UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF STANCE MARKERS IN AKAN

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A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF STANCE MARKERS IN AKAN

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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, SANDRA ANOKYEWAA OPOKU declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have been identified and duly acknowledged, is truely my own original work, and that no part of it has been submitted either in part or whole for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

SIGNATURE: ………………………….

DATE : ………………………………….

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

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

NAME OF SUPERVISOR: DR. CHARLOTTE FOFO LOMOTEY

SIGNATURE: ………………………….

DATE : ………………………………….

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family

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ABSTRACT

In our everyday activity, language plays a tremendous part in our daily interaction with each other. Arguing, taking position and making judgment happens daily in our interaction with one another. The need for stance expression and making the position of a speaker clear about what they are discussing is well documented in the literature (Biber, 2006; Kelly & Bazerman, 2003; Hyland, 2005; 2008; Molino, 2010; Myers, 1989; Williams, 2006). This thesis examined the stance markers used in Akan discourse. (Akan is a Niger-Congo Kwa language, widely spoken by both natives and non-natives in Ghana, and part of Cote d'Ivoire). Using a qualitative case study, data were collected from 450 purposively sampled native speakers of Asante Twi at social gatherings, class discussions, and focus group discussion in the Abrepo community for textual analysis. The analysis revealed that Akan native speakers use phrases and clauses as the structural patterns to produce stance markers. Again the types of stances used by the speakers in their conversations were found to be epistemic, attitude, evidential, style and deontic. It was also discovered that the markers were used to express certainty, doubt, imprecision and other functions such asattitude, evidence, style and deontic in conversation. Based on the results, it is argued that it is important to take note of what to and how to use stance marking as they help in taking position and making judgments about issues.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

In our everyday verbal communication, a considerable amount of our expression is used to make judgments as well as evaluations or to show the ability to understand and share the feeling of one another (Biber et al. 2002, p. 436) noted that "speakers and listeners have no time to revise or reconsider the grammatical structures being produced during spontaneous speech". For instance, by saying „*This phone is fantastic*‟, the speaker intends to show his/her evaluation or judgment. By means of the words in italics, no matter which word class they belong to; verb or noun, single word or multi-word expressions, it is to see the speaker show his/her own opinion or judgment on the topic,*phone*, in the aspects of its effect on people, what it can offer, the actions people will or should take, and the like. Certainly, behind every expression there has to be a person who creates it, and whose voice resonates from it (Maynard, 1993, p. 257). From the example, it is safe to say that words and speech are personally involved.

Maynard (1993, p. 3) observes that verbal expressions used in everyday interaction are known to simultaneously convey at least two integrated but distinguishable types of information. First, we describe the objects and events of the world in a propositional construction, and secondly, through the manner of presenting the proposition, we personalize the discourse as we express and reveal ourselves. Maynard appears to follow the works of other scholars such as Holmes (1982) who points out that the devices used in expressing propositions serve at least two simultaneous functions: the expression of certainty/doubt concerning the proposition but also the speaker/writer‟s attitude towards the audience. „Stance‟ in the present study refers to one‟s opinion or attitude toward a proposition or an event, and the like. It involves the speaker or writer‟s personal judgment, assessment, and sometimes the way of persuading listeners or readers, drawing upon his own knowledge, beliefs, and/or immediate perception.

To understand the notion of stance taking, it is essential to make the most prominent importance of the concept of stance. Many researchers have explored stance taking as a research approach which has resulted in an increasing number of studies at present (Englebertson, 2007; Gardner 2001; Hunston & Thompson, 2000; Kärkkäinen, 2003; Wu, 2004). When investigating research on stance, we find many different approaches involving the phenomenon of "stance". To some extent they are looking at the same phenomenon using different perspectives (cf. Jaffe, 2009). The corpus linguist Douglas Biber, one of the most influential investigators of stance, has characterized and defined stance in several slightly different ways starting in linguistics. Biber notes how the mechanisms used for personal expressions have been the object of different studies using different labels for the same or very closely related phenomena, for example, "evaluation", "evidentiality", "hedging", and "stance". According to Biber and Fineggan (1989, p124) stance is "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message." In Biber et al (1999), they write that "stance information in a proposition" and in Biber (2004, p. 124), stance is the expression of one‟s personal feelings, attitudes, judgments, or assessments that a speaker or writer has about the viewpoint concerning proposed information.

As we can see the definitions vary in respect to what mental phenomena are contained in a stance. The two first definitions both include attitudes, feelings, and judgments, but only the first includes commitments and only the second assessments. In the third definition, the phrase personal viewpoint has been adopted as a cover term for the mental phenomena concerned. The definitions also vary in respect to whether the mental side of a stance needs to be expressed at all. In the first and the third definition, a stance needs to be expressed, while in the definition of Biber et al. (1999, p966), it does not. We can also see that while the first definition focuses on the lexical and grammatical expression of stance, the third definition leaves the nature of how stances are expressed open. In addition, all the definitions focus on the expression of individual speakers or writers rather than on interactive relations. Despite the various definitions of stance, this current study follows Du Bois‟ (2007) notion of stance. The reason for choosing Du Bois‟ notion of stance in this study is the dialogical nature of the data which focuses in conversations.

According to Du Bois (2007, p. 220) stance is "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimensions of the sociocultural field." Based on Du Bois‟ definition, it shows that stance emphasizes the point of views of the speaker. Stance-taking is common in many interactions and such stance signals the identity constructed by the speakers. The stance of the speaker in every interaction is also seen as a form of identity construction (Johnstone, 2007). This means that when interlocutors interact, they take stance and at the same time co-construct their identities. The aim of this study is to explore the structure and functions of stance markers in Akan.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Hyland (2009) observes that writers adopt interaction positions anticipating readers‟ expectations with them. Hunston and Thompson (2000) also describe these linguistic resources of interpersonal meaning and interaction as *evaluation.* In every discourse, interlocutors need to make clear statements in order to make good judgment to take a position on the topic under discussion. When interlocutors interact they do not focus much on action or event but express their emotion, attitude and view point. Different stance markers are used in Akan by speakers which when inquire further for their choice of stance; they choose these stance markers just to escape lengthy conversation without evaluation. The choice of stance markers however has effect on the conversation and the end result of making a choice after the conversation.

There have been several works on Akan grammar, Akan customs and tradition, Akan phonology etc. There have also been several works on stance in English. However there is little work done on stance in Akan. Biber et al. (2002, p. 436) assert that speakers and listeners have no time to revise or reconsider the grammatical structures being produced during spontaneous speech. However, their inappropriate use of stance can have consequence on the speaker and their interlocutors. Englebretson (2007, p. 11) observes that "*stance* is public and interpretable, *the stance* is interactional, the stance is indexical and stance is consequential". This assertion points to the fact that stance taking is crucial to our understanding of how people *feel* about something. In spite of this importance, there is little or no knowledge about the consequence of the inappropriate use of these markers and so the need to fill this research gap on the usage of stance markers in Akan and what they are used to express in the language. It is in light of this that the present study examines the occurrence of stance taking in Akan and its consequences on the speaker and other interlocutor. When native and non native speakers of Akan get to know of the various stance markers in the language and the various functions they perform, they will minimize the inappropriate use of stance markers thereby reducing or avoiding the consequence of their usage in interaction.

1.3 Research objectives

The research seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. To identify stance markers used in Akan
2. To examine the structural pattern of these markers
3. Determine the functions that stance markers perform in Akan.

1.4 Research questions

The study addresses the following research questions:

1. What types of stance markers are found in Akan?
2. What are the structural categories of stance markers used by Akan speakers?
3. What functions do these markers express in Akan

1.5 Significance of the study

The study is seen to be significant because it explores the structure and functions of stance markers in Akan and the use of stance-taking to construct their identities through interactions. In addition, this study provides clear explanation that taking a stance discloses the speaker"s identity. The findings of this study can be of help for both native speakers and non-native speakers of Akan to strengthen their relationships and to come up with a good stance marker in their conversation. Furthermore, this study may enlighten the native speakers of Akan in taking a stance and use an appropriate type of stance-taking in various situations. This also provides some useful information on how stance-taking could help in constructing different identities.

1.6 Limitations of the study

This study focuses only on the occurrence of stance-taking among the Akans in conversations. More specifically, the study limits its scope on the use of epistemic stance, deontic stance, attitudinal stance and style stance in conversation. The stance markers analyzed in this study are based on Xu and Long"s (2008) model of stance markers and Biber et al (2002), therefore, other patterns or types of stance are not included in the study. In terms of stance-taking and identity construction, this study used Du Bois" Stance Triangle. Therefore, the emphasis is on evaluation, positioning and alignment in interaction. This means that the data focus only on the recorded conversations,

1.7 Delimitations of the study

The following issues are considered to set the scope and to establish the boundaries of the study. These include the community involved in the study and the participants for the study. The study is limited to Abrepo community within which Kumasi Girls SHS is situated. I considered proximity and language usage for the research site which is the focus of the researcher. The research site as the choice was informed by their readiness to partake in the research. By examining stance markers in Akan, I attempt to identify the types of stance markers identified in the language, its structural pattern and functions for speakers and researchers to become aware of these markers and use them correctly.

1.8 Organization of the study

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 presents a discussion of relevant literature of the study, and the stance triangle as a framework by Du Bois, (2007). The relevant studies captured in this chapter enumerate the meaning of the concept of stance in discourse, stance markers and the types, the similarities and differences among the markers and studies conducted in English and some languages among others. The framework adopted in this study gives analysis of how speakers take stance and how they choose to align or misalign with other interlocutors" base on their evaluation. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology for the study. This covers the research approach and design, sample for the study, and research instruments. This chapter also describes how data were collected, population and how data were analyzed. Chapter 4 discusses the results in relation to the framework of the study. This chapter highlights the types of stance markers identified in Akan, the structure of these stance markers and the functions these markers perform in Akan conversation. Chapter 5 presents the summary, recommendations and conclusion of the study. It gives the overview of the study in terms of new discovery, the implication of the study and recommendation for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter works on the related studies on stance markers and also presents the conceptual framework in the study and analysis of stance markers in Akan. In this literature review, previous research relating to stance is presented and arranged into themes. The other sections examine the notion of stance and related sub-topics to the study. This chapter also discusses the conceptual framework, related studies as well as key concepts that underpin the study, intending to highlight their relevance to the analysis and interpretation of this work.

2.1 Stance in discourse

Defining a stance is not as easy as one might guess due to the complexity of the concept. A Stance is a very difficult concept to study since it covers a wide range of meanings as described by Hunston (2007, pp. 27-28) that it is meaning rather than form. Englebretson (2007) offers an overview of stance and points out some principles for the concept of stance. Englebretson (2007) considers the term *stance* to be an inclusive term that also includes the concept of evaluation. Englebretson (2007, p. 3) states that "to discuss stance in discourse presupposes first that there is a conceptual entity known as *stance,* which we can observe, investigate, research, and write about". He goes on to explain that stance is something that people actively engage in. This means that whenever we speak, our utterances can be analyzed and by inference, people can judge our utterances and make conclusions. That is to say, speakers may take responsibility for their utterances.

Jaffe (2009, p. 30) states that "stance is generally understood to have to do with the methods, linguistic and other by which interlocutors create and signal relationships with the propositions they utter and with the people they interact with". He discusses the previous works of Biber and Finnegan (1989) which focuses on evidentiality and affect as a speaker‟s source of knowledge and their degree of certainty and their attitudes about the statement they utter. He also discusses the work of Hunston and Thompson (2000) on *evaluation* In this work, the authors posit that evaluation is a term for the expression of the speaker or writer‟s attitude or stance toward, viewpoint on, our feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. Jaffe (2009) argues that stance taking inevitably has to do with both epistemic and interactional aspects of perspective-taking in discourse. Jaffe, therefore, explains that Hunston and Thompson‟s second function of *evaluation* cited by Bahrami et al (2018) has to do with how interlocutors try to manipulate each other‟s attitudes being expressed.

