1)	Giving hints/clues
	2)	Giving association clues
	3)	Presupposing
	4)	Understating
	5)	Overstating
	6)	Using tautologies
	7)	Using contradictions
	8)	Being Ironic
	9)	Using metaphors
	10)	Using rhetorical questions
	11)	Being ambiguous
	12)	Being vague
	13)	Over generalising
	14)	Displacing hearer
	15)	Being incomplete, using ellipsis.

Adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987)

Murphy (2014) categorised the participants of his study of the UK Parliament into Government MPs, Opposition MPs, Leader of Opposition (LO) and Prime Minister (PM). This enabled him to compare and contrast politeness utterances of the various participant groupings. In a similar vein, the politeness utterances expressed by the participants in my study were categorised as those made by the Speaker and Deputy Speakers (referred to as Mr Speaker), the Majority MPs and the Minority MPs. The categorisation of participants was to facilitate data analysis and presentation of findings. Also, for ethical reason, the grouping enables the researcher to avoid

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mentioning specific names of Members of Parliament who contributed to the debate. Thus, the principle of anonymity is maintained.

The unit of analysis of data for this study is a paragraph. In this case, data excerpts for analysis are in a paragraph form. Each paragraph is analysed for specific politeness strategies and then categorised into politeness themes.

3.6 Summary

The chapter three of this study described the research methodology employed for the study of politeness in parliamentary discourse. The chapter discussed the research approach, the research design, sampling technique, data collection procedures and the data analysis plan adopted for the study.

The chapter described qualitative research methodology and how it is an applicable approach to the current study.

The chapter also discussed textual analysis design and the polysemic and multi-functional nature of text and how the parliamentary Hansard was used as a data source. Under sampling technique, the chapter justified why purposive sampling was appropriate for the study. The chapter finally described theory-driven thematic analysis plan and justified why I adapted Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies as the main thematic areas and used sub strategies as coding scheme for the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

The focus of this study is to examine the use of politeness by Members of Parliament of Ghana during parliamentary proceedings in the floor of the House. Specifically, this research employs Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness to analyse parliamentarians' use of politeness during debate on the State of the Nation's Address, and the Financial Policy Statement of the Government.

The analysis of data is done following the research questions that serve as guide to the study.

4.1 Research Question 1: What are the politeness strategies employed in the parliamentary Hansard?
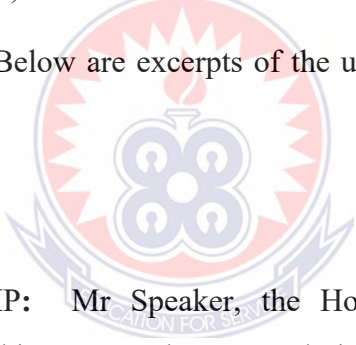
Brown and Levinson (1987) outlined four politeness strategies for mitigating FTAs during interaction. They are the bald-on record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies. Data of this study showed that Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies are used in varied forms in the parliamentary Hansard.

4.1.1 Bald on Record Strategies

According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 69), to do an act baldly on record means doing the act in the "most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible. For example, in making a request saying, "Do X!". Bald on record strategies are based on the principle that efficiency is more desirable than the satisfaction of face wants. Bald on strategies are often realized by using direct imperatives for great urgency or desperation, metaphorical urgency as in attention getters such as 'listen' 'look', giving

sympathetic advice or warnings; welcomings, `farewells, offers as in, for example: 'come in' 'come again' and 'sit down here' (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Bald on record strategy is normally done if the addresser is unlikely to receive retribution or non-cooperation from the addressee. Thus, Brown and Levinson (1987) stated three circumstances that bald on record strategies can be done without retribution from the addressee. These are circumstances where; (1) both the addresser and addressee implicitly believe that the relevance of face demands may be suspended in the interests of urgency or efficiency; (2) where the danger to addressee's face is very small, as in offers, requests, suggestions that are clearly in the addressee's interest and do not require great sacrifices of the addresser; and (3) where the addresser is vastly superior in power to the addressee, or can solicit audience support to destroy addressee's face without losing his own. Below are excerpts of the use of bald on-record politeness in the Hansard;

Extract 1

> Minority MP**:** Mr Speaker, the Hon Member is grossly misleading this House. The NPP Administration never spent in excess of Appropriation. There were two — [Interruption] **—** Listen to me. Go and ask for the supplementary budget ceilings and you would realise that what you are referring to as the excess spending, was captured in the Appropriation Act. That is what we are saying — [No! No!] — So, please, go and look at the supplementary budget. So, Mr Speaker, I would want to let him know that it is wrong, that spending was captured in the supplementary budget.

The extract captures a debate session of the annual budget of the government of the day. In contributing to the debate, a Majority MP stated that the NPP government spent

in excess of appropriation. A Minority MP then rose on point of order to disagree with the Majority MP. He was, however, being interrupted by the Majority MPs. This interruption created some channel noise, thus making communication difficult for the Minority MP. Being desperate and feeling the urgency to make his point, he resorted to bald on-record strategies of using attention getters such as, *'Listen to me'*. This provides him the opportunity to continue to make his point. His advice for the Majority MP to, *'Go and ask for the supplementary budget ceilings*, was uttered baldly without redressive acts. This utterance is in tune with Brown and Levinson's (1987) argument that where maximum efficiency is very important, no face redress is necessary. His desperation and great urgency to speak, despite the interruptions, became clearer when he repeated the bald on record utterance that, *'So, please, go and look at the supplementary budget'*. The confrontations that characterise discourse in Parliament make it obvious for MPs to use bald on record strategies to dominate and get attention from colleague MPs.

The extract below shows another instance of the use of bald on-record strategy by a Majority MP.

Extract 2

> Majority MP**:** (On a point of order) Mr Speaker, the Hon Member misled the House again. He refers to NDC Manifesto and says "King James Version". Please, Mr Speaker, can he produce a copy of King James Version of the Manifesto of the NDC? Without that one he should withdraw the statement and apologise to the people of Ghana for changing the name and saying, "King James Version of the NDC Manifesto". Mr Speaker, he should produce it now or else he should shut up and sit down. (12th March, 2013:1471)

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It could be recalled that, on the 22nd April, 2009, Myjoyline reported that the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) accused the National Democratic Congress (NDC) of secretly revising its 2008 manifesto to evade the fulfilment of all its electoral promises. According to the NPP, the NDC had removed some of the promises from the manifesto knowing that it was incapable of delivering on them. The NPP believes the change is a deception and a fraud against the people of Ghana. In contributing to the budget debate, a Minority MP said he had read all the documents relating to the budget and even went further to read the NDC Manifesto, the King James version. The revision of the NDC Manifesto was what the Minority MP metaphorically referred to as *"King James Version".* It was at that point that the Majority MP rose on point of order. He first started with a negative politeness strategy of asking a question, *"Please, Mr. Speaker, can he produce a copy of King James Version of the Manifesto of the NDC"?* However, in his subsequent utterances, the Majority MP employed direct imperative bald on-record strategy to do the FTA. The imperative utterances*, "he should withdraw the statement and apologise to the people of Ghana", "he should produce it now or else he should shut up and sit down"* are examples of bald on-record strategies. These utterances from the Majority MP were threatening to the face of the addressee. These utterances therefore corroborate Brown and Levinson's (1987) argument that bald on-record strategy is used whenever an addresser wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy addressee's face, even to any degree, he will choose the bald-on-record strategy.

Extract 3 below reveals how the Speaker and a Minority use the bald on-record strategy in the parliamentary Hansard;

Extract 3

> Mr Speaker: Hon Member, hold on. Yes, Hon Buah?
> Minority MP: Mr Speaker, this is the Hon Deputy Minister for
> Energy. He is engaging in — This is not the place for that.
> Mr Speaker: Tell me where he breached any rule.
> Minority MP: Mr Speaker, he should speak to the facts.
> Mr Speaker: Which facts? The man is giving you calculations of
> what it would have been…you are out of order. Hon Member,
> please continue. (19th November, 2019:2681).