In linguistics, the concept of stance was traditionally considered to represent the subjective opinion and perspectives on objects and events (Biber & Finegan, 1988, 1989; Biber et al, 1999; Conrad & Biber, 2000). By this, we can argue that stance is what the speaker thinks or his opinion about what is being discussed. Palmer (2001) presents a grammatical topology of mood and modality, while Biber and Finegan (1988) address the lexical and grammatical marking of stance, with a focus on evidentiality and affect, and the role of adverbials. While some writers focus on mood and modality, others have focused on particular linguistic features associated with stance such as adverbials in general (Conrad & Biber, 2000). In addition, the dialogic practices of stance-taking in conversation have been examined from an interactional linguistic perspective (Du Bois, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006) while Kärkkäinen (2003) analyzes the functions of a particular epistemic stance marker or complement taking predicates such as *I guess* (Kärkkäinen, 2007) and *I think* (Kärkkäinen, 2003).

Several studies have focused on particular constructions used for stance-taking. For instance, Kärkkäinen (2003) analyzed a subject-verb combination that serves as epistemic fragments to index subjectivity and stance in conversation. In addition, many other writers have also contributed to the investigation of stance. For example, Precht (2003, p. 16) observes that stance can be taken as "the expression of attitude, emotion, certainty, and doubt". The author believes that since stance is bound to socialization, its expression is bound to the social and cultural context. Thus, meaning a speaker‟s stance may be influenced by her culture. Precht also cites Martin (2000) who suggests that since stance implies positioning one‟s self, it is more an interpersonal experience than a subjective one. This means the expression of one‟s viewpoint very much depends on the interlocutor(s) and their way of expressing themselves. Kiesling (2009), who makes a distinction between the relationships of a person to his/her own talk and to the interlocutor, claims that the expression of stance is the primary goal of the participants in a conversation. This means that it is expected of every speaker to bring on board, the opinion he has about the subject during the conversation.

Depending on the position a speaker takes towards what is contributed by an interlocutor, taking a stance can often be either alignment or misalignment between discourse participants and their contributions in the discourse process (Kärkkäinen 2006). Keisanen (2006) work is a study on the role of tag questions and *yes/no* interrogatives in the act of positioning oneself or requiring positioning by the interlocutor. Interaction has been the starting point for the taking of a stance. Stance can therefore be seen as "an articulated form of social action" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 137) or as the act of positioning one‟s self in the social act of discourse (Precht, 2003). Stance, as viewed by Du Bois, involves three key aspects of social life: who is responsible for the current act of stance–taking? What is the object of stance? And, what is the value being assigned to the object? On this view, while we are assigning values to or evaluating an object, we are at the same time positioning ourselves and seeking alignment or misalignment. Biber and Finegan (1988) claim that how speakers and writers evaluate knowledge and how affective is realized through linguistic means could be treated under the notion of stance. They studied stance adverbials such as *actuality*, *certainty*, and *generalization* under the notion of stance. From this, they extended their analysis and distinguished between evidential and affective marking of stance. They explained that evidential stance concerns the degree of certainty of expression, while affective stance is related to emotions and attitudes expressed towards a statement. This can further be explained that speakers do not only express stance but also express emotions as well.

Du Bois (2007, p.163) defines stance as "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating an object, positioning subject (self and others), and aligning the subject with other subjects, concerning any salient dimension of the sociocultural field". This means that taking a stance has the power to position social actors to objects, assign value or make a judgment to objects of interest. It is thus considered to be "one of the most important things we do with words which are a linguistically articulated form of social action" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 139). Other writers like Haddington (2004, p. 101) consider stance as "the subjective attitude of the speaker to something". That is the speaker‟s attitude towards what is being discussed or the object of discussion. This is where Du Bois (2007) argues that stance is dialogical. In this situation, the dialogical nature focuses on the speaker‟s engagement with prior utterances and intersubjectivity focuses on the relation between the subjectivity of one speaker towards the subjectivity of others within a single interaction.

Biber et al (1999) state that "in addition to communicating propositional content, speakers and writers commonly express personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments; that is they express stance" (p. 966). They also observe that stance can be expressed in many ways, including grammatical devices, word choice and paralinguistic devices (p. 966). However, Hunston and Thompson (2000, p. 5) use the term *evaluation* as a preferred word than stance and define it as "the broad cover term to express the speaker or writer‟s attitude or stance toward viewpoint on, our feelings about the entities or propositions that he/she is talking about". That is to say, it is the way a speaker expresses his or her opinion as well as his feelings towards what is being discussed. The term stance means attitude, the position of a standing, mental posture, or point of view, which refers to people‟s on different perspectives regarding an issue.

The concept of stance is thus conceptualized differently from one scholar to another depending on the area that they deal with. As a result, scholars vary in their understanding and explanation of stance. Due to these differences in the perspective of stance, Myers (2010) explains that stance has a wider scope and covers many linguistic approaches like modality, evidentiality, evaluation, hedging or metadiscourse. This means a stance can be interpreted in many ways. Hyland (2005, p. 5) explains stance, that they "express a textual voice or community recognized personality". This can be seen as an attitudinal dimension and includes features that refer to the ways writers present themselves and convey their judgment, opinions, and commitments. Englebretson (2007, p. 5) observes that stance is quite rare in both speech and writing, but occur more frequently in writing than in speech. In his work, two important quantitative findings of *stance* came out: First, it is a fairly infrequent word in both corpora. It occurs only three times in the SBCSAE, given a rate of occurrence of 1 token per every 83,000 words of talk. Secondly, he observed that *stance* occurs far more frequently in writing than it does in speech.

He goes on to state that *stance* can be demonstrated/illustrated as physical, personal and moral. Physical *stance* concerns physical body posture, but personal *stance* concerns rather, the speaker‟s beliefs about, attitudes toward, and evaluation of controversial and very personal moral issues. Moral *stance* concerns the beliefs, attitudes, and values. Englebretson (2007, p. 11) observes that *stance* is public and interpretable, *stance* is interactional, it is indexical and is consequential. He identified 20 adjectives that illustrate how *stance* is conceptualized in naturally-occurring speech and writing and summarized these findings concerning the qualitative observation. First, collocates of stance reflect the physical, evaluative, personal and moral dimensions of stance and these categories often overlap. Second, stance is public, is overtly supported by the collocation evidence as well, and Third, stance is difficult to assess in terms of the collocation evidence. In his summary, he offered a quantitative and qualitative overview of how speakers and writers use the term *stance*. This approach to the meaning of stance from a usage-based perspective recognizes that frequency of use, the types of language it occurs in, and the broader interactional, and collocation contexts all play a role in how stance is conceptualized.

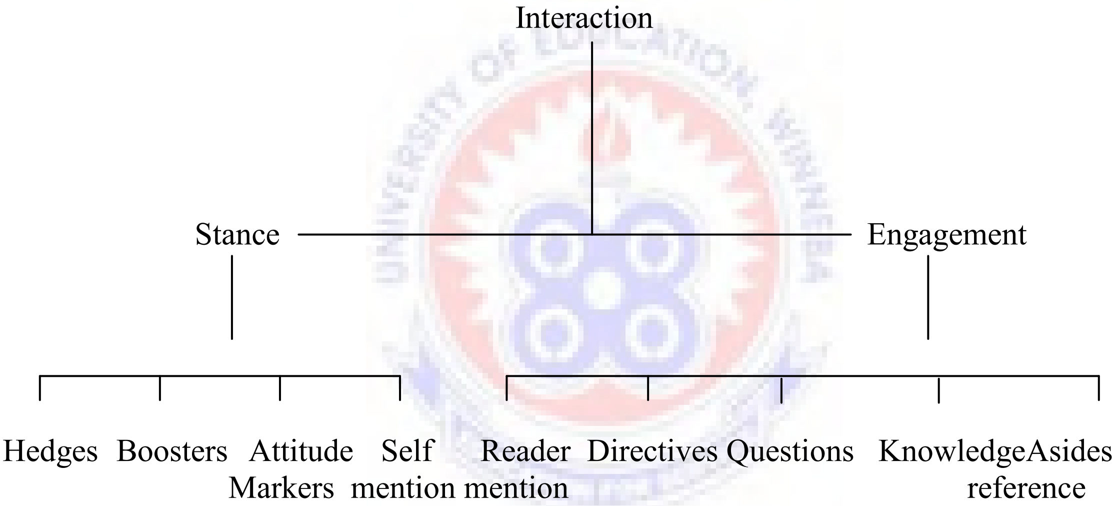
Englebretson (2007) observed that (1) Stance refers to physical embodied actions, personal beliefs or attitude and the social morality adopted at the institutional level, (2) A stance is a public act which is recognizable, interpretable, and subject to evaluate by others, (3) Stance is a relational, interactional notion, and (4) Stance taking has real consequences for the persons or institution. This means that stance is public since it is perceivable and interpretable by others; on the other hand, stance is indexical because it evokes aspects of the broader physical context in which it occurs. In conclusion, a stance is consequential because it leads to real consequences for the person or institution"s point of view. Goffman (1959) sees a stance as *presentation of self*identitied in the interactional sociolinguistic tradition. Again, Englebretson (2007) sees stance taking as a pervasive activity which speakers engage in through the use of language. He demonstrates how Indonesian speakers use first-person-singular (1SG) referring expressions the *–nya*clitic and verbal diathesis (voice) respectively to manage and index three facets of stance taking in everyday conversational interaction. He notes that stance taking in its various forms have been noted for several decades. As Stubbs (1986, p. 1) points out that "whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it". He further notes that the expression of such a speaker"s attitude is pervasive in all uses of language. Englebretson (2007) wanted to expand his view by offering some observations on the social/interactional nature of Indonesian grammar and sought to initiate a discussion of how Indonesian speakers take a stance. He observed that, in addition to fulfilling their traditional cognitively-based referential functions of expressing and managing information, they have specific interactional functions which contribute directly to the social world speakers construct through stance taking.

Wu (2004, p. 3) defines *stance* as "a speaker‟s indication of how he or she knows about, is commenting on, or is taking an affective or other position toward the person or matter being addressed". Wu agrees that there has been research that has dealt with various aspects of stance. He further cites Biber and Finegan (1988, 1989) and Field (1997) whose main focus has been on the linguistic realization of stance and the identification of linguistic stance markers. Wu (2004), in trying to identify the linguistic resources of stance, does not treat stance as the product of an individual‟s performance accomplished by one-way linguistic form onto the stance he or she wishes to put forward. Stance can be explained as linguistic expressions and elements that reflect a speaker‟s attitude towards his/her utterance. Therefore, Biber et al (2000) stated that we must consider not only syntactic but also paralinguistic devices. According to Biber (2006), stance expressions can convey many different kinds of personal feelings, and assessments including attitudes that speakers have about certain information, how certain they are about its veracity, how they obtain access to the information, and what perspective they are taking.

2.2 Stance markers

Carter & McCarthy (2006, p. 208) cited in Jones (2016) define stance markers as a form of pragmatic markers because they do not indicate a propositional meaning but rather have a pragmatic function to "indicate the speaker‟s stance or attitude vis-à-vis the message". Jones (2016) also goes on to explain that stance markers serve to indicate how a speaker feels about the message he/she is trying to convey rather than the content of the message itself.

Englebretson (2007, p. 5) observes that stance is public, is overtly supported by the collocation evidence as well. This means that the speaker‟s attitude towards knowledge also indicates where they got their information from or their source of knowledge. He posits that the meaning of stance from a usage-based perspective recognizes that, frequency of use, the type of language it occurs in and the broader interactional and collocational contexts all play a role in how stance is conceptualized. In his observation, a stance in interaction is predominantly expressed before the actual issue or question at hand. According to Hyland‟s (2005) framework, stance is comprised of four main elements: (1) Hedges (2) Boosters (3) attitude markers, and (4) self-mention.



Hedges are words such as *would*, *could* and *possible,* which emphasize that a statement is presented based on a writer‟s interpretation rather than a fact. Hedges are used to indicate tentativeness in communication and lessen the degree of confidence and precision that the writers prefer to convey. Hyland (2005, p. 7) defines hedges as “devices that indicate the writer‟s decision to keep back complete dedication or commitment to a proposition, allowing information to be presented as an opinion instead of fact”. He states that all statements are evaluated and interpreted through an assumption. In other words, hedges highlight the subjectivity of opinion by allowing information to be presented as an opinion rather than a fact and that opinions are subject to negotiation.

Besides, hedges, according to Hyland (2005), try to persuade readers by opening a diffuse space where interpretations can be discussed. Another definition of hedging is that it is considered as a tentative language to be able to avert possible criticism. Hedging is used to distinguish facts from opinion or "honesty, modesty, and proper caution" (Swales, 1990, p. 174). Hyland (2005) cautions that claim-making is risky because making a claim can contradict existing literature or challenge the research of one‟s readers. This means that arguments must accommodate reader‟s expectations that they will be allowed to participate in a dialogue and that their views will be acknowledged in the discourse. Hedges, therefore, implies that a statement is based on plausible reasoning rather than certain knowledge, indicating the degree of confidence that is prudent attribute to it (Hyland, 2005).

Boosters, on the other hand, are linguistic devices like *surely,* and *actually* which emphasize certainty by allowing writers to avoid conflicting views and stress-shared information and group membership. Hyland argues that boosters allow writers to express their certainty in what they say and to mark involvement with the topic and solidarity with their audience. Hyland (2005) goes on to classify boosters as words that allow writers to express their conviction in what they say and to point involvement with the topic and unity with their readers. In other words, boosters are words that allow writers to stop choice, prevent opposing views, and declare that they are definite in what they say (Hyland, 2005). Words such as *clearly, obviously, highly*, and *in fact* are boosters, allowing writers to express their certainty in what they say and to mark involvement with topic and audience. Both boosters and hedges, according to Hyland, represent a writer‟s response to the potential viewpoints of readers and an acknowledgment of disciplinary norms of appropriate argument. They balance objective information, subjective evaluation, and interpersonal negotiation, and can be a powerful factor in gaining acceptance for claims. Both strategies emphasize that statements do not just communicate ideas, but also the writer‟s attitude to them and readers.

Attitude markers according to Hyland "indicate the writer‟s affective rather than epistemic, attitude to propositions, conveying surprise, agreement, importance, and frustration" (p. 184). By this token, commitment attitude markers like *amazing* and *wonderful*, play a key role in revealing writers‟ attitude toward the subject matter by conveying agreement and signalling shared values. Hyland explains that attitude is expressed throughout a text by the use of subordination, comparatives, progressive particles, punctuation, text location, and so on, and it is most explicitly signalled by attitude verbs (e.g. *agree, prefer*), sentence adverbs (*unfortunately, hopefully*), and adjectives (*appropriate, logical, remarkable*). By signalling an assumption of shared attitudes, values and reactions to the material, writers both express a position and suck readers into a conspiracy of the agreement so that it can often be difficult to dispute these judgments.

Self mention indicates the degree of overt speaker presence in the text, in particular with the use of first-person subject and object pronoun (I, we, me, us). It refers to writers explicitly presenting themselves and projecting their particular identity. Hyland argues that writers cannot avoid projecting an impression of themselves and how they stand concerning their arguments. He believes the presence or absence of explicit author reference is generally a conscious choice by writers to adopt a particular stance and disciplinary-situated authority identity (Hyland, 2005, p. 185). Self-mention, as used by Hyland, can be represented by the first person pronouns and possessive adjectives to present propositional, affective and interpersonal information. Ivanic (1988) believes that all writing conveys information about the writer; however, the convention of personal projection through the first-person pronoun is maybe the most influential way of self-representation.

2.2.1 Categories of stance markers

This section talks about the various markers that speakers use during interactions. This categorization is based on the areas speakers use these markers to indicate what they know and feel about the object. In other words this categorization is about the functions speakers use markers to indicate in a conversation.

2.2.1.1 Epistemic stance markers

Bybee et al (1994, p. 179) as cited in Xu & Long (2008) point out that an epistemic stance marker applies to assertions and indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition. Xu and Long divide epistemic stance markers into three subcategories; certainty, evidentiality, and likelihood.

2.2.1.1.1Certainty stance markers

Certainty stance markers as described by Xu and Long are used to convey certainty, or being sure of the argumentation allows the author to make strong claims or conclusions. They explain that these markers give an accurate picture of the level of certainty. This means these stance markers as described by Xu and Long indicate "a strong sense of probability" and the speaker has a good reason for supposing that the proposition is true (Bybee et al, 1994, p. 180). Xu and Long (2008) compared certainty stance markers to *boosters* in Hyland"s (2005, p. 180). He argued that Boosters as stance markers allow writers to express their certainty in what they say and also mark involvement with the topic and solidarity with their audience.

2.2.1.1.2 Likelihood stance markers

Xu and Long (2008) explain these stance markers as showing a distance between what the writer proposes and what the real world is, of which they explain that both are not the same but own some kind of similarity. They explain that these markers allow writers to open a space for discussion where readers can dispute any interpretation. They argue that authors use these markers to be polite or modest or even to be precise.

2.2.1.1.3 Evidentiality stance markers

Chafe (1986) as cited by Xu and Long (2008) identify three areas: the reliability of the information or the probability of its truth, the modes of knowing or how knowledge is acquired and the sources of knowledge.

2.2.1.2 Deontic stance markers

These stance markers tell the readers about the speaker‟s attitude toward social information of obligation, responsibility and permission (Xu & Long, 2008, p. 12). Saeed (2003) as cited in Xu and Long (2008) stated that deontic stance markers are tied with all sorts of social knowledge: the speaker‟s belief system about morality and legality; and his estimations of power and authority. Necessity/Obligation stance markers Xu and Long (2008) explain these stance markers as the idea the writer holds that some kind of action or event is necessary or is a must to perform according to his belief or estimation. This kind of markers instructs the reader to perform an action or to see things in a way determined by the writer (Hyland, 2005)

2.2.1.3 Attitudinal stance markers

Attitudinal stance markers show explicitly what position the writer is taking and share the function with Hyland‟s attitude markers. Attitudinal markers indicate the writer‟s affective, rather than epistemic, attitude to propositions, conveying surprise, agreement, importance, frustration, and so on, rather than commitment.In the attitudinal stance marker, the writer involves his feeling or emotion in the process of arguing, which is realized by the emotional adjective or verb. Evaluation stance markers express the writer's attitude toward the topic as naturally proposed based on his evaluation. By these markers, the writer forms an idea or opinion about the value of the topic or estimates the nature, ability or quality of it (Xu& Long, 2008, p. 14). Through the evaluation stance markers, the readers will get clear direction about the kind of attitude the writer holds.

2.2.1.4 Textual stance markers

Textual stance markers reflect the writer‟s line of reasoning on how to involve and convince the reader. Hyland (2001) cited by Xu and Long (2008) indicated that in comparison with stance, the ways writers bring readers into the discourse to anticipate their possible objections and engage them in appropriate ways have been neglected in the literature.

2.2.2 Summary

From the discussions above speakers can share their opinion towards an object for an interlocutor to know a speaker‟s stance based on the marker used. This means a speaker‟s stance marker can indicate his/her knowledge about the object of discussion, how certain a speaker is as well as the possibility of something likely to happen upon which he/she can convince the interlocutor to align with him/her. In addition speakers can also use stance markers to indicate our daily duties and responsibilities in the society. Speakers can as well use markers to indicate their feelings or emotions towards the object of discussion. Therefore, this section provided a variety of markers available which speakers can use in their daily conversation based on the message they want to carry across or what they know and feel about the object of discussion.

2.3 Stance taking

One thing we cannot ignore in our conversation is taking a stance. It is considered as “one of the most important things we do with words which is a linguistically articulated form of social action” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 139). Du Bois argued that stance is dialogical in that it focuses on the speaker's engagement with prior utterance and the relation between speakers towards the subjectivity of others within a single interaction.Wu (2004) in his study on stance in talk analyzed the clause-final particles in mandarin conversation. He described how these final particles are used to indicate and mark the epistemic stance. The study of stance-taking may not be taken as a single accent particularly when analyzing discourse because it always goes with stance markers. This means however that stance-taking becomes prominent with the presence of stance markers, and stance markers may sometimes appear as modals. Therefore, modality is seen to be helpful particularly in identifying the stance markers used by the speaker. In other words stance taking is seen as a social action that shares the speaker"s view of an object with their audience and sometimes inviting listeners to take their own stance as well.

2.3.1 Stance taking and the expression of emotions

Stances are not always expressed using words alone. The affective stance is linked with the expression of affect (Scherer et al, 1985, Kärkkäinen, 2005) which is one of the basic needs of humans. The importance of prosodic and gestural features when analyzing the process of stance taking can be illustrated by considering an example like *I really likefootball* with high pitch and a smile on the face as if with low pitch and a serious face have the same effect? Not because the emotion attached to a low tone with a serious face gives the degree of like of the speaker.

Stance is "marked by the tone of voice during loudness and other paralinguistic features" (Biber &Finegan, 1989). Keisanen (2006) in her study on *yes/no* and tag questions, Keisanen notes that prosody is "connected to the expression of emotion" and comes to the conclusion that speech qualities such as high pitch, loudness, or lengthening are "used to index some type of affective stance" (Keisanen, 2006, p. 39). Russell et al (2003) point out how facial and vocal features are connected in the expression of emotion, in speech as an indicator of a speaker's emotion. They also describe how emotions determine the facial display of a speaker in a conversation. The expression of the stance is not merely verbal. It also includes prosody and bodily features. Darwin (2002) cited by Mehrabian (1968) points out that emotions and stance are possible to communicate without using any vocal-verbal features.

Face plays an important role in the expression of affect and affective stance. Following Darwin, six basic universal emotions are recognizable from facial expressions, i.e. anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise. Ekman (1993), claims is that facial expression and emotion are so connected that the former cannot exist without the latter and vice versa. Keltner and Ekman (2000) stress how facial expressions indicate emotions better than any other communication feature. Jakobs et al (1999) state that facial displays are determined by external factors and internal factors where the facial display is a reaction to the social component which expresses emotion and the intensity of a smiling expression is influenced by social context and the intensity of the social stimulus. When studying stance in its multimodal expressions, there is the need to study many different features that can be used to express stances i.e. study different gestures, movement, sounds or position of body parts.

2.4 Types of stance

Over the years, researchers have used a variety of terms to refer to the concept of stance including evaluation (Hunston & Thompson, 1999), affect (Ochs &Schieffelin, 1989), hedging (Holmes, 1988; Hyland, 1996) evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols, 1986; Nuytz, 2001) modality (Palmer, 1979) and stance (Biber et al, 199, Hyland, 2005). In spite of different names used by different writers, researchers sought to find the different ways writers create a social world using different linguistic choices to express opinions and evaluations they engage their audience in. Epistemic stance, as well as evidential stance, will be discussed to help in identifying linguistic stance markers used in Akan.

2.4.1 Evidentiality stance

The concept of evidentiality as developed by Chafe and Nichols (1986) and Gray and Biber (2012) has been developed to stance. Evidentiality is concerned with understanding the source of information and the assessment of its reliability. Chafe argues that evidentiality consists of the speaker's attitude toward reality, their taking responsibility for the context of an utterance and making the source of knowledge (Chafe & Nichols, 1986). They also stated that evidentiality comprised of various modes used by writers through the use of linguistic strategies to realize the truth of an assertion. Chafe (1986, p. 262) as cited in Mushin divides approach to evidential semantics into two types*:* *broad* and *narrow*. The narrow as described by Mushin (2001) restrict the evidential meaning to the specification of types of *source* of information. The broad on the other hand is that evidentiality reflects the speaker's attitudes towards knowledge. In other words how speakers react to knowledge on a subject. Mushin identified the main differences between *broad* and *narrow* whether one considers the core semantics of evidential forms to be about *where* speakers got their information from (i.e. source of information or whether they are about the expression of the speaker‟s subjective relationship to the information they express and the status of their knowledge.

Hyland (2014) also used the term evidentiality and affect similar to what other researchers have done so far and added another component to the concept of stance. Hyland identified three components of stance: evidentiality, affect, and relation. Hyland defined evidentiality as „commitment to the truth of the statement, the degree of confidence and the reliability of the proposition'. The second component, affect, concerns the feelings and beliefs of writers and the degree of engagement with the audience including intimacy. The third component, relations, is used in explaining the relation between writers and readers and is related to how writers construct the presence of their readers.