Extract 3 above examines the bald on-record politeness strategy used by the Speaker and a Minority MP. A Deputy Minister for Energy and a Majority MP was on the floor making trend analysis of how the increment of electricity bill would have been under an NDC administration and thanking God that the NDC didn't win power. Then a Minority MP rose on point of order. This made the Speaker to use bald on-record utterance to require the Deputy Minister to hold on for him to listen to the Minority MP who rose on point of order. The statement that, *"Hon Member, hold on"* uttered by the Speaker is a bald on-record politeness strategy enjoining the Deputy Minister to wait awhile for the Minority MP to make his point. When the Minority MP spoke, the Speaker employed another direct imperative utterance, *"Tell me where he breached any rule"*. The response of the Minority MP that, *"Mr Speaker, he should speak to the facts"* is also a bald on-record politeness strategy. Realising that the Minority MP did not have any bases for raising point of order, the Speaker told him directly that, *"... you are out of order",* which is a sympathetic warning not to proceed any further on point of order. The Speaker then called on the Majority MP and Deputy Minister to continue. He said, "Hon Member, *please continue".* The use of the word, 'please' in this utterance is intended to soften the direct command to the Deputy Minister. Again,

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since the bald on-record utterance by the Speaker is to give offer that will benefit Majority MP and Deputy Minister, the face threat from the utterance become small. This corroborates Brown and Levinson's (1987) assertion that bald on utterances may be softened by negative-politeness respect terms, as 'kindly' or 'please' and that where the bald on-record is uttered to give offer to the hearer, face threat becomes minimal.

4.1.2 Positive Politeness Strategies

Brown and Levinson (1987) divided positive politeness into three forms: claiming common ground, conveying that the addresser and the addressee are co-operators, and fulfilling addressee's want (for some x). The analysis of the data show that various forms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) positive politeness strategies are used in varying proportions by political actors of Parliament. The data collected showed that the MPs and the Speaker used positive politeness strategies to claim common grounds, demonstrate cooperation and to show camaraderie as in-group members.

In the following extract, a Majority MP employed a number of positive politeness strategies while making a statement on the floor of the House about the Annual Celebration of Independence Day in Ghana.

Extract 4

> Majority MP: Thank you, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity to make this Statement on the Independence Day celebrations in our dear country. Mr Speaker, one week from today, Ghana, our beloved country, will mark her 56th Independence Anniversary. In spite of the challenging circumstances in which we find ourselves as a nation, we are delighted and therefore, grateful to the Almighty for keeping us together as

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one nation and in peace. On this occasion, we salute the founding fathers of the nation led by Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah, whose gallant efforts led to the attainment of nationhood for our country.

In this extract, the MP expresses gratitude to the Speaker for giving him/her the opportunity to make a statement on the floor of the House. The expressions, *"thank you"*, *"grateful to Almighty"* and *"salute the founding fathers"* are pleasing words to express positive politeness. Again, the extract contains inclusive devices which are prerequisite for positive politeness. For instance, expressions of endearment such as *"our dear country, "our beloved country"* all indicate interest and love for country. Also, use of the plural pronoun, *'we'* as in, *"we find ourselves; we are delighted and we salute"*, show the togetherness and cooperation of the Ghanaian citizens for common interest and beliefs. The extract also expresses optimism, which is a positive politeness marker. This is evident in, *"In spite of the challenging circumstances in which we find ourselves as a nation, we are delighted… for keeping us together as one nation and in peace."* Even though Ghana, as nation, has its own challenging moments, the MP's statement encourages the citizens to be optimistic because there is peace in the country.

The data show that the Majority MPs who are usually on the government side employ positive politeness strategies to express their agreement and support to the government's Financial Policy Statement presented to Parliament by the Finance Minister. The following extracts exemplify the positive politeness strategies of the Majority MPs.

Extract 5

> Majority MP: Mr Speaker, thank you for giving me the opportunity to contribute to the Motion on the Financial Policy Statement of Government of the Ghana for the year ending December 31st, 2018, under the authority of His Excellency the President, Nana Addo Dankwa AkufoAddo, which was eloquently delivered by the Hon Minister for Finance. [Hear! Hear!] Mr Speaker, listening to my good Hon Friend and Brother, Hon Armah-Kofi Buah, has made my adrenaline charge. Ghana did not only vote for a President; we voted for a President who is visionary. We voted for a President who is pragmatic; we voted for a President who is action oriented. (23rd November, 2017:3729).

From data extract 5, the Majority MP begins by expressing gratitude to the Speaker for giving him the opportunity to contribute to the debate. This gratitude expression indicates that the Majority MP approves and appreciates the opportunity thus, the positive face of Mr Speaker is enhanced. The Majority MP appears to exaggerate his interest and approval of the financial statement of the government. This is evident from the choice of the word, *eloquently.* His exaggerated interest in the President is made manifest in the prosodic expressions, *'Ghana did not only vote for a President; we voted for a President who is visionary. We voted for a President who is pragmatic; we voted for a President who is action oriented.'* The MP's use of the in-group pronoun, 'we' expresses a positive politeness strategy of including both speaker and hearer in a common activity: *we voted*. The MP uses the positive politeness expressions to give approval to the financial statement of the government and he is rewarded with '*Hear! Hear*!' from his colleague Majority MPs.

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Again, in contributing to the debate on the State of the Nation Address delivered to Parliament by the President, the data show that the Majority MPs mostly used positive politeness of seeking to agree to the message delivered by the President. Thus, they appear to be in solidarity and fulfil the wants and desires of the President. The extract below shows how a Majority MP employed positive politeness strategies to claim common grounds with the President's State of the Nation Address;

Extract 6

>Majority MP: Mr Speaker, I beg to move, that this Honourable House thanks H.E. the President for the Message on the State of the Nation which he delivered to Parliament on Thursday, 26th February, 2015. Mr Speaker, it is clear in my mind that His Excellency President John Dramani Mahama, pursuant to article 67 of the 1992 Constitution of our Republic of Ghana, delivered what all objective Ghanaians have accepted as a Message which was uplifting. Indeed, President Mahama lifted the spirit of the nation, he was truthful, he was sincere, he was statesmanly, he was very bold in a lot of the measures he outlined, he is a visionary, and he is a unifier. [Hear! Hear!] Mr Speaker, President Mahama gave hope to our nation when he remarked that: "We have climbed many hills together, and we shall conquer many more in our journey of progress." (10th March, 2015)

The data extract 6 indicates that the Majority MP employs positive politeness strategies of seeking common grounds with the President. The Majority MP uses intensifying modifiers such as, 'uplifting', 'statesmanly', 'visionary' and 'unifier' to exaggerate his interest and approval for what the President has done. Another positive politeness strategy that the Majority MP employs is to seek agreement. Brown and Levinson

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(1987) state that one of ways to seek agreement is to repeat part or whole of what a preceding speaker has said. Hence, the Majority MP repeating part of what the President said, *'We have climbed many hills together, and we shall conquer many more in our journey of progress,* is an indication that the Majority MP heard clearly what the President said and emotionally agreed with the statement of the President.

4.1.3 Negative Politeness Strategies

Findings of this study show that negative politeness strategies appear to be used widely in parliamentary discourse in Ghana. The negative politeness strategies that are dominantly employed in varied proportions include the strategies of giving deference, questioning, hedging, apologising and using rhetorical questions. The most dominant negative politeness strategies in parliamentary discourse are the use of the honorifics, *'Mr Speaker'* and '*Hon Member'*, '*my Hon Colleague or Friend.*' Almost every Member of Parliament precedes every statement with, *'Mr Speaker'* and this shows the deference the MPs have for the Speaker. The Speaker would most often refer to the MPs as '*Hon Members'* and the MPs refer to one another as '*Hon Member'*, '*my Hon Colleague or Friend.*'. Also, questioning and hedging as negative politeness devices are prevalent in parliamentary discourse in Ghana. For instance, the hedging words such as, *'believe, 'think' 'seem'* and '*appear*' are employed in varied degrees. Again, the use of the modal past verb forms such as, '*could,* and *'would'* are common in parliamentary discourses. The following extracts show the negative politeness strategies;

Extract 7

> Minority MP**:** Mr Speaker, I thank you for the opportunity to
> make contribution to the Statement by Hon Member for Ho

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Central. Mr Speaker, the recommendations so made are recommendations that I believe, if, as a country, we embrace, it is going to help an even development across the country. For instance, Mr Speaker, Yagaba/Kubori, a constituency in this country has no single electrification project at all - no light in the whole constituency. I believe that if the Independence Day Celebration is decentralized, it would offer those in the various regions and districts the opportunity to bring to the attention of political leadership, in this respect, the President, specific needs of their constituencies, districts and regions, in that, it would not be because of ability to lobby, that is why a particular project is going to a particular community, region or district. Mr Speaker, added to this, I believe that the decentralization, or this rotational celebration of our independence would also offer this country the opportunity to put the necessary records in place to make them available for the young ones who are learning from those of us in political leadership.

In extract 7, the Minority MP employs a number of honorifics to give deference to the Speaker and colleague MPs. The expressions such as, *"Mr Speaker"* and *"Hon Member for Ho Central* enhance the negative face of the Speaker and the MP. Though these honorifics appear as ritualised parliamentary language, they are used as face savers to mitigate face threats in parliamentary discourse.