The evidential category centers on the expression of a speaker's attitude towards knowledge rather than the specification of knowledge acquisition (Mushin, 2001). Mushin explains the term evidentiality as literary evoking the notion of evidence: the sources from which a speaker comes to know something that they want to express in language. Jacobsen

(1986) as cited in Mushin (2001) accredited Franz Boas with the first use of the term in descriptive linguistics. Mushin (2001) however argues that there has been considerable confusion on how to apply the term to particular linguistic phenomena. He believes for some, evidentiality is a minor grammatical category manifested in a small number of the world's language. In addition to this, he also believes evidentiality is a semantic category that may be realized grammatically, lexically or periphrastically. Mushin argues that some forms are considered evidential only if they specify the type of source of information. He also noted that for others, the core semantics of the evidential category center around the expression of speaker attitude toward knowledge rather than the specification of knowledge acquisition or the knowledge one has about the object. Mushin (2001) argues that there is no clear form and that a form should be characterized as evidential only if evidentiality can be analyzed as part of the core semantics of a form. He was however quick to note that there is inconsistency in defining evidentiality due to lack of clear boundary between the specification of source of information and specification of speaker attitude towards the information and its source.

Evidential semantics by Chafe (1986, p. 262) as cited in Mushin divides approaches to evidential semantics into two types: broad and narrow. The narrow definition as described by Mushin (2001) restricts the evidential meaning to the specification of types of sources of information. The broad on the other hand is that evidentiality reflects the speaker's attitudes towards knowledge. In other words how speakers react to knowledge on a subject. Mushin identified the main differences between broad and narrow are whether one considers the core semantics of evidential forms to be about where speakers got their information from (i.e. the source of information) or whether they are about the expression of the speaker‟s subjective relationship to the information they express (i.e. the status of their knowledge).

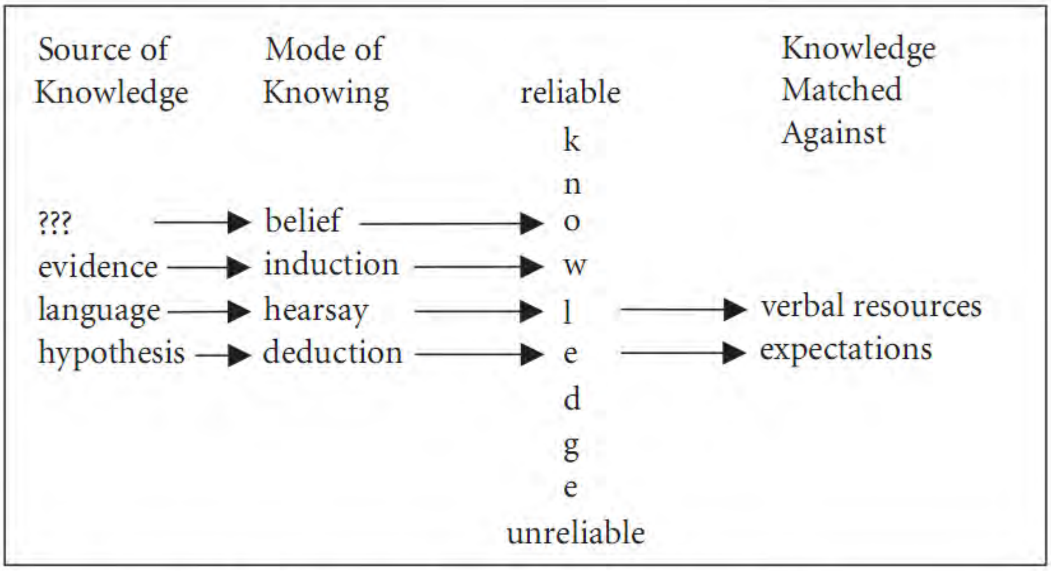
2.4.1.1 Evidentiality as a source of information

Evidentiality which evokes the notion of evidence as described by Mushin (2001) says it is the source from which a speaker comes to know something that they want to express in language. Mushin (2001) describes evidential as coding, "…...the alleged source of information about the narrated event". Bybee (1985, p. 184) similarly describes evidential as "…… markers that indicate something about the source of the information in the proposition". In this way, evidentiality as a form of stance indicates where the speaker got his or her source of knowledge or information that contributes to taking a stance. By the stance triangle, a speaker may choose to align or not to align with an interlocutor base on the source of information or source of knowledge about the object of discussion.

2.4.1.3 Evidentiality as an attitude towards knowledge

Mushin (2001) identified that the problems limiting the definition of evidential meaning with the source-based are to consider these meanings to fall within the larger domain of epistemic modality. Per his argument, evidentiality encodes both speaker attitude and types of source of information whereas other epistemic meanings encode aspects of speaker attitude without referring to the source of information. Mushin cites Chafe (1986) and extends the notion of evidentiality to cover all phenomena associated with the expression of epistemological assessment, independent of its grammatical issues. Mushin (2001) argues from the point that evidentiality is classified *narrowly* as those forms that encode types of sources of information. He, however, said Palmer"s (1986) classification differs from the source-based characterizations. His classification acknowledged that the coding of the source of information may also reflect the strength of the speaker's assessment of their knowledge as a result of the manner of knowledge acquisition.

However, Mushin challenged Palmer"s claim that the whole purpose of evidentiality is to code speaker commitment is therefore too strong. Another significant attempt to characterize evidentiality in terms of speaker attitude is explained by Chafe (1986) which is a description of English evidential coding. Mushin (2001, p. 262) cited Chafe's characterizing evidentiality as an expression of "attitudes towards knowledge". He argues that Chafe's characterization assumes the belief state of the speaker resulting from the assessment of knowledge (= speaker commitment) as the primary motivating force behind the semantics and pragmatics of evidentiality. However, the Chafe's classification of evidential categories is different from Palmer's subdivision of evidential and judgments. In Chafe‟s classification, evidential reflects an inherent relationship between the source of knowledge (sensory evidence, knowledge and hypothesis) and type of knowledge (belief, induction, hearsay, deduction)


Source of Knowledge
Mode of Knowing
reliable
knowledge
unreliable
Knowledge Matched Against
???
evidence
language
hypothesis
belief
induction
hearsay
deduction
verbal resources
expectations

re 2.2 Chafe’s model of Knowledge Types (Chafe 1986:263)

Figure 2.4.1. Chafe‟s model of knowledge

According to Chafe‟s formulation as explained by Mushin, the semantics of evidentiality is about the matching of our type of knowledge, established based on some source, against some measure of reliability. That evidentiality is not simply about sources of information but rather what type of knowledge results from these sources, acknowledges that evidential meanings are not simply derived from facts about the world. Epistemic modality which does not distinguish types of knowledge source falls under the rubric of *judgment* (Mushin, 2001). The epistemic modal system in different languages, therefore, is characterized according to whether they code categories of evidentiality, judgments or both in their grammar. Palmer's division of labor between evidential and judgments results in the classification of epistemic modality: if a (grammatical) form expresses speaker commitment then it is an epistemic modal; if it expresses the source of information then it is evidential, otherwise, it is a judgment.

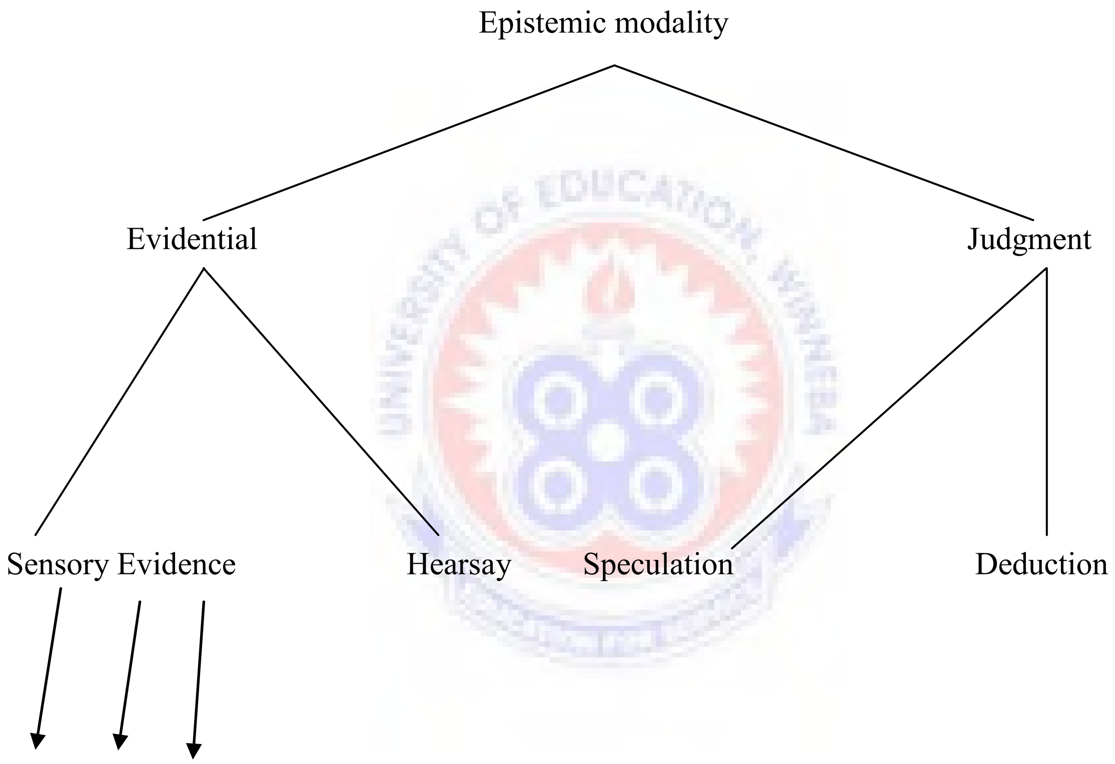


Figure 2.4.2 (cited in Mushin, 2001) Palmer‟s model of epistemic modality

One advantage of his system as identified by Mushin is that it accounts for grammatical systems where a single paradigmatic set includes forms that code source of information and forms that do not refer to the source of information. Mushin was quick to add that despite the neatness of this classification, Palmer does note that the boundaries between evidential and judgment are often blurred. Mushin uses the following examples to claim his point.

1. *It looks like it is going to rain*

2. *It looks like I"ll have to completely rewrite this chapter.*

Mushin argues that the most natural interpretation of (1) is that the speaker knows that it is going to rain because she has seen some evidence of it. (E.g. Rain, clouds). The construction is, therefore *evidential*, under a source of knowledge-based interpretation. In (2) however, it is difficult to infer what kind of visual evidence was involved in concluding that the speaker will have to rewrite a chapter. Mushin"s interpretation of the evidence behind (2) is that the speaker was told (by her adviser) that she would have to write the chapter again, but it may also be the speaker"s assessment of her work. Mushin then concludes that both (1) and (2) involve, situations where it can be assumed that the speaker has deduced the proposition from some kind of evidence and that the source of information in (1) is more predictable than in (2) despite the use of the same epistemic modal construction. Palmer classifies deductions as a kind of judgment yet he also concedes that the use of some evidential implies deductive thinking. I agree with Mushin that the construction *it looks like*……. It has both evidential and judgments depending on the context.

2.4.2 Epistemic stance

Epistemic stance refers to the knowledge that a speaker has of the realization of the event. These stances are rather objective as they refer to real and tested events. In a way, it indicates the personal attitude of a speaker. Claims by Mushin (2001) are that:

> The relationship between speakers and their knowledge of what they talk about is more complex than simply mapping sources of information onto language forms: she suggests that speakers may not only pay attention to how they have come to know what they know, they must also assess the context in which they have chosen, or are required to talk about such topics. (p. 52)

She argued that when speakers are sharing their knowledge, they take up a stance based on how they acquired the information and how best they know it. For example, a speaker may say *this is a good phone, I have used one* or *this is a good phone I was told about it by someone reliable*. This means that speakers take up a stance towards the information they have acquired.

Mushin (2001) states further that epistemological stance is about both the underlying pragmatic pressures that motivate the conceptualization of information in terms of a speaker's assessment of her knowledge and the internal structure of these conceptualizations that result in a variety of mappings onto the linguistic structure (p. 52). Mushin (2001, p. 58) states further that speakers are motivated to take up a particular epistemological stance "partially on the basis of their source of information, but also the basis of their rhetorical intentions", but also in relation to the issue of academic writing to distinctive episteme logical traditions of the discipline they are writing in. She also claims that if speakers come across multiple sources of information, they weigh up the overall states of the information and may choose one type of source based on the stance they take.

She claims further that speakers may take up a range of epistemological stance on particular issues dependent "on the conceptualizing individual‟s assessment of how they acquired their information based on cultural conventions and interactive goals" (p. 59).Chafe & Nichols (1986) view epistemic stance as knowledge or belief vis-à-vis some focus of concern, including the degree of commitment to the truth of propositions, degree of certainty of knowledge and sources of knowledge, among other epistemic qualities. Kärkkäinen (2003) describes epistemic a subcategory of modality form as semantic domain that comprises linguistic form that shows the speaker‟s commitment to the states of the information that they are providing, most commonly their assessment of its reliability. Biber et al (1999) and Thompson (2002) argue that speakers show more concern for making their epistemic stance than marking attitudes or evaluations or expressing personal feelings and emotions. Kärkkäinen (2009) however notes that epistemic modality does not constitute a uniform syntactic category. Kärkkäinen expresses an epistemic stance in spoken everyday American English and that recurrent patterns and forms of organization observed at several levels of language and interaction.

He also wanted to highlight the essentially interactive nature of stance taking and uses the most frequent epistemic item *I think*. The focus was to analyze "I think" within the sequential and activity contexts in which it occurs. The writer"s focus was on the interpretation of the function of *I think*. The encoding of *I think* in terms of intonation units and certain prosodic features such as utterance, stress, intonation, or tone of voice. Kärkkäinen (2009) conducted an earlier study in 1991 and identified markers of epistemic stance in a cross-cultural body of data conversation between native speakers of English of various nationalities. A total of 899 items found in the talk, three main types of epistemic markers were common:

Modal adverbs like: *"really""perhaps" „of course'"maybe*" etc.

Epistemic phrases like *"I think" "I suppose" "I don"t think" "I know*" etc.

Modal auxiliaries like *"might" "will" „should" „may"*etc.

The most epistemic markers identified in her data were

> *I think, she/ he said, I don"t know, maybe, I said, I guess, I taught, Probably, I'm thinking, I remember, Would, Might, could, will, may, apparently, I can"t believe, looks like, of course, sure, I feel like, seems like/to me, I don"tthink, I'm sure, I figure, true, I know, she /he goes, I imagine, I was thinking, Should, (not) necessary, definitely*.

However, she found some markers that only show one or two occurrences. They are,

I bet, I assure, possibly, surely, I have no idea

Some hearsay evidential like, *she/he told me, this man says*

She discovered that *really* and *perhaps* are more prevalent in British speech. *In mostcases* was used as an intensifier as a reactive token quite often or common.

She identified that Holmes (1982, p. 27, 1988, p. 43) proposes the following grammatical patterns expressing epistemic modality which she found in her data.

I (think / believe / guess etc) that ……….. Personalized

It (seems/appears) to me that ……………

It (seems/appears) that………impersonalized

NP (argues / claims) that …….depersonalized

Group (a) was found in the studies of Biber et al. (1999, pp. 667-669) and Thompson (2002). But Group (b) and (c) were quite common in her data: I.e. *seems (to me),looks (to me)sounds (to me)*

Group (d) does not occur in her data. With this, Holmes explains that this form does not involve the speaker's stance but somebody else's? She further noted that these categories proposed by Holmes have been treated under the term parenthetical clause or comment clause which is a wider term than epistemic modality and may comprise non-epistemic types. Such as pragmatic particles *(you know, I mean).* (Biber et al, 2002, p. 383-385) suggeste that epistemic stance, the largest category gives "the speaker‟s judgments about the information in a proposition (p. 384), allowing speakers to express aspects such as the certainty with which they view the proposition". Lyons (1977, p. 793) asserted that epistemic which is a Greek word *episteme* which means knowledge; is concerned with matters of knowledge and belief.

2.4.3Summary

This section gave a broad view of what influences a speaker‟s stance. Evidentiality is concerned with understanding the source of information and the assessment of its reliability. So when speakers are convinced about the source of their information to be reliable they make a stance. Evidentiality literary evokes the notion of evidence; this is to say the sources from which a speaker comes to know something that they want to express in language. Epistemic stance refers to the knowledge that a speaker has of the realization of the event. These stances are rather objective as they refer to real and tested events. So an epistemic stance is based on the knowledge a speaker has about the object of discussion.

2.5 Modality

Modality is derived from the Latin word *modus* which means how. Palmer (1986, p. 2) describes it as a vague notion and leaves many possible definitions. On the other hand, Palmer (2001) argues that modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event. However, Von Fintel (2006) stated that modality is a kind of linguistic meaning and necessity. Lyons (1977, p. 452) definition of modality is the opinion or attitude of the speaker. When analyzing a stance, modality plays an important role to provide a deeper understanding of the speaker‟s message. Modality describes how speakers or writers take up a position, express opinion or point of view and make a judgment (Droga & Humphery, 2002). Perkins (1983) identifies three modalities which are (1) epistemic modality (2) deontic modality and (3) dynamic modality.

2.5.1 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality reflects the degree of certainty or uncertainty the speaker shows in an assertion. Epistemic is “concerned with matters relating to knowledge or believe upon which a speaker expresses his judgment or action” (Hoye, 1997, p. 42). Other scholars like Perkins (1983) describe epistemic modality as referring to the truth and beliefs of the utterance. Hoye (1997) is of the view that epistemic modality is concerned with matters of knowledge or belief of speakers who express their judgment about the state of affairs, events or actions. Coates (1983) argued that in its most normal usage, epistemic must convey the speaker‟s confidence in the truth of what is said based on a deduction from facts known to him. For instance, Kärkkäinen (2003) analyzed the combination of subject-verb of English that serve as epistemic fragments to show how the subjectivity and stance are indexed in America English conversation. Hsih (2009) believes epistemic modality has become an important tool for analyzing the stance based on the truthfulness of the utterance. Zeena (2008) describes epistemic modality as the logical structure of the sentence.

Epistemic modality can thus be defined as linguistic expressions that explicitly qualify the truth value of a propositional concerned with the reliability of the information conveyed and covers expressions of certainty and uncertainty. Epistemic modality can be the status of the proposition in terms of the speaker‟s commitment to it (Palmer, 1986). Bybee and Fleischman (1995, p. 6) state that it can be a clausal-scope indicator of the truth of a proposition. This means epistemic modality may also refer to truth, beliefs, and knowledge that shares some common features with evidentiality, which is the source of knowledge (Kärkkäinen, 2003). Drubig (2001) argued that the modals of epistemic modality have to be analyzed as evidential markers. However, the debates among scholars on the relationship between epistemic and evidentiality are seen to be problematic as to which one is dominating the other. On the contrary, Kärkkäinen (2003) discussed these two notions from a different perspective. Bybee et al (1994, p180) as cited in Kärkkäinen (2003) argued that these two approaches are related to each other. However, according to Biber andFinegan (1989), evidentiality is dominating epistemic modality which means that epistemic modality comes under the evidentiality.

On the other hand, Palmer (1986) stated that epistemic is super-ordinate evidentiality, and therefore evidentiality can be seen as a part of epistemic modality. However, there is no clear cut difference that shows which one comes under what, therefore understanding these concepts may have a wide range depending on how scholars present the two notions. Meanwhile, through epistemic modality, Kärkkäinen (2003) discusses the notion of subjectivity and believes that subjectivity is the participation of evidentiality and epistemic modality. Halliday (1970, p. 349) as cited by Sakyi (2013) explained epistemic modality as the speaker‟s assessment of probability and predictability. Cingue (1999, p. 87) cited in Sakyi (2013) expresses epistemic as the speaker‟s degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition (based on the kind of information he/she has.) Nuyts (2001, p. 21) defines epistemic modality as "(the linguistic expression of) an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world which serves as the universe of interpretation for the evaluation process, and which in the default case, is the real world" (cited in Sakyi, 2013, p. 190).

2.5.2 Deontic modality

Omar (2009) stated that deontic modality is linked with 'necessity' or 'possibility' of acts when the speaker lays an obligation or gives permission for the performance of actions in the future. Hoye (1997) put it as referring to the necessity of acts in terms of which the speaker gives permission or lays an obligation for the performance of actions at some time in the future. For example (a) You may open the door and (b) You must open the door (Lyons, 1977, p. 832). Deontic modality according to Palmer (1974) and Bybee et al (1994) is a speaker oriented modality that includes directives, warnings, and permissions. It is also defined as the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents (Pietrandrea, 2005). Furthermore, the deontic modality has two different characteristics such as cause and futurity which is seen clearly in the examples, stand for the speaker‟s utterance, but sometimes it stands for other person or institution to whose authority the speaker submits whereas futurity always involves a reference to some future world-state (Lyons, 1977, p. 824).

From the discussions so far, it is evident that stance markers can be derived from the modalities used by the speaker. Such stance markers which are closely related to modalities signal the speakers‟ stance in any communicative event. In a way, when taking a certain stance, the speaker somehow displays certain identities. This identity construction occurs when the speaker takes a stance through evaluation and positioning.

2.5.3 The relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality

Epistemic modality has been defined by many scholars and Nuyts (2001, p. 21) defined it as "an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world". There have been many arguments by scholars as to which comes under what, as in Chafe (1986) explained the concepts of evidentiality and epistemic modality have overlapped although there seems to be a distinction between them. Evidentiality, as explained by some scholars, is concerned with the speaker‟s source of information on which he/she is making a claim. Cornillie (2009) argues that the epistemic modality and evidentiality are seen as distinct categories. Cornillie argues that the confusion concerning the overlapping of these domains is due to the frequent association of the mode of knowing and the degree of the speaker's commitment concerning the proposition. He explains further that modes of knowing do not imply any degree of authorial certainty, evaluation, commitment or likelihood of the proposition to be true. The speaker‟s mode of knowing will depend on how the information was obtained, which could be visual, non-visual, through their inferences or from other people‟s inferences.

To Almeida (2012), this terminological issue is due to the confusion that arises from what it is strictly speaking the function of an evidential and its pragmatic effect. Epistemic stance adverbials and attitudinal stance adverbials both comment on the content of the proposition. Epistemic markers express the speaker's judgment about certainty, reliability and limitations of the proposition as well as comment on the source of information. Attitude stance adverbials convey the speaker's attitude or value, judgment about the proposition's content. Style adverbials, in contrast, describe the manner of speaking (Biber et al, 1999, p. 854) cited by Adams and Quintana-Toledo (2013).

2.5.4 Summary

Modality describes how speakers or writers take up a position, express opinion or point of view and make a judgment. Epistemic modality is concerned with matters relating to knowledge or belief upon which a speaker expresses his judgment or action. Deontic modality is linked with *necessity* or *possibility* of acts when the speaker lays an obligation or gives permission for the performance of actions in the future. Chafe (1986) explains that the concepts of evidentiality and epistemic modality have overlapped, although there seems to be a distinction between them. However, the debate among scholars on the relationship between epistemic and evidentiality are seen to be problematic as to which one is dominating the other. Based on this, Kärkkäinen (2003) argues that these two approaches are related to each other. However, according to Biber &Finegan (1989), evidentiality dominates epistemic modality which means that epistemic modality can be subsumed under the evidentiality.

2.6 Lexical choice

Wu (2004) agrees that lexical choice is relevant when it comes to stance taking. Wu cited Biber and Finegan‟s (1988, 1989) extensive research into styles of stance in English and identified twelve categories of adjectival, verbal and modal markers of stance. Wu explained that they used sophisticated statistical analyses and demonstrated how the use of these stance markers can be strongly associated with various stance types in English. Several studies have paid closer attention to the interactive basis for the use of stance markers while Biber and Finegan focused only on the textual relationships between stance markers and styles of stance. Fox (2001) explored the use of evidential marking which is the linguistic encoding of the speaker‟s source of knowledge for a statement in English conversation. Fox looked at differential evidential marking for the same statement on different occasions and by looking at speaker‟s choices of the use or non-use of evidential marking in context where both are available, she argued that evidential marking is sensitive to the relationship between speaker and recipient, and that its use may embody the speaker‟s stance as alternating between distancing him or herself from, or claiming responsibility for statement being made.

The importance of lexical choice to stance taking is not limited to the use of stance markers alone. Wu cited Goodwin (1986) as demonstrating how, through word selection of terms importing a sense of violent conflict (E.g. Clunks, screamed) or from domains such as profanity (E.g. *God damn, son of a bitch*) Whalen and Zimmerman (1990) (cited in Wu) demonstrated how the use of the lexical formulation "*we have*" in citizen calls to the police can figure in what the researchers call "practical epistemology" i.e. how one has come to know about this particular event on this occasion. They argue that in selecting "*we have*" in formulating troublesome occurrences to the police, the caller commonly embodies the stance that the caller is representative of some establishment, doing what a person in this social position is expected. (E.g. we have an unconscious diabetic). Several scholars (like Schiffrin, 1987; Park, 1997, 1998) have pointed to the strong connection between the use of contrastive markers such as „*but*" and their equivalents in other languages and the display of a misaligning stance.