Extract 8

Majority MP: Mr Speaker, without trying to challenge your ruling, I would have been very grateful if you could take two more contributions. This is because we have too long a list and I am afraid because we are ending on Friday, we may not be able to come on board with too many of our Colleagues. So, if

you could take one from Hon Yaw Effah Baafi and Hon Dr. Kwabena Donkor, we would be most grateful, so that we can continue with the rest tomorrow. Thank you very much, Mr Speaker, and it is with our indulgence. (27th February, 2013: 1067).

A Majority Member made this statement at the time the Speaker wanted to bring the debate to a temporary end but realising that there were many MPs on list who were yet to contribute to the debate, made a request for few more MPs to be allowed to debate. The MP skilfully made the by using negative politeness strategies. First, he minimised the imposition of his request on the Speaker when he said, *"Mr Speaker, without trying to challenge your ruling, I would have been very grateful if you could take two more contributions."* The fact that the MP is not challenging the ruling of the Speaker and also the fact that he requested for just only two more contributions, demonstrate that the MP is still within the authority of the Speaker, and the Mr. Speaker, seeing that request was minimal, granted it. To demonstrate more negative politeness, the Hon. Majority MP used modal verbs to hedge the request. Such modal verbs include; *'would', 'may' and 'could'*. The use of 'if-clauses is also a marker of negative politeness. His statement that, *'I would have been very grateful if you could take two more contributions' and 'So, if you could take one from Hon Yaw Effah Baafi and Hon Dr. Kwabena Donkor, we would be most grateful'* are also a form of hedging in negative politeness strategies. The MP again used honorifics to give deference to the Speaker and his colleague MPs. This is evident in the address forms such as *'Mr Speaker', 'Hon Yaw Effah Baafi' and 'Hon Dr. Kwabena Donkor'*

Extract 9

> Minority MP: Mr Speaker, one of the things that His Excellency the President said, and I can see it on page 2 of his Address was that, some people say he is in a hurry and he agrees. To run a country, one cannot be in a hurry. [Laughter.] This is because, if you the President is in a hurry, by some design, people would believe that you have staged a coup and became a coup leader.
>
> Majority MP — rose —
>
> Mr Speaker: Hon Member, do you stand on a point of order?
>
> Majority MP: Yes, Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, my Hon Senior Colleague on the other side of the House just made a serious remark and for the purposes of the Hansard, to try to associate being in a hurry with organising a coup, is a serious statement for him to make. Respectfully, we would be grateful if he would withdraw it.
>
> Minority MP: Mr Speaker, thank you very much. What am I supposed to withdraw? In any case, my statement —
>
> Mr Speaker: Hon Chireh, in the search for constitutionalism and democracy in this country, no one enjoys references to coups in our forward march. Could you kindly withdraw any reference to coups and then proceed?
>
> Minority MP: Mr Speaker, I have withdrawn the statement referring to coups — (1st March, 2017: 1950-1951)

This discourse between the minority MP, the majority MP and the Speaker brings out a number of negative politeness strategies. The first negative politeness strategy is in the use of honorifics to give deference. The minority MP addresses the President as *'His Excellency the President'.* By this address, he raises the social status of the president as the number one high officer of the country. The minority MP uses also indefinite
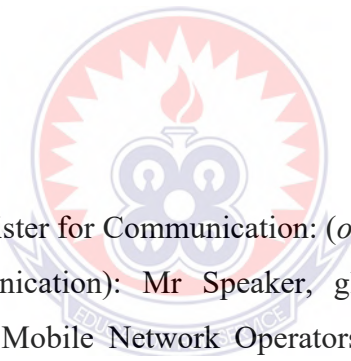
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markers such as, *'some people' 'people'* and *'one'* to impersonalise the FTA. As Brown and Levinson (1987) assert, one way of demonstrating that the speaker doesn't want to impinge on the addressee is to express the FTA as though the agent were other than the addresser. For instance, the minority MP employs hedging in the statement, *'people would believe that you have staged a coup and became a coup leader'*, which seems to suggest that the he is not responsible for the FTA. The use of the modal verb, 'would' and the word 'believe' by the minority MP distances him from taking responsibility for the truthfulness of the utterance.

When the majority MP rose on point of order, the Speaker addresses him appropriately and also uses a negative politeness strategy of questioning. The Speaker asked, **'***Hon Member, do you stand on a point of order'?* By this question, the Speaker seeks to find out and not to presume that the majority MP is standing on point of order. The majority MP on his part also gives deference to the Speaker and the minority PM when he said, *'Mr Speaker, my Hon Senior Colleague on the other side of the House…'***.** The use of the honorifics, 'Mr Speaker' and 'my Hon Senior Colleagues' are negative politeness markers. Also, the statement of the majority MP that, **'***Respectfully, we would be grateful if he would withdraw it'* is a negative politeness strategy of going on record as incurring a debt since he promises to be grateful if the minority MP withdraws the statement. Realising that the statement made by the minority MP is an FTA, the Speaker calls on him to withdraw the statement. To withdraw the statement is also a threat to the negative face of the minority MP. Thus, become reluctant and asks, *'What am I supposed to withdraw'?* However, the Speaker insisted that his reference to coup in this democratic dispensation is threatening. The speaker uses negative politeness strategy to bring him to withdraw. This is evident in the words of the Speaker, 'Hon

Chireh, in the search for constitutionalism and democracy in this country, no one enjoys references to coups in our forward march. *Could you kindly withdraw any reference to coups and then proceed'?* The use of 'could' and 'kindly' minimises the imposition of the request. The minority MP finally admits the impingement and uses another negative politeness strategy of apology to withdraw the statement, *Mr Speaker, I have withdrawn the statement referring to coups'*

During Oral Answers to Questions session, a Minority MP wanted to know when mobile network connectivity would be provided in some communities in the Bole District. The Deputy Minister for Communication, in response to the question, used negative politeness strategy of stating FTA as a general rule. This is evident in extract 8 below;

Extract 10

> Deputy Minister for Communication: (*on behalf of* the Minister for Communication): Mr Speaker, globally, the nature of business of Mobile Network Operators (MNOs) is such that coverage is mostly extended to commercially viable areas and the MNOs in Ghana are no exception.
>
> Currently, all MNOs are mandated by their operating licences to fulfil network rollout obligations covering all Metropolitan, Municipal and District capitals. It is anticipated that once all MNOs adhere to this licence obligation, high quality telecom service will be delivered to citizens not only in the district capitals but also surrounding communities will benefit from the spill-over effect of the telecom networks.

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From data extract 10, it is obvious that the Minister does not have a positive answer to the question but would not want his response to be an impingement on the MP. To soften the FTA of the MP, the Minister resort to the use of negative politeness strategy of stating the FTA as a general rule, hence the statement, *"globally, the nature of business of Mobile Network Operators (MNOs) is such that coverage is mostly extended to commercially viable areas and the MNOs in Ghana are no exception."*

Again, the second sentence that, *"all MNOs are mandated by their operating licences to fulfil network rollout obligations covering all Metropolitan, Municipal and District capitals"* also states a general rule that impersonalises the speaker. The speaker avoids the use of the personal pronoun, 'I' that would personalise the statement. The Minister, thus, distances his/her personal involvement in fulfilling the network rollout to cover all Metropolitan, Municipal and District capitals.

The expression, "*It is anticipated*" in the third sentence indicates negative politeness of impersonalising the speaker. The Minister appears to want to assure the MPs that high quality telecom services would be delivered to Ghanaian citizens, however, he/she avoids personalising the statement.

4.1.4 Off-Record Politeness Strategies

Off record strategy is essentially the indirect use of language where one says something that is either more general or completely different from what is intended so that it is left on the addressee to figure out what is intended. According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 211), "a communicative act is done off record if it is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act". Brown

and Levinson (1987) assert also that speakers use off record strategies in order to avoid being responsible for the potential face threats their utterance might carry. Thus, an addresser who wants to avoid the responsibility for doing an FTA can do so by employing the off-record strategies where the interpretation of the utterance is left for the addressee to decide.