Mori (1999) is cited in Wu (2004) to have provided an extensive analysis of the use of a set of Japanese connective expressions (i.e. *Date*, *Dakara, kara, demo*, and *kedo*) in three distinct contexts: delivery of the agreement, delivery of disagreement and pursuit of an agreement. She demonstrated that the selection of one connective expression over another in these environments can embody a different evaluative stance. She explained that some connective expressions (e.g. *date* and *demo*) are commonly associated with the speaker‟s display of a strong assertive stance toward the matter being addressed, while others serve to partial disagreement. Drummond & Hopper (1993) have looked at the choice of response token and its implications for listener stance. Both studies offer evidence that use of *uh, huh* generally exhibits projected continuing recipient ship on the part of its producer, whereas *yeah* or *yes* commonly move to assume speakership and /or to shift topic. Wu (2004) argues that though response token can be used to embody stances related to recipients as discussed is not the only stance that can be embodied through the use of response token but many studies have documented the capability of response token to display epistemic stance.

Wu discussed an important study by Heritage (1984 b) of the English *oh*. He points out that a major difference between the change-of-state token*oh* and other response tokens such as *yes* pertains to the knowledge state of its producer vis-à-vis the matter under discussion. He offered evidence that while *oh* serves mainly to propose the talk to which it responds as informative to the particle speaker, response tokens such as *yes* avoid just such a treatment and are regularly associated with additional turn components that assent prior knowledge of just delivered information. In exploring the use of English *no* in response to negatively framed utterances, Jefferson (2002) makes a distinction between affiliative and non-affiliative responses. She argues that in contrast to acknowledgement tokens which do not affiliate but merely indicate "I understand what you said," affiliative responses such as *no* can be heard to display stances such as "I feel the same way," "I"d do the same thing," and "I am with you."

2.6.1 Sequential positioning

What renders a particular stance visible on any given occasion is not the verbal construction of a turn alone, but rather its juxtaposition to the sequential location in which it is produced (Wu, 2004). In proposing the central usage of *uh-huh* as a *continuer*, Schegloff (1982, 1993) emphasizes that the status *uh-huh* as a continuer or as a signal of attention is contingent in part on its sequential placement, or after talk that is intended complete, different interactional stances, such as claiming an agreement may present themselves. Gardener

(2001) and Sorjonen (2001) have a similar observation about the impact of sequential positioning on response token both stress that the specific functions of the response tokens they examine are intimately tied to the sequential placements of the talk to which these tokens responded. Koshik (2002) argues that there is no one-to-one correspondence between a question and its interpretation. She suggests that the interpretations rest instead on the actions performed by the questions, their sequential positioning and the knowledge states of the participants. On the other hand, Fox (2001) claims that the selection from among alternative evidential markers can be responsive to the sequential location in which the evidential marker is produced.

Freese and Maynard (1998) in their work on the prosodic features of news deliveries argue that the main concern about sequential positioning in the majority of the body of literature discussed above is its role in delimiting or making sense of the range of stances associated with particular kinds of turn design. Another major work by Heritage & Raymond (2003) was on exploring the bearing of a sequential position on the relationship between linguistic form and stance display. They worked on terms of an agreement- i.e. the management of rights and responsibilities regarding the matter of who is agreeing with whom. Wu (2004) argues that whether or not sequential positioning figures centrally in their discussion of the linguistic embodiment of stance, the majority of the studies discussed agree on the significance of attending to sequential positioning as a resource of turn design and stance displays, though perhaps with some differences in their orientations to the phenomenon. In some studies, the significance of sequential positioning lies in the fact that it can play a *constitutive* and *deterministic* role in giving meaning to certain linguistic practices and to the stance they embody.

Wu (2004) in summarizing the notion of “stance”, shared the following analytic perspectives:Instead of treating the notion of “taking up a stance” as an undifferentiated class of interactional phenomenon, and claiming, for example, that in using structure X, the speaker is “taking up a stance” toward matter T, these studies seek to specify what kind of stance is involved in the use of such a turn design.The studies do not treat stance as a grammatical relation between linguistic elements and context, nor as an internal state of an individual, but rather as an action accomplished within specific sequential positions in interaction (cf. Besnier, 1990; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000).

2.6.2 Identity

For Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is the social positioning of self and others. Identity is defined as people‟s concepts of which they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). It gives people an understanding or idea about themselves of who they are and how they relate to each other. We can also say identity marks how we share similarly with others who share the same position and different from others who do not. Jenkins (1996) put it as how individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities. Blommaert (2005) as cited in Dumaning et al (2011) argue that identity is that who and what one is, depending on the context, occasion and purpose. This means as part of everyday life one constructs an identity. However, the daily use of language happens in the way people interact with each other; the way they project themselves to others the way people write and the way they dress and act. However, identity has to be enacted and performed to be socially salient (Blommaert, 2005). This in effect is that identity must be recognized first by others to be established as an identity.

It is shown that identity is manifested through one‟s talk or discourse, which can be individually or institutionally constructed. This means, identity is not only constructed individually but can represent group identity (Thomas et al, 2004). This in effect can be that a speaker's identity may also represent the group or speech community that a speaker belongs to and is mostly influenced by culture, linguistic, and language choice. Thornborrow (2004) believes identity whether on an individual, social or institutional level is something that we constantly build and negotiate throughout our lives through our interaction with others. However, Goffman (1997) argues further that speakers in one speech event may create multiple identities since every speaker is concerned about how others may perceive him or her. Identity becomes recognizable through a speaker"s use of speaking. On the other hand, Englebretson (2007) argued that people sometimes use language to initiate personal or social identity categories to achieve specific goals. Also, one of how a speaker "performs" or constructs identity can be achieved by packing utterances which index and reflect certain categories.

2.6.3 Summary

Many of the researchers have classified different forms of stance markers according to their functions. For example, Hyland classified stance categories under hedge, boosters, attitude markers and self-mention. It is realized that speakers take stance either based on their source of information; which is evidential stance, or based on their knowledge on the object of discussion, which becomes epistemic stance. Identity also influences one"s stance taking during conversation. Speaker"s choice of expression of stance markers is bound by the natural generation of the language that involves the content word choice. So the word classes used in stance taking are placed close together according to what the language accepts.Freese and Maynard (1998), in their work on the prosodic features of news deliveries, argue that the main concern about sequential positioning in the majority of the body of literature discussed is its role in delimiting or making sense of the range of stances associated with particular kinds of turn design. Identity is defined as people's concepts of which they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others. It gives people an understanding or idea about themselves of who they are and how they relate to each other. It is shown that identity is manifested through one‟s talk or discourse, which can be individually or institutionally constructed.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

Chafe and Nichols (1986) as cited by Bahrami et al (2018) originally developed the concept of stance out of the notion of evidentiality. They classified evidentiality as using linguistic devices to understand the source of information, assessing its reliability and ascertaining the truth of the utterance. Chafe (1986) argues that an evaluation of knowledge is achieved through evidentiality and outlined that there are four major components of attitudes to knowledge. They are the degree of reliability of knowledge, the source of knowledge, how the knowledge was acquired and the appropriateness of the verbal resources for marking evidential meaning (pp. 262-263) (cf.Bahrami et-al, 2018). However, Biber and Finegan (1989) realize that functions of evidentiality and affect have the same grammatical devices which include the two concepts, personal attitudes and emotions as well as assessment of the status of knowledge. They later distinguished epistemic stance, attitudinal stance and style of speaking to the framework (Biber, 2006; Biber & Conrad, 2009).

Hyland (1998, 1999, 2000 & 2005) also analyzed hedges, boosters, attitude markers and self- mention. This framework of *stance and engagement* focuses on stance in academic writing and specifies that writers "annotate their texts to comment on the possible accuracy or credibility of a claim, the extent they want to commit themselves to it, or the attitude they want to convey, to an entity, a proposition, or the reader" (Hyland 2005, p. 178).Hunston and Thompson (2000) cited in Bahrami et al (2018, p. 5) also proposed *evaluation* and defined it as "the expression of the speaker or writer‟s attitude or stance towards viewpoint on, our feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about". They set out four parameters of evaluation, namely, certainty or likelihood, desirability or goodness, obviousness or expectedness and importance or relevance. Another framework is closely related to what Hunston and Thompson call evaluation is *appraisal* which was a proposal by Martin and White (2005). The appraisal model is situated within systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Appraisal modal concerns attitude (the way the writer conveys value), engagement (the projection of authorial voice and stance), and graduation (the force with which the writer adjusts his/her evaluation).

These aforementioned approaches to the stance cited by Bahrami et al (2018) have significant implications for the way we view stance and differ in their perspectives. For instance, evidentiality and affect focus on only one dimension of stance. Meanwhile, other approaches like Biber (2006) and Hyland (2005) have multiple dimensions of stance.This study employs *the stance triangle* as its framework which was developed by J. W. Du Bois (2007). Jaffe (2009) explains stance-taking as taking up a position concerning the form or content of one's utterance, in which the speaker‟s position is built into an act of communication. To understand stance-taking, the stance triangle theory provides clearer explanations on the occurrence of stance taking in conversation.

Du Bois (2007, p. 139) believes one of the most important things we do with words is to take a stance in discourse. He goes on to state that stance has the power to assign value to an object of interest which positions the speaker concerning the object of discussion (Du Bois, 2007, p. 139). This means in every conversation a speaker has the opportunity to make a judgment on a subject and take a position. The model of stance triangle as proposed by Du Bois (2007, p. 141) is articulated in terms of a set of triangle relations among the components of stance. He argues that a stance is a linguistic act and at the same time social act. This evokes an evaluation at one level or the other whether by assertion or inference. Du Bois (2007, p. 143) states that “in many cases, the current stance act resonates both formally and functionally with a stance taken in prior discussion”. This means any stance utterance tends to be shaped by its framing through the collaborative acts of co-participants in dialogic interaction. Du Bois introduced the stance triangle as a way of presenting the components of the stance act and their interrelation.

In conversation, participants normally care who says what and monitor it accordingly (Du Bois, 2007, p. 146). The monitoring of a speaker gives the partner an indication of the identity of the speaker. Du Bois further explains that a real utterance is always framed by its context of use (p. 147). He argued that the key component of the context of any utterance is the context speaker who is responsible for it. He believes just attributing speakership in this way does not reveal much unless the speaker‟s identity carries some significant association for us.

The discussions below will throw light in assembling an analytic content of interconnected concepts and various elements and processes of stance. The key components as discussed by Du Bois (2007, p. 162) include the concept of evaluation, positioning, and alignment, as well as the sociocognitive relations of objective, subjective and intersubjective intentionally. Du Bois sees stance as a single unified act that encompasses several triplet sets of distinct components and processes. Stance, as stated by Du Bois (2007, p. 163), is to be understood as three acts in one- a triune act or tri-act. Du Bois poses a question as to whether evaluation, positioning and alignment represent three different types of stance, but the view from the stance triangle below suggests that they are simply different aspects of a single stance act. The stance act thus creates three kinds of consequences at once. In taking a stance, the stance taker (1) evaluates an object (2) positions a subject (usually the self) and (3) aligns with other subjects (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). This is summed up as “I evaluate something, and thereby position myself and thereby align with you” (p. 163).

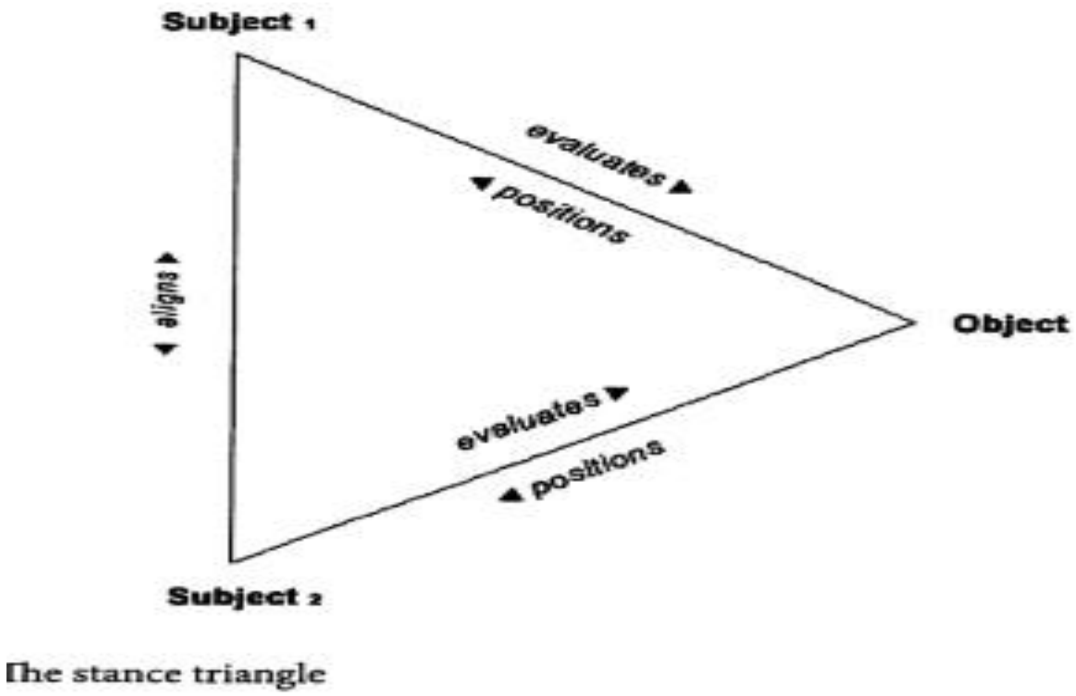


Figure 2.6.3. The stance triangle (Du Bois 2007, p. 163)

The stance triangle is a device used for attending to the structured interrelations among the acts and entities which comprise stance and thus allow participants and analysts to draw inferences. The three nodes of the stance triangle represent the three key entities in the stance act, namely the first subject, the second subject, and the (shared) stance object. He further stated that while the stance triangle comprises the three subsidizing acts of evaluating, positioning, and aligning, these are not distributed evenly among the three sides. Rather, two of the three sides represent evaluative vectors directed from one of the two stance subjects toward the single shared stance object. The stance triangle provides the basis for understanding the causal and inferential linkage that may arise between the various subsidiary acts. The three sides of the triangle represent vectors of directed action that organize the stance relations among these entities but are not distributed evenly among the three sides. The first evaluative vector originates from the first subject, the second from the second subject. The third side of the triangle (the vertical line on the left) represents alignment between the two subjects. Significantly, each of the three stance act vectors is relational and directed, linking two nodes of the triangle. Vectors of alignment many originate in either the first or second subject and are directed toward the other subject. For each vector of directed action in the diagram, an arrowhead points in direction of action‟s object or target. There are a total of six arrowheads.

In accompanying to evaluating a shared stance object, stance takers position themselves. Associated to position themselves, stance takers define alignment with each other, whether the alignment is convergent or divergent. Crucial for the analysis of stance according to Du Bois, all three of three-in-one subsidiary acts remain relevant to stance interpretation even if only one or two of them is expressed in the linguistic form of the stance utterance. The stance triangle shows how a stance utterance that specifies only one of the three vectors can allow participants to draw inferences about the others. For example, if Evelyn agrees with Sarah, she positions herself as taking the same stance as Sarah, including the evaluation Sarah has performed in her prior stance. If Evelyn expresses an evaluation that is effectively the same as Sarah's previous evaluation, we can infer that Evelyn has aligned with Sarah. Du Bois is, therefore, proposing that the structure of dialogic action represented in the stance triangle offers a framework for analyzing the realization and interpretation of stance.

To assess these claims for the theoretical significance of the stance triangle, we need to see in action from these examples of Du Bois (p. 165):

(1) Sam: I don‟t like those

(2) Angela: I don‟t either

The three entities at the nodes of the stance triangle are more or less transparently represented in this example. The first stance subject (Sam‟s *I*), the second stance subject (Angela's *I*) and the shared object (in Sam's utterance *those*) that Angela is referring to the same referent as Sam‟s those. This analysis in terms of stance triangle is expressed in the following diagram

#	Speaker	Stance subject	Position/evaluates	Stance object	Align
1	SAM	I_1	don"t like	those	
2	ANGELA	I_2	don"t {like}	{those}	either

The verbs specify both the evaluation of the object and the positioning of the subject. Angela"s use of either indexes alignment, which was built dialogically off of Sam's prior stance lead. The stance diagraph serves as a useful intermediate stage in the analysis leaching to the stance triangle, which one can in principle then map this analysis onto the stance triangle.

There is one further point about the stance triangle that calls for comment. In the present analysis of stance, the shared stance object plays a critical role binding the subjectivities together. But what about cases where subjectivities don"t seem to involve a shared stance object? This would appear to present a challenge for the present analysis. Yet Du Bois argued that the stance triangle applies even in such less than transparent cases. Du Bois posited that in cases where it may not be obvious that the full stance triangle is in play, it is usually possible to break the triangle down into its component vectors. The stance triangle is a geometric model that visually represents interrelations between three elements of stance taking. Damari (2009, p. 18) states that the stance triangle emphasizes the dialogic and intersubjective nature of stance-taking by drawing attention to conversation participant "turn-by-turn" negotiation of stance. According to Du Bois (2007, p. 165), thestance triangle is a device used for attending to the structured interrelations among the acts and entities which comprise stance to draw inferences by triangulating from the explicit components of stance to the implicit. Stance takings do not only give their evaluation about something (object), but they also position their identities because the subject in the stance triangle is the stance-taker.

During the interaction, the stance taking by the stance taker somehow is based on his background knowledge (Dameri, 2009).

The stance triangle can be the most appropriate to explain how Akan speakers take a stance in an interaction. It gives a clear framework as to how to examine stance among interlocutors. The stance triangle's act is positioning, evaluation and alignments are essential in analyzing stance. Du Bois (2007) provides a detailed theoretical approach to interactional stance, explained that a stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others) and aligning with other subjects. With this explanation stance is conceived as fundamentally interactional and dynamic and that it can shift throughout an interaction.

Du Bois cites evaluation, positioning, and alignments as three aspects of a unified stance act. Evaluation refers to "the process whereby stance taker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value" (Du Bois, 2007, p143), e.g. „that‟s horrible‟. Du Bois terms positioning as an affective stance (in which speakers position themselves along an affective scale e.g. „I‟m so glad) and epistemic stance (in which speakers present themselves as knowledgeable or ignorant E.g. I'm not sure) positioning is defined as "the act of situation social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 144). Alignment, then, is how the relationship between two stances is made manifest, signaled through such utterances as *I agree* or a head nod, or *yes*. Du Bois (2007) insists that a real utterance is always framed by its context of use and that part of that context is the speaker who is responsible for it.

This framework is adopted for this work because in every community language plays a major role. As a way of expressing one view, language is needed. At every point in our lives, there is always something to talk about. In the Akan setting too we encourage conversation among people as a way of maintaining the language and expressing our opinion.

These conversations require more than one speaker and therefore many opinions are required. Every speaker is expected to have the opportunity to speak and express his or her opinion. This means every speaker is expected to share his or her knowledge on the object of discussion before making a conclusion which eventually becomes his or her stance. It will either be that the interlocutors may agree with one speaker or the other or may have a different opinion from other speakers. If the interlocutor agrees with a speaker, he or she only needs to align with the speaker without making any evaluation of the object. But it could also happen that the interlocutor does not agree with a speaker and may not align with the speaker and therefore may take a different stance from the first speaker. This position which is likely to occur in every conversation among communities of which Akan is no exception is what Du Bois has used the stance triangle to explain.

2.7.2 The components of the stance triangle

This framework serves as the motherboard of guides to identify various types of markers and the functions these markers perform. This section talks about what constitutes the stance triangle, the various vectors of the triangle, and how the triangle works in terms of taking stance and the functions these markers perform.

2.7.2.1 The object of stance

In every conversation, before one can make sense of a given stance, we need to know what we are speaking about and not only the speaker. This means a speaker needs to know what is being discussed in other to take a stance. Without the knowledge of the object or subject of discussion, making judgment becomes difficult. What one needs to know is that when deciding on what stance to take on what is being discussed is very crucial in stance-taking. So Hanks (1990) as cited in Du Bois (2007) stated that a crucial part of interpreting any stance utterance is to identify the object of stance as part of the process of referential grounding. This means one cannot make a judgment in isolation unless it is linked to an object. In other words, there should be something interlocutors can take a position on base on their knowledge on the object. If a speaker does not know the object of discussion one cannot align with the other speaker‟s position or take a different position. Therefore, Du Bois argues that the object of stance determines the stance of a speaker based on the knowledge acquired or what the speaker has been told about the object.

2.7.2.2 The subject of stance

The subject of stance in the stance triangle is the speakers or stance takers in a conversation or writing. Du Bois identified two subjects in the stance triangle. They are subject 1 and subject 2. He explained that the subject 1 is always the speaker who first makes a stance in a conversation thereby giving the opportunity to the other interlocutor to either align to subject 1 or make his or her own evaluation of the stance object to position him or herself. For example,

Nana: me$_1$-rebɛ-kɔ Nkran

ISG-PROG FUT-go ACCRA

(I will be going to Accra.)

Owura: me$_2$nsosaa

1SG also same

(I will also go)

#	Speaker	Stance subject	Position/evaluates	Stance object	Align
1	Nana	Me$_1$	rebɛ-kɔ	Nkran	
3	Owura	Me$_2$			Nso saa

„Me$_1$‟is the subject1 or first speaker who took a stance in the conversation above who is Nana in this example.‟Me$_2$‟ being the subject 2 in this conversation is the other interlocutor called Owura who seems to align with subject 1. However, there are situations where subjects of stance may have different stance towards the shared object of stance.

Example 2:

Nana: me$_1$-rebɛ-kɔ Nkran

ISG-PROG FUT-go ACCRA

(I will be going to Accra.)

Asare: ebiamɛkɔ

Maybe 1SG FUT go

(Maybe I will go)

#	Speaker	Stance subject	Position/evaluates	Stance object	Align
1	Nana	Me$_1$	rebɛ-kɔ	Nkran	
3	Asare	Me$_2$	ebia {mɛkɔ}	(Nkran)	

Example 2 gives a clear indication that subjects do not always align but also have opportunity to make evaluation and position themselves. Therefore, the stance triangle gives indication that there can be one stance object to be evaluated and take position but there can be different stance taking on one stance object by stance subjects who are stance takers in a conversation.

2.7.2.3 Evaluation

To make a stance, it will be ideal to know the identity of the stance taker and the object of stance, but Du Bois (2007, p. 149) argues that we remain on the uncertain ground until we know what prior stance the current stance is being formulated in response to. He considered three questions about the context of stance which are likely to be reliant in the formulation of any act of stance taking (p. 151). The questions to ask are*who are the stance takers, what is the stance about*, and *what stance is the stance taker responding to*? These questions, according to Du Bois, can be linked to notions of stance subject, stance object, and alignment. Alignment is the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances and by implication between two stance takers (Du Bois, 2007, p. 144). Thus, if a speaker takes a stance and says *I agree*, it means there has been an initial stance by the first speaker and the current speaker wants to align to the first speaker. In much the same way, the speaker could take a different stance from the first speaker by stating his or her stance without aligning with the first speaker.

2.7.2.4 Subjectivity and Positioning

Subjectivity and positioning go hand in hand. To articulate subjectivity, what is required is an orientation to a specific object of the speaking subject"s stance, combined with the specification of a particular intentional relation. Subjectivity is defined by Kärkkäinen (2006) as the phenomenon in which the speaker shows his or her beliefs and attitude in his or her utterance. In other words, subjectivity is an expression of self and the representation of a speaker"s perspective or viewpoint in a discussion. Positioning refers to the "act of situating a social actor concerning responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 143). This means that the focus is on the stance taker, whose position is usually formed by epistemic stance and interpersonal stance. Subjectivity, by Mushin (2001), is the interpretation of the linguistic expression in terms of some awareness observer, thinker, emoter and speaker. In other words, we say a speaker takes responsibility for every utterance made and thereby tries to position him or herself based on the knowledge of the subject of discussion.