Extract 11

> Minority MP: Mr Speaker, before I start, I would want to say a little prayer. My prayer is that, when the young children in the gallery grow up, their portion would not be NABCO but that they would get jobs at Terminal 3 and at Ho Airport. May their portion never be NABCO because NABCO can never be the vision of a country to provide sustainable jobs. I pray to God that that would not be your portion, children. [Hear! Hear!] [Laughter] (23rd November, 2019:2466)

In contributing to the debate on the budget statement 2019, a minority MP sort to use off record strategy of giving association clues. Brown and Levinson (1987) said that off record strategy of giving association clues is done by mentioning something related to an act either by precedent in addresser-addressee's experience or by common knowledge irrespective of their interactional experience. The minority MP introduces a subject which seems to be irrelevant to the debate, *'a little prayer'*. This gives him the opportunity to go off record in doing FTAs. In the prayer, he mentions certain things that are associated with the governments of the NPP and the NDC. He said, *'My prayer is that, when the young children in the gallery grow up, their portion would not be NABCO but that they would get jobs at Terminal 3 and at Ho Airport'*. The word, 'NABCO' is associated with the NPP government. It is common knowledge that the

NPP government introduced the Nation Builders Corps (NABCO) Programme to address graduate unemployment challenge. The objective was to provide temporary jobs for the back lock of graduates who are without employment. His reference to NABCO in the prayer means that when the young children grow, their jobs shouldn't be temporal employment. The minority MP associates 'Terminal 3 and Ho Airport' with permanent employment and gives credit to the NDC government for building those facilities that provide permanent jobs. His prayer is the that when the young children grow, they shouldn't be given temporal jobs, as it is the case with NABCO rather, they should be given permanent jobs in well-established facilities like Terminal 3 and Ho Airport.

Extract 12

Majority MP: Mr Speaker, this budget is the right budget by the right President, at the right time — [Hear! Hear!] Mr Speaker — [Interruption.]

Minority MP: Mr Speaker, first of all, I know wise men do not proffer advice in the open, they do it behind the curtains; and when wise men jump into the fray and they are using very subjective and prescriptive language in the House, we need to be worried.

Majority MP: Thank you, Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, my very good Friend the Minority Leader has made me very proud. This is because he has been struggling hard to equal my record even to the extent of learning how to dress like me when I was Minority Leader — [Laughter.]

Minority MP: Mr Speaker, clearly, I now understand that the Hon A. S. K. Bagbin is still looking for the star.

Majority MP: Mr Speaker, surely, the star has come.

In extract 12 above, the Majority MP employs an off-record politeness strategy of presupposition. His statement that, *'Mr Speaker, this budget is the right budget by the right President, at the right time'* presupposes that a previous budget was not the right budget presented by the right President at the right time. The utterance may thus implicate a criticism of a previous budget presented by a previous government at a previous time, in this case, a criticism of the NPP government. The tautological use of the word, 'right' is also an off-record politeness strategy. By stressing the word, 'right' 3 times, the majority MP expects his listeners to make inferences to the informative interpretation of the word.

In reply to the criticism of the Majority MP, the Minority MP resorts to the use of metaphor, which is another off-record politeness strategy. The Minority MP said, *'Mr Speaker, first of all, I know wise men do not proffer advice in the open, they do it behind the curtains; and when wise men jump into the fray and they are using very subjective and prescriptive language in the House, we need to be worried'.* His reference to the majority MP as a 'wise man' is metaphorical. It is recalled that after former President John Mahama won the 2012 General Elections, three MPs who serve a longer time in Parliament did get ministerial appointments to be part of his government.

Extract 13

> Minority MP: Thank you, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity to support the Motion to thank H. E. the President for his State of the Nation Address. Mr Speaker, on page 13 of the State of the Nation Address, particularly the last paragraph, Mr Speaker, the President asserts that and with your permission, I beg to quote: "The rule of law should remain our guiding and

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> unbending principle. Those of us in public service should acknowledge that corruption is one of the biggest concerns to the people of Ghana. It is the one subject on which a surprising number of people are willing to tolerate a waiver of due process". Mr Speaker, I would want to emphasise the words "…a waiver of due process." Mr Speaker, were we going to set aside article 18 of the Constitution and engage in arrest without warrant or detention without trial, the invisible forces way? Is that what is implied by the waiver of due process by the President? *(1st March, 2017:1958).*

The President indicated in his message to the House of Parliament on the state of the nation that the fight against corruption is so strong that Ghanaians are willing to tolerate a waiver of due process of the law. The Minority MP, in disagreeing with the president's assertion and in order to avoid responsibility for a potential face threat, resorts to using off-record strategies of inviting conversational implicatures by way of asking rhetorical questions and giving association clues. The Minority MP asked two rhetorical questions in succession; "Mr. Speaker, were we going to set aside article 18 of the Constitution and engage in arrest without warrant or detention without trial, the invisible forces way? Is that what is implied by the waiver of due process by the President"? By using rhetorical questions avoids the responsibility for doing the face threat. The Minority MP subsequently denies that he says the President is willing to set aside due process of the law by arguing that, "Mr Speaker, I never said and I am sure I am on record, that, the President is willing to put aside constitutional guarantees in order to fight corruption. It was a rhetorical question that I asked." This statement corroborates Brown and Levinson's (1987) assertion that a communicative act is done off record if the speaker wants to avoid responsibility for doing FTAs. Thus, the

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Minority MP is not on record to have said that the president indicates he is willing to set aside due process in order to fight against corruption.

His reference to "the invisible forces way" is giving association clues to the by-election violence which occurred at Ayawaso West Wuogon in which a vigilante group of the NPP, known as 'Invincible Forces', was purportedly blamed by the NDC for the violence against their members. Though the Minority MP did not mention the be-election violence at Ayawaso West Wuogon, the use of association clues; 'invincible forces' suggests violence though he might not take responsibility for it.

4.2 Research Question 2: What is the frequency of the politeness strategies in the Hansard and their implications on parliamentary proceedings?

The data indicated that the various politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) were used at varied frequency by political actors as observed in the Hansard. The diagram below shows the frequency of occurrence of the various politeness strategies;
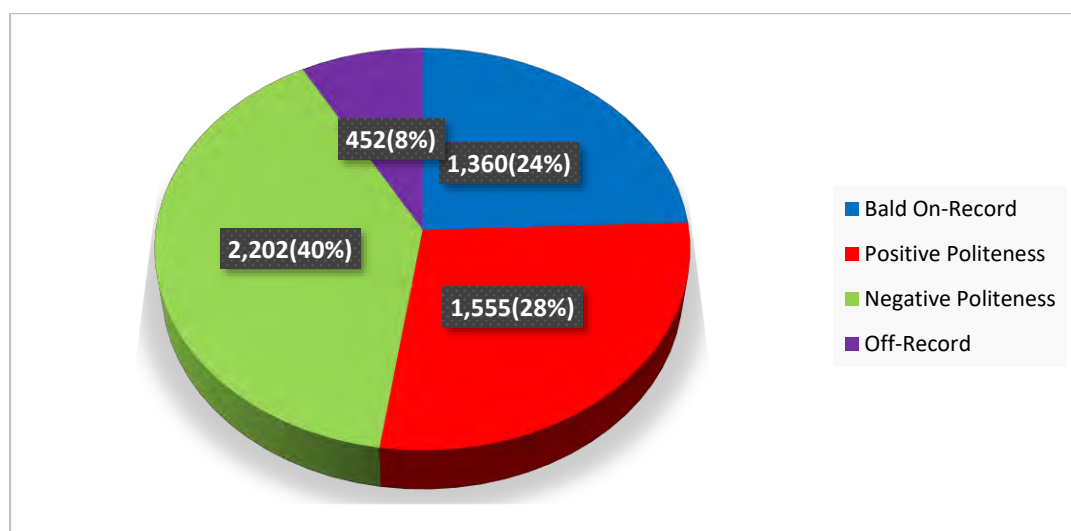

Figure 1: Frequency of politeness strategies

From the diagram, negative politeness is the most frequently occurring politeness strategy observed in the Hansard; 2,202 (40%), followed by positive politeness; 1,555 (28%), then bald on-record; 1,360 (24%) and the least strategy being the off-record politeness; 452 (8%). Brown and Levinson (1987) aver that the negative politeness strategies are employed when the speaker wants to give maximum respect or deference to the hearer. Thus, the frequent use of negative politeness strategies in the Hansard implies that parliamentary actors in Ghana give maximum respect to one another.

The data also show that off-record politeness strategy is the least occurring politeness strategy in the Hansard. In off-record strategy, the speaker avoids doing FTAs directly and rather employs indirect strategies of giving hints, using association clues, inviting conversational implicatures or being vague or ambiguous. The less frequent use of the off-record politeness implies that Ghanaian parliamentary actors use more direct explicit expressions and less indirect implicit forms of politeness. The findings of this study corroborate Sarfo's (2016) findings that politeness in the parliament of Ghana is expressed by direct linguistic forms such as the modal past.

 The findings of this study also reveal that the categories of parliamentary actors, such as the Speaker, the Majority MPs and the Minority MPs, use the politeness strategies at varied frequencies. The diagram below shows the levels of usage of the bald on-record politeness strategies by the various political actors.
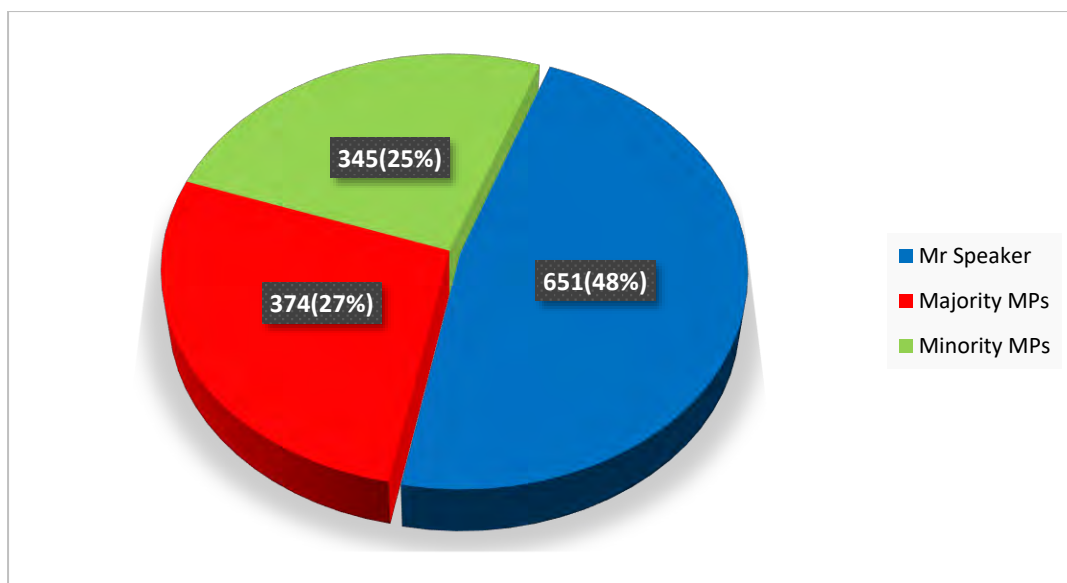
Figure 2: Frequency on bald on-record politeness

From the diagram, Mr Speaker had the highest frequency of usage of the bald on-record politeness strategies; 651 (48%), followed by the Majority MPs; 374 (27%) and then the Minority MPs; 345 (25%). The bald on-record politeness strategies which were used by the Speaker were mostly the imperative forms, uttered baldly without redressive acts some times. For example, *'Order, order!', 'Hon member, proceed'* or *'Hon Member, withdraw and apologise'*. Brown and Levinson (1987) state, that to do an act baldly, without redress, is to do it in the most direct, clear, explicit and brief manner possible and this is in line with Grice's Maxims of Cooperation (Grice, 1975) which also state that interlocuters ought to be informative, truthful, relevant and clear in their communication. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), an FTA is usually done baldly only if the speaker does not dread retribution from the addressee. In the parliamentary setting, the Speaker presides over proceedings and he/she takes a neutral position. The Speaker may not dread retribution from the MPs since the MPs are aware that the Speaker is neutral all deliberations. The Speaker also used the bald on-record strategies in circumstances where urgency and efficiency are much more required than

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face want. Where there is disorder in Parliament, the Speaker may suspend the face need of the MPs and resort to the use of bald on-record strategies such as, *"Order, Order,* or *"Listen, listen to me",* in order restore order. Again, where the threat to the MPs' face is very small, as in making offers, requests, suggestions that are obviously in the interest of the MPs, the Speaker may employ bald on-record strategies such as, *"have your seat*" or *"make your point."* Again, the power relation between the Speaker and Members of Parliament does have an influence on the frequent use of the bald on-record strategies by the Speaker. The speaker is more powerful than the MPs and he determines who should speak. He /she can sanction the MPs if they are out of order.

The implication for the dominant use of the bald on-record strategy by the Speaker is to demonstrate power relations. As the Speaker of Parliament, he/she has more power than the MPs thus he/she reserves the right to exercises this power in order to control proceedings in Parliament. Thus, the Speaker employs the bald on-record strategies to manage the adversarial discourse practice of Parliament. The findings correlate Afful's (2017) study which examined the use of the bald on-record politeness strategy by hosts of adversarial panel discussions on radio. Afful (2017) concluded that in the context of adversarial panel discussion, the bald on-record strategy used by the host is not perceived as impolite since the bald on-record strategy is a useful tool for ensuring that panellists in do not ignore the face need of each. Afful (2017) concluded also that the host of adversarial panel discussion regularly employs the bald on-record strategies to control his panellists for a successful interaction. The panellists seem to accept the use of the bald on-record strategies by the host because as a community of practice, the host reserves the right to employ bald on-record strategies to whip the panellists into

line. Similarly, parliamentary discourse is adversarial thus, the Speaker frequently employs the bald on-record strategy to ensure that MPs go by the Standing Orders. Although the participants would obviously have their face wants threatened by such bald on-record strategies, the face threat is redressed by virtue of their acceptance that in adversarial discourse, the host is sanctioned to use the bald on-record strategies (Afful, 2017).

There are also instances where the bald on-record politeness strategies are done with some special politeness markers such as *'please' or 'kindly*. For example, *'Hon Member, please continue', 'Hon Member, kindly take your seat', Hon Member, please continue'* or *'order, order, please'*. The use of such special politeness markers is meant to soften the command and lessen the threat to face. The Speaker utters these bald on-record strategies under certain relevant circumstances to enable him take care of the face wants of the MPs being addressed. In a circumstance where the Speaker must ensure that there is order in the House and also be mindful of the face need of the MPs, he uses these special politeness markers with the bald on record strategies to control the proceedings. For instance, the Speaker, under the circumstance of a heated debate, where there are interruptions, has to make use of the bald on-record strategy with the special politeness markers, *'order, order, please',* to enable him bring the House to order.

The data also showed that the bald on record politeness utterances used by the Majority MPs were also significant; 374 (27%). The implication of this findings is that the majority MPs appeared to possess certain level of motivation to use bald on-record strategies. The Majority MPs belong to the political party that is in government and

they have the majority numbers. Thus, they demonstrate power being in government. For example, a Majority states that, *"they should go and tell* the parents from Konongo whose daughters went to Konongo Odumasi Senior High School and did not pay a cedi; *they should go and tell a parent in Kpando or Lawra or any other place in Ghana whose child went to school and, for the first time, that parent was not asked to pay anything, that free senior high school is a failure".* Another example of bald on record utterance by a Majority MP is as follows; *"Mr Speaker, …. he should produce it now or else he should shut up and sit down".* The findings thus corroborate Brown and Levinson's (1987) assertion that the bald on-record strategy is used where the addresser is superior in power to the addressee, or can solicit audience support to destroy addressee's face without losing his own. The Majority MPs do not fear any retribution from the Minority MP especially so because even the Speaker of Parliament is chosen from the political party of the Majority MPs.

The data show that the Minority MPs uttered 345 bald on-record strategies, representing 25%. Most of the bald on-record utterance are sympathetic advice to either the President, an individual MPs or the Government as a whole. A Minority MP states that, "Mr Speaker, it is not enough for the President to condemn those acts. *He must put an immediate stop to the lawlessness in the country. He must be seen as Commander-In-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces, not invincible forces".*

The Minority MP employed the bald on record strategy as a kind of advice to the President not to only condemn the act of violence which were alleged to have been perpetrated by the Invincible Forces; a vigilante group which belong to the ruling party, but to ensure that, the violent activities are stopped.
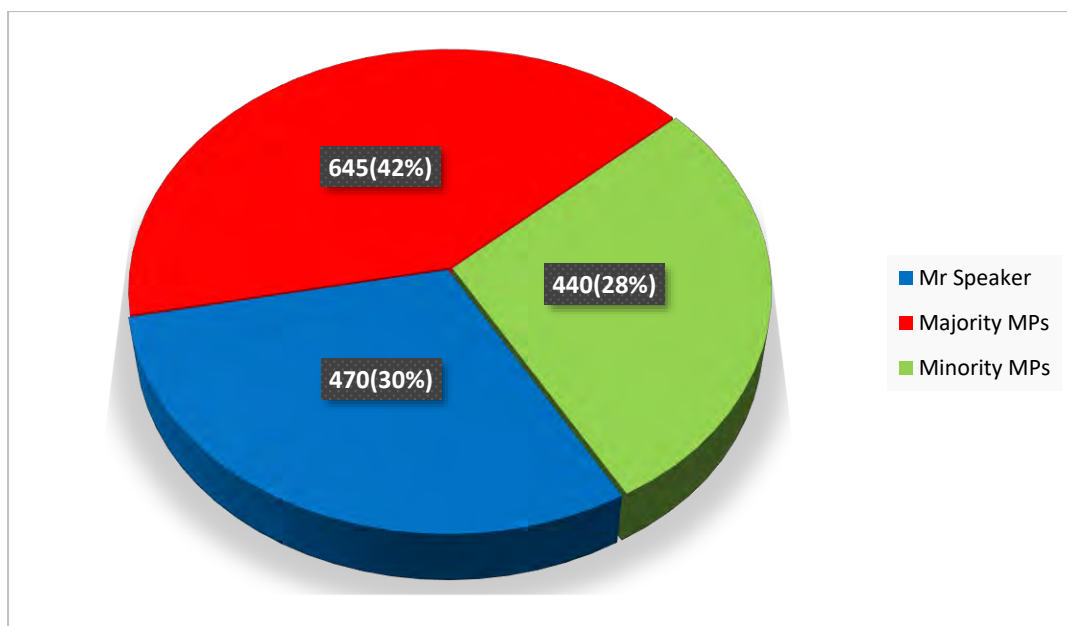
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Figure 3: Frequency of usage of positive politeness

The data indicate that 470 positive politeness utterances, representing 30%, are performed by Mr Speaker. The Speaker's positive politeness strategies are mostly the strategies that convey that Mr Speaker and Members of Parliament are co-operators. For example, the Speaker makes a statement that, *'Hon Members, now that correction has been made let us proceed.'* The statement shows that there is co-operation between Mr Speaker and Members of Parliament. The Speaker also uses positive politeness utterance that fulfils the wants of the MPs. For instance, the Speaker presupposes knowledge of the MPs, shows his concern for them and also gives gifts to them as demonstrated in the following sentence*, 'Hon. Member, you know your time is up but because of the intervention, I have added you two minutes'*. In the sentence above, Mr Speaker presupposes that the MP is aware that his/her time is up. However, Mr Speaker gives the MP some additional time because there had been some interventions. This act by the Speaker fulfils the want of the MP and indicates the Speaker shows

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concern for the MPs thereby ensuring cooperation in parliamentary deliberations. The implication for the Speaker using positive politeness strategies is to claim common ground and save the positive face of the MPs to ensure cooperation during parliamentary proceedings.

From the diagram, 645 (42%) of positive polite utterances were performed by the Majority MPs. This shows that the Majority MPs used the positive politeness strategies most frequently. The Majority MPs often use positive politeness to convey common grounds such as showing agreement, solidarity, cooperation and support for the government of the day. The findings corroborate Ide's (1989) argument that positive politeness is a solidarity politeness that emphasises common grounds. The implication for the frequent use of the positive politeness strategies is to show high solidarity, camaraderie and support for the programmes of the government. They therefore employ positive politeness utterances in their contribution to communication from the President, Ministers and other Majority MPs. For example, the Majority MPs appeared to use positive politeness strategies to contribute to debates on State of the Nation Address and Financial policy Statement of the government, ministerial questions and statements made on the floor of the House by a Majority MP.

The data gathered also indicated that the Minority MPs performed 440 positive polite utterances which represents 28%. The positive politeness strategies were also intended to convey in-group identity markers, hedge opinion, avoiding disagreement and also to include addresser and addressee in an activity.
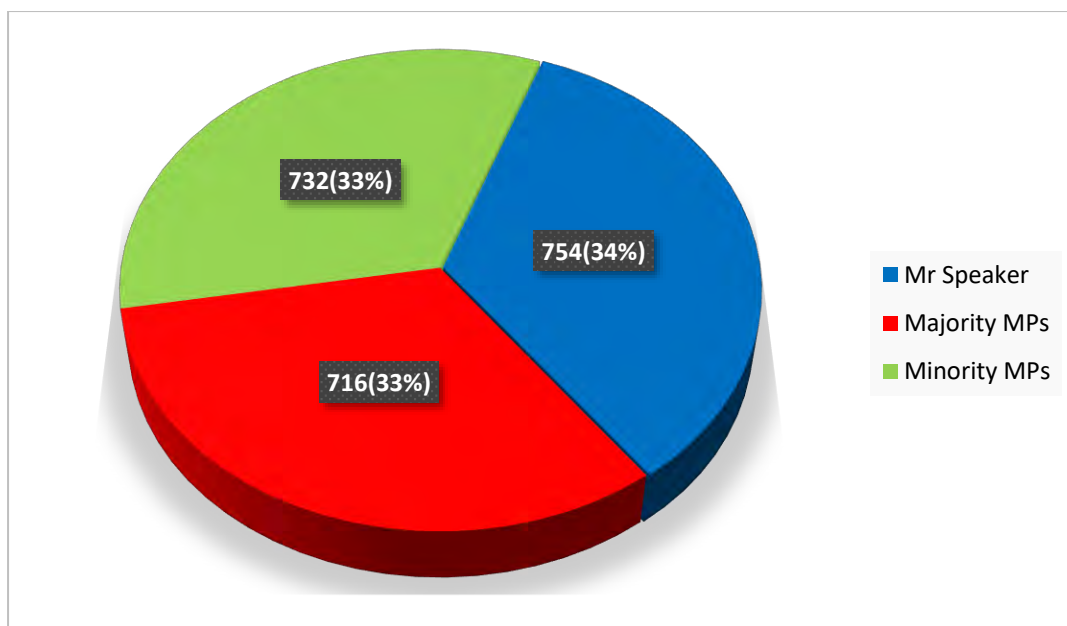
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Figure 4: Frequency of usage of negative politeness

From the diagram, the data show that the Speaker of Parliament uses the negative politeness strategies most frequently than the other parliamentarians. From the 40 Hansard reports that were analysed, the researcher recorded 754 (34%) negative politeness utterances made by Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker's use of the negative politeness strategies is to minimise the imposition so that the MPs would feel that their freedoms are unhindered or unimpeded by the Speaker. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that negative politeness is the most elaborate and conventionalised set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress. Most of the negative politeness strategies employed by the speaker are the act of giving deference, being conventionally indirect and using questions and hedges. For example, the Speaker would always address the MPs as *'Hon Member', 'Hon Member for (name of constituency)'* or *'Hon (name of MP).* By the use of these honorifics, the Speaker raises the status of the MPs and takes care of their negative face wants. The speaker also uses conventional indirect utterances such as *'Hon Member, your time is up'* instead of directing ordering the MP to end or *'Hon*

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will you sit down? (to mean sit down). The use of the modal verbs and hedges such as *'think', 'believe* and *'seem'* were frequent in the Speaker's negative politeness utterances.

The data showed that the Majority MPs used 716 negative politeness strategies, which represents 33%, in the Hansard. The negative politeness strategies that were most frequently used by the Majority MPs are hedges, giving deference, giving apologies and questioning.

The Minority MPs used the negative politeness strategies more frequently as compared to the Majority MPS. The data indicated that 732 (33%) negative polite utterances were performed by the Minority MPs. The dominant occurring negative politeness strategies were; giving deference, questioning, hedging, being pessimistic and apologising. An example of negative politeness utterance by a Minority MP is as follows, *"Mr Speaker, with the greatest respect to your high office, in fact, if that is what my Hon Colleagues from the other side heard, I unreservedly withdraw that part of the statement"*. This utterance implies that the Minority MP admitted the impingement and withdrew the part of the statement that threatened the negative face want of the his/her Hon Colleague.
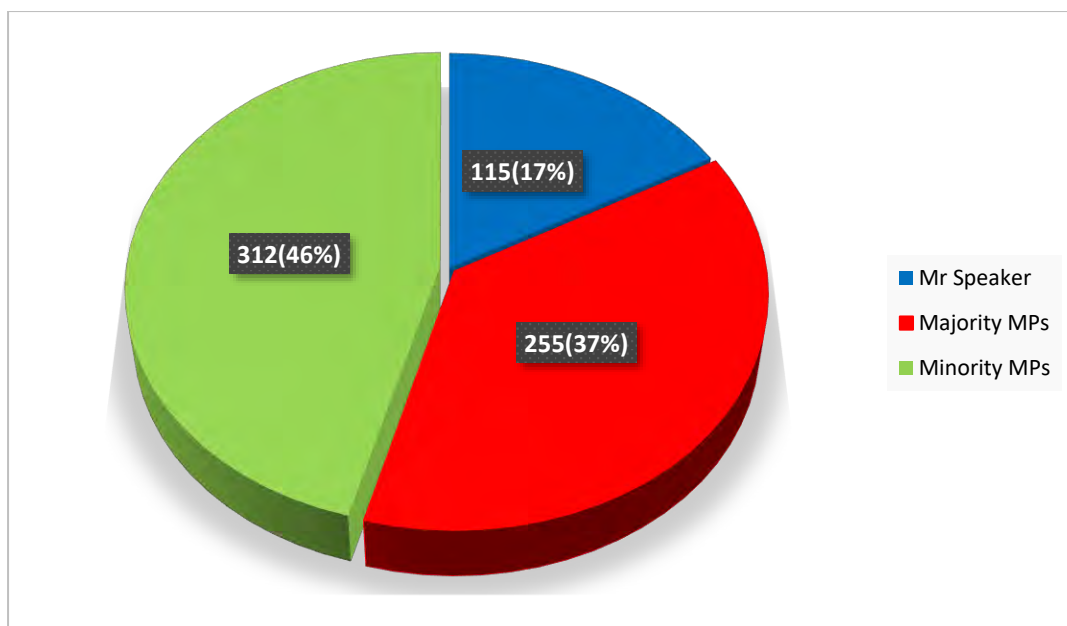
Figure 5: Frequency of usage of off-record politeness strategies

The diagram above show that the off-record politeness strategy is the least politeness strategy used by parliamentary actors in Ghana; Minority MPs uttered the highest number of off-record strategies; 312 (46%), followed by the Majority MPs; 255 (37%) and the Mr Speaker; 115 (17%). Brown and Levinson's (1987) categorisation of politeness placed the off-record strategy as the highest form of politeness. The data showed that 115 off-record politeness utterances were performed by Mr Speaker. The off-record strategies include being vague, presupposing and being incomplete. Some examples of off-record politeness utterance are; *'Hon members, this is the floor of Parliament, 'Hon Member, please'* and *'Hon Member, in conclusion…'.* The statement, *'Hon members, this is the floor of Parliament'* is giving hint to the MPs to remind them to conduct themselves orderly and formerly as parliament is said to be a House of order and formality. The Speaker was being vague with the statement, *'Hon Member, please',* as we do not know exactly what the Speaker intended to say. The Speaker, in the elliptical statement, *'Hon Member, in conclusion…',* suggest to the MP to conclude

while avoiding the direct imperative utterance. These off-record record strategies uttered by the Speaker appear as violation of Grice's maxims of relevance and manner which state that participants should say only what is relevant and should not be ambiguous.

The data show also that the Majority MPs seem to use the off-record politeness strategies at a minimal level as compared to the other strategies. An example of off-record utterances by the Majority MPs are, *"Mr Speaker, if there is anything I would want to say, then there is this gospel song which says; 'everything about you is great'."* The statement suggests that everything about the government is good. The Majority MP thus, sought to agree with the programmes of the government.

4.3 Research Question 3: How do the Standing Orders determine the choice of a politeness strategy in the parliamentary Hansard?

The findings of this study show that a number of Standing Orders of Parliament of Ghana influence how parliamentarians employ politeness strategies in parliamentary debates. Though Watts (2003) states that polite utterances that have become ritualised by rules and conventions should be considered as politic behaviour, the intention of this study is to argue that Watts' politic behaviour could kind of be subsumed in Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory in institutional discourse since the purpose for setting up rules for an adversarial institution like parliament is to ensure that the face of participants is saved for a successful conduct of business. The mitigating strategies that are proposed by Brown and Levinson could sort of mark politeness utterances in institutional discourse and not necessarily politic behaviour.

To begin with Standing Order 86(3) states that,

> Ministers shall be referred to by their Ministerial titles. The Deputy Speakers and the Deputy Ministers shall be referred to by the names of the offices held by them. All other Members shall be referred to as "Honourable" together with the name of their constituencies, that is, "the Honourable Member for", where an Honourable Member has already been so described in a speech he may be further referred to as "My Honourable Friend" or "The Honourable Gentleman, Lady or Member" (Standing Order 86(3), 2000)

The provision in Standing Order 86(3) above seems to make reference to the negative politeness strategy of giving deference. The honorific use of address forms such as, "Honourable", "The Honourable Gentleman, Lady or Member", which have become part and parcel of parliamentary language, confers respect and honour to the addressee. Hence, any MP who fails to use them is deemed to be out of order. The findings corroborate Treimane's (2011) study which found out that certain lexico-gramatical structures such as noun phrases, i.e., *The (right) Hon. Gentleman/Lady, My (right) Hon Friend, etc,* which are used to signify politeness in the British House of Commons are prescribed in the rules of order, known as Erskine May's Treatise on Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament. Also, the expressions, "My Honourable Friend" or "My Hon Colleague" are also suggestive of positive politeness strategy of using in-group identity markers. The House of parliament is regarded as a community of practice and the sense of the we-feeling is highly regarded. Thus, Standing Order 86(3) influences parliamentarians to use both negative and positive politeness strategies during parliamentary debates. The following extract illustrates that parliamentarians are regulated by Standing Order 86(3) to be polite in their discourse'

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Extract 12:

> Minority MP: Mr Speaker, I believe that it is time that we reminded ourselves of the rules of debate of this House. Order 86 (3) says; and with your permission, I beg to read:
>
> "Minsters shall be referred to by their Ministerial titles. The Deputy Speakers and the Deputy Ministers shall be referred to by the names of the offices held by them. All other Members shall be referred to as "Honourable" together with the name of their constituencies, that is, "the Hon Member for …", where an Honourable Member has already been so described in a speech he may be further referred to as "My Honourable Friend" or "The Honourable Gentleman, Lady or Member". Mr Speaker, there is a good reason for this, so that we do not confuse names and also when we make comments, it does not appear as if we are alluding to people personally — it helps us.
> *(12th March, 2013:1452)*

This admonishment was necessitated by the fact that an MP previously refers to another MP as, "Akoto Osei" instead of "Hon Dr Akoto Osei". The reference to the Standing Order seeks to remind the MP to give deference to a colleague MP. Though the rules dictate so, it is also perceived by the Ghanaian society that using honorifics to show deference, especially in a formal environment, is considered a polite behaviour.

Another Standing Order that influences the choice of politeness strategies by Members of Parliament is Standing Oder 93(2). The Standing Order states that, "It shall be out of order to use offensive, abusive, insulting, blasphemous or unbecoming words or to impute improper motives to any other Member or to make personal allusions". This Standing Order requires that MPs should be decorous and respectful to both the positive and negative face want of one another in their discourse. The show of decorum

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and respect for the face want of the addressee has been a practice in Ghanaian society. The extract below demonstrates that Standing Order 93(2) influences politeness usage in parliamentary debate,

Extract 13

> Mr First Deputy Speaker: Hon Members, we shall be guided by the rules and Standing Order 93 which deals with the content of our speeches, and we shall be guided by Standing Order 93 (2): "It shall be out of order to use offensive, abusive, insulting, blasphemous or unbecoming words or to impute improper motives to any other Member or to make personal allusions".
>
> Hon Members, to say he is not a good liar is to say that he is a liar but not a good one — [Uproar.] I rule that the use of 'not a good liar' is offensive and I direct the Hon Member to withdraw and apologise. (23 November, 2017: 3772- 3774).

In contributing to the debate on the Budget statement, a Minority MP refers to the Hon Minister of Finance as not being a good liar because he had observed that anytime the Hon Minister meets a problem in his presentation, he would then be seen fidgeting with his bottle of water. A majority MP rose on point of order and quoted Standing Order 93(2) to support his argument that the statement of the minority MP presupposes that the Hon Finance Minister is a liar just that he is not a good one. The statement of the minority MP therefore infringes on Standing Order 93(2). It is based on this argument that the Speaker quoted Standing Order 93(2) again and gave a ruling that*, "The use of 'not a good liar' is offensive and I direct the Hon Member to withdraw and apologise."* As Leech (2014) argues, to be polite is to speak or behave in a way that appears to give value or respect to the other person(s) you are engaged with in a conversation. The ruling of Mr Speaker therefore enjoins the Minority MP to withdraw the offensive

word and apologise. Thus, Speaker, in exercising his authority, gave opportunity to the Minority MP to redress the FTA by withdrawing and apologising for an offense.

Also, Standing Orders 94 and 102(2) seem to suggest some inferences to negative politeness strategy of using apologies. The Standing Order 94 states that,

> If a Member uses objectionable words and on being called to order fails to retract or explain the words and offer an apology to the satisfaction of Mr. Speaker, any Member may, with the consent of Mr. Speaker, move that the Member using the objectionable words be no longer heard, and the Question on that motion shall be put forthwith without amendment or debate. (Standing Order 92, 2000).

Also, Standing Order 102(2) states that;

> where the Committee of Privileges reports to the House that the statement made by the Member is defamatory of any person, the Member who made the statement shall, within seven days after that report, render an apology at the bar of the House, the terms of which shall be approved by the Committee of Privileges and communicated to the person who has been defamed.

The idea behind these Standing Orders is to point out the need for MPs to offer apologies, which is a negative politeness strategy. The strategy of offering apologies to people who are wronged is a common phenomenon in the Ghanaian society. Ghanaians even say sorry to person they do not even wrong. For example, when a person slips and falls down, a Ghanaian who is close by could say, 'oh sorry' though he or she might not be the one who has caused the person to fall. The Standing Order is therefore a reminder for MPs to exercise a value that has been part of their societal norms.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This study sought to investigate politeness in parliamentary discourse in Ghana. Using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model, the study specifically aimed to achieve three objectives; first to examine the types of politeness strategies that are used during parliamentary discourse. Secondly, the study sought to determine the frequency of usage of each of the politeness strategies and the implications for the choice of the various politeness strategies employed by the various political actors on the floor of Parliament. Finally, the study evaluated how the Standing Orders of Parliament influence the choice of politeness strategies during parliamentary discourse.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

The first objective of this study sought to find out the kind of politeness strategies that are used by parliamentary actors, i.e., the Speaker of Parliament, the Majority Members of Parliament and the Minority Members. The study used the politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson's (1987) and these included the bald on-record strategies, the positive politeness strategies, the negative politeness strategies and the off-record politeness strategies. The findings of the study showed that political actors in the Parliament of Ghana used the four politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson's (1987) in varied forms and degrees during parliamentary discourse on the floor of the House.

The found out that negative politeness is the most frequently occurring politeness strategy in the parliamentary Hansard of Ghana while the off-record strategy is the least occurring politeness strategy. The study also observed that the Speaker uses the highest frequency of negative politeness and bald on-record politeness strategies in the Hansard. The negative politeness strategies employed by the Speaker are the act of giving deference, being conventionally indirect and using questions and hedges. The frequent use of the honorific, 'Hon. Members', by the Speaker underscores the Speaker's desire to raise the status of the MPs. Mr Speaker's use of the negative politeness strategies is to minimise imposition so that the MPs would feel they have the freedom and independence to contribute to parliamentary discourse. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that negative politeness is the most elaborate and conventionalised set of linguistic politeness strategies for FTA redress. This implies that the Speaker demonstrates the greatest maximum of respect to the other parliamentary actors and also show power and control of parliamentary business. Most of the bald on-record strategies used by the Speaker were the direct imperatives, sympathetic advices and warnings. The circumstances that influenced the Speaker's utterances of the bald on-record strategies were instances where there was channel noise and the Speaker needed to get the attention of Members of Parliament. The Speaker also used the bald-on record politeness strategies in situations where there were minimal face threats to the MPs. Again, because the Speaker has much power over the MPs, he did not fear any retribution from the MPs. The Speaker therefore exercised his power by using the bald on-record strategies to enable him preside over parliamentary proceedings. The findings corroborate Afful's (2017) findings that the bald on-record strategy is common and effective in managing adversarial talk. The Speaker's positive politeness strategies were mostly strategies that convey that Mr

Speaker and Members of Parliament are co-operators. Also, the Speaker uses positive politeness utterance to fulfil the positive face wants of the MPs. Positive politeness strategies used by the Speaker included strategies that express sympathy and cooperation with the MPs, intensifying interest with the MPs, asserting commons grounds, and avoiding disagreement with the MPs.

Findings of this study reveal that the Majority Members of Parliament uttered more positive politeness strategies to show approval, solidarity, appreciation and support for the programmes of the government. The findings validate Ide's (1989) assertion that positive politeness is a solidarity politeness that shows common grounds. Also, the data show that the Majority Members of Parliament also used higher number of the bald on-record strategies, next to the Speaker in the parliamentary Hansard. A total of 374 bald on-record politeness utterances were made by the Majority MPs. The Majority MPs appeared to have some power as a result of their majority numbers and also the fact that they are members of the political party in government. This gives them a certain sense of power over the Minority, thus influencing them to utter bald on-record strategies such as, *Mr Speaker, …. he should produce it now or else he should shut up and sit down.* The findings thus corroborate Brown and Levinson's (1987) assertion that the bald on-record strategy is used where the addresser is superior in power to the addressee, or can solicit audience support to destroy addressee's face without losing his own.

From the data gathered, the Minority MPs employed positive politeness through the various positive politeness strategies, however, the dominant positive politeness

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strategies included the use of in-group identity markers, avoiding disagreement with the Speaker and including addresser and addressee in an activity.

The Minority Members were second to the Speaker in using negative politeness strategies in parliamentary discourse. The frequently occurring negative politeness strategies employed by the Minority MPs were, questioning, hedging, being pessimistic, giving deference and apologising. The Majority MPs, on their part, used negative politeness strategies such as hedging, giving deference, giving apologies and stating FTAs as a general rule.

Findings of the study showed that the off-record politeness strategy was the least uttered. In Brown and Levinson's (1987) categorisation of politeness, the off-record strategy is considered the highest level of showing politeness. Off-record strategies are mostly indirect strategies of being deliberately vague or inviting conversational implicatures thus, avoiding direct face threatening acts. This finding could imply that the MPs are more direct in their utterances, as a result, they are likely to threaten the face of one another.

5.2 Conclusions

Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions were made;

The political actors in the Parliament of Ghana, such as Members of Parliament and Mr Speaker used the politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson's (1987) in various forms and frequencies in the parliamentary Hansard. These strategies include the bald on-record politeness strategy, the positive politeness strategy, the negative politeness strategy and the off-record politeness strategy. Further, negative politeness is the most frequently occurring politeness strategy in the parliamentary Hansard of

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Ghana while the off-record strategy is the least occurring politeness strategy. The Speaker uses the highest frequency of negative politeness and bald on-record politeness strategies in the Hansard. This implies that the Speaker demonstrates the greatest maximum of respect to the other parliamentary actors and also show power and control of parliamentary business. The study Majority Members of Parliament use more positive politeness strategies to imply higher solidarity, camaraderie and cooperation among themselves and government appointees. These conclusions confirm Yu's (2015) study that argue that political roles as a government legislator or an opposition member influence parliamentarians' use of politeness strategies.

A number of Standing Orders of Parliament require parliamentarians to employ politeness in their discourse. Standing Order 86(3) require parliamentarians to use negative politeness strategy of giving deference. Although Watts (2003) refers to honorifics such as, *"Mr Speaker", "Honourable", "The Honourable Gentleman, Lady or Member" as* politic language, the intend and purpose of the Standing Order lends credence to negative politeness strategy. Another Standing Order that influences the choice of politeness strategies by Members of Parliament is Standing Order 93(2). The Standing Order states that, "It shall be out of order to use offensive, abusive, insulting, blasphemous or unbecoming words or to impute improper motives to any other Member or to make personal allusions". The study observed that the Standing Order require parliamentarians to employ positive and negative politeness strategies showing approval to the desires of other MPs and minimising imposition on other MPs. Also, Standing Orders 94 and 102(2) seem to make reference to negative politeness strategy of using apologies. The Standing require MPs to offer apologies if an they use objectionable words. This study concludes that Standing Orders 86(3),

93(2), 94 and 102(2) could be provisions would ensure that discourse in parliament is polite and smooth. The conclusion corroborates Gofffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987) assertion as cited David et al (2009) that Standing Orders serve as face savers and to manage, manage discourse and maintain respect and integrity Parliamentarians.

After using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as framework for this study, I affirm that Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is appropriate and applicable for investigating politeness in parliamentary context. My conclusion corroborates O'Donnell's (2013) conclusion that Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory can offer useful insight in analysing parliamentary discourse.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitations of this study was how to select parliamentary Hansards for analysis. There are as many Hansards as parliamentary sittings, some of which are large volumes. I had to download as many Hansard as possible and the glance through each one of them to select the suitable ones. Reading through each of the selected Hansards and identifying the various politeness strategies in the various parliamentary subgenres was indeed a herculean task.

Also, due to plethora of data collected, the analysis took a long time to finish.

5.4 Recommendations

The phenomenon of politeness is fundamental in adversarial discourse settings such as the parliament. Politeness is essential for ensuring cooperation among parliamentarians. The study therefore recommends the following;

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1. Researchers should pay critical attention to the politeness phenomenon in political discourse.

2. Parliament, as an institution, should emphasise politeness in parliamentary discourse during training programmes for new members.

3. It is recommended for parliamentarians to use less of the bald on-record strategies and adopt more of the positive, the negative and the off-record politeness strategies to show more politeness during parliamentary proceedings.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

My study investigated politeness in parliamentary discourse using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as framework.

Future researchers could focus on politeness in the speeches of political and traditional leaders. Also, further studies could be conducted on impoliteness in parliamentary discourse using Culpeper's (2011) impoliteness model.
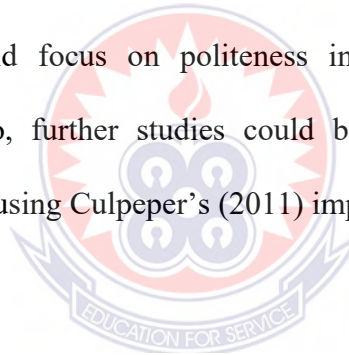
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sample of Parliamentary Debates

Official Report