2.7.2.5 Summary

From the discussion on the stance triangle, Du Bois has argued that stance can be analyzed in its fundamental structure as a single unified act which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects and align with other subjects. Key to this framework is the set of three entities being first subject, second subject and stance object in addition to a set of three actions; evaluation, positioning and alignment. The analysis of stance in terms of these lays the basic foundation on which the stance triangle is built. It is seen from the analysis that interlocutors always have one stance object of discussion on which judgment is made where speakers can align or agree with each other. However, this framework has also shown that it is not in all circumstances that interlocutors do agree or align with other speakers and the natural way of communication allows other interlocutors to also evaluate and take position. In addition, the framework has shown that speakers simultaneously evaluate stance objects before they take stance.

2.8 Stance adverbials

Biber et al (1999, p. 996) define stance concerning the expression of the speakers and writers‟ "personal feelings, attitudes, values judgments or assessment". In this, stance as a concept has traditionally been an umbrella term to refer to evaluation (Hunston, 1994; Hunston & Thompson, 2000), evidentiality (Chafe, 1986), affect (Ochs, 1989), Ledge (Hyland, 1998) among others. Hyland (1998) argues that a stance adverbial might also be a hedge to frame a given proposition when used to convey probability or possibility concerning that proposition. Biber et al (2002, p. 382) note that "stance adverbials are adverbials that overtly mark a speaker‟s or writer‟s attitude to a clause or comment about its content". This means a speaker‟s utterance openly displays his/her stance or position about the object of discussion. Biber et al (2002), categorizes the stance adverbials into epistemic, attitude and style. Epistemic stance indicates the speaker's degree of confidence in the reliability of a proposition and his or her comments on the source of information. Attitudinal stance signals the speaker's attitude, feelings, value judgment or expectations about the utterances; therefore, it involves evaluation and emotions. Style stance conveys the way or manner of speaking.

2.8.1 Epistemic adverbials

Epistemic stance adverbials "express the speaker‟s judgments about the information in a proposition" (Biber et al, 2003, p. 382). They categorize epistemic adverbials into six major areas of meaning: certainty and doubt, actuality and reality, source of knowledge, limitation, viewpoint or perspective, and imprecision. According to Kärkkäinen (2008), epistemic adverbs do not contain any explicit subjective elements indicating that this is the personal stance of the current speaker. Some of the commonly occurring epistemic items in her work are*, maybe, probably, apparently, of course, and definitely.*

2.8.1.1 Certainty and doubt

This, Biber et al explain that some epistemic adverbials tell the speaker‟s level of certainty or doubt about the proposition in the clause. Since epistemic stance expresses one's knowledge on a proposition, a speaker's utterance based on his knowledge may exhibit either being confident in his utterance or not committed to his utterance. Examples from Biber et al (2002, p. 383):

1. That sort of gossip should certainly be condemned (NEWS)
2. During the action, the person will undoubtedly have certain feelings towards it and satisfaction from achievement (ACAD). The adverbs *certainly* and *undoubtedly* are expressions that show the speaker is sure and has no doubt in this utterance.
3. *ɛyɛdɛnara* ɔ-bɛhu no

Certainly 3SG-PROG sees 3SG

(He will certainly see him)

Example 3 of Akan language also expresses certainty in their language. If a speaker of the language used the expression „*ɛyɛdɛnara*‟ meaning *certainly* as an indication that there is no doubt in his statement.

Another example (cf Biber) that expresses doubt:

1) In spite of that it was *probably* more comfortable than the home they‟d left anyway.
2) *Maybe* it is true, maybe it isn‟t.
3) *Ebia*ɔ-n-nyaasika

„Maybe 3SG-NEG gets money‟

Maybe he hasn‟t gotten money

These doubt adverbials *probably* and *maybe* are utterances that put the speaker in a position that she is not sure and cannot guarantee its truthfulness.

2.8.1.2 Actuality and reality

Actuality and reality adverbials as explained by Biber et al (2002) give the proposition the status of real-life fact, usually in contrast with what someone might have supposed. They used these examples to explain actuality and reality adverbials

1. I'm taller than the doors
2. Women were superior to men in some respects.
3. (3)Mmaa ho yɛfɛsenemmɛrima

„Women look beautiful than men‟

2.8.1.3 Source of knowledge

Adverbials of the source of knowledge tell us where the claim reported in the proposition came from. They can allude to evidence, as with evidently, apparently or reportedly: These adverbials explain the source of the speaker‟s utterance that has influenced his/her stance. They also explain that a speaker can be specific to his or her source of knowledge. For example,

(1) According to Mr. Kandil, nuclear power was the only clean energy alternative for Egypt (NEWS) (cf Biber et al) According to Biber et al (2002, p. 383), a finite clause can be used to state evidence for the truth of the main clause. This example cited in Biber et al (2002).

(2) It wasn‟t the batteries because I tested the batteries and they were fine.

(3) As Mr. Wardell (1986) notes, once managerial decisions are known they then become the basis on which groups lower down the hierarchy ………..

(4) Lumbakaasɛmmaapɛsika

„Lumba PAST say that women like money‟

(Lumba said that women like money)

In the example 2 *because*- clause does not provide the reason for what is described in the main clause. Rather, it gives the source of the knowledge about the batteries. Similarly, “Mr. Wardell” is the source of ‟knowledge in example 3.

2.8.1.4 Limitation

Limitation stance adverbials imply that there are limits to the validity of the proposition.Example:

Afeyisikabɛbu so

„Year this money PROG abundance‟

(This year money will be in abundance)

2.8.1.5 Viewpoint or perspective

These adverbials mark the viewpoint or perspective from which the proposition is claimed to be true. In this example:

(1) In our view, it would be a backward step (NEWS).

(2) From our perspective, movement success is paradoxical (Acad). Speakers make utterances like *to the best of our knowledge*, *to my knowledge* and other to make their stance to exhibit what they perceive the object from the source of information available to them and how they make their judgment

(3) Me hu no sɛ ɔ-wɔ bi

„1SG see 3SG that 3SG has some‟

In my view he has some

Speakers of Akan use the expression „Mehu no sɛ‟ to exhibit what they perceive to be their judgment.

2.8.1.6 Imprecision

Several stance adverbials lack exactness or accuracy and considered hedges. Hedging adverbials include *a sort of, kind of, and like* are very common in conversation. Whereas imprecision adverbials include: like, sort of, kind of, so to speak.Example:

Asɛ ɔ-wɔsika

„Like 3SG-has money‟

Is like he has money

2.8.2 Attitude stance adverbials

Attitude stance markers tell the speaker‟s attitude toward the proposition. Typically, they convey an evaluation or assessment of expectation. Example:

1. Fortunately, during my first few months here, I kept a journal.

Other adverbials can be used to express different kinds of attitudes. According to Biber et al (2002), attitude adverbials can:

(1) Express expectation. Example: surprisingly, most surprising of all, astonishingly, of course, predictably, etc.

Example in Akan:

Ɛ-yɛnwanwa

3SG-is surprising

It is surprising

(2) It also expresses evaluation: some attitude adverbials given by Biber et al are, unfortunately, conveniently, wisely, even worse.

(3) The third point can express importance.

2.8.3 Style adverbials

Stance adverbials of style comment on the manner of conveying the message. Example: frankly, honestly, truthfully.

1. Well, honestly, I don't know. This means I am being honest when I say I don't know.
2. Nokware ɔ-bɛba

   Honestly 3SG-PROG comes

   (Honestly he will come)

2.8.4 Summary

Adverbs play a crucial role in stance taking. Epistemic adverbials are grouped into six major areas of meaning: certainty and doubt, actuality and reality, source of knowledge, limitation, viewpoint or perspective, and imprecision. A speaker‟s utterance based on his knowledge may be exhibited either in being confident in his utterance or not committed to his utterance. Some adverbs also indicate real life facts.Some also tell us where the claim reported in the proposition came from. There are stance adverbials implying that there are limits to the validity of the proposition.Other adverbials mark the viewpoint or perspective from which the proposition is claimed to be true. We also have stance adverbials that show lack of exactness or accuracy and are considered hedges; stance markers that tell the speaker‟s attitude toward the proposition. Finally, stance adverbials of style comment on the manner of conveying the message.

2.9 Studies on stance and stance taking

Xu and Long (2008, p. 3) argue that stance markers are similar to linguistic signs by which the information conveyed in the proposition or events are often coded with some devices functioning primary, but not necessarily for an objective description of the world and others for language user‟s self-expression. Aijmer (2002) constructed a corpus to examine the writing of high-level Swedish learners in comparison with active speakers and found that when expressing epistemic stance, the learners‟ overused forms of modality in their writing when compared to native speakers.Precht (2003) also examined the British and American conversation elements of the Longman Corpus of spoken and written English to explore differences in the usage of stance markers in these two varieties of English. Her findings suggest that American speakers tend to use more stance markers as what she terms "affect markers". She gave an example that Americans tended to use mere items such as "*cool*" and "*wow*", while British speakers tended to use mere "evidential‟ markers such as "*a bit"* to hedge propositions.

Fordyce (2009) also used a Corpus of Japanese EFL students‟ Language to compare how epistemic stance was expressed in spoken and written modes. This finding suggests that learners tended to rely on lexical ways to express stance, avoided modal verbs and placed heavy reliance on the verb *think*. Gablasova et al (2015) have also investigated spoken epistemic stance in a corpus of advanced English as an L2 speaker of mixed nationalities. The data, taken from standardized speaking tests, contained different tasks in which interaction patterns varied. Results showed that the distribution of stance markers varied depending on whether the task was a monologue or dialogue, with far fewer stance markers used in the monologic tasks. In addition to this, results also show that there was a lot of variation based on personal choice, meaning that speakers of the same level and nationality could use markedly different numbers of stance markers on the same task. Jones then said usage of pragmatic markers can also be influenced by how learners wish to present themselves in their L2 (Jones, 2016).

Several markers indicate stance and communicate that what follows is intended to be interpreted as a position being taken by the speaker. The most common examples in English would be the prefaces, *in my opinion* and *I think*. Kärkkäinen (2003) observes that *I think* is the most frequently used stance marker in conversation despite being relatively infrequent in written. Two distinct modifying capacities have been identified, with *Ithink* performing as an upgrade or downgrade modifier a hedge or a booster. Intuitively, *I think* am the most explicit epistemic marker; in that, a purely semantic interpretation would suggest that it is used to introduce an individual's thoughts on a matter or their attitude towards someone or something. *I think* has been highlighted by Kärkkäinen (2006) who stresses that it is not a framing device for the sharing of purely private mental state. Introducing a proposition with *I think*, Martin and White (2007) argue that it positions the utterance as one of many possible perspectives and thus opens up the dialogic space for possible contestation.

Aijmer (2002) acknowledges that *I think* can vary, and in particular notes that when prefaced with *well* it tends to serve or contain face-saving purpose, functioning as a downtoner to soften the impact of the controversial assertion. She finds that *now, I think* is used to introduce a subjective opinion or evaluation and is often associated with conflict and disagreement. While the status of *I think* as a stance marker or stance-taking device is not contested, the degree of conviction with which it is issued can vary depending on the co-location with other discourse markers or hedges, and its sequential positioning.

Kärkkäinen (2003) analyzed instances of *I think* in the Santa Barbara corpus of spoken American English. In their data, *I think* was found to occur in a turn-initial position in 34% of instances, turn-medial in 61%, turn-final in only 2.4% and as a separate turn in a further 2.4% of instances. By looking at the percentages of the sequential positioning, Kärkkäinen (2003) found out that *I think* was often used at certain trouble spots in an interaction, specifically, when the current speaker wants "to bring in a slightly different perspective or slant to the matter expressed in the prior turn, to disagree with it, or to display uncertainly about its interactional import or relevance" (Kärkkäinen 2003, p. 143). In the literature on stance, a distinction is often made between epistemic and affective stance or between evidentiality/commitment and affect (Ochs, 1996, Biber &Finegen, 1989).An epistemic stance is related to the degree of certainty concerning the object of discussion, while the affective stance is related to the emotional feelings about the object of discourse (Biber &Finegan, 1989). In this sense,epistemic stances are shown while answering a question, while an affective stance is a happiness expressed verbally or with gestures as a reaction to a statement by an interlocutor.

With the verbal expressions, the stance is expressed by the choice of certain words in conversation related to the epistemic or the affective dimension of the speaker"s commitment to the discussion. Other relevant research concerns work on appraisal. Gales (2010), in his study on appraisal in interpersonal threatening discourse, states that appraisal is composed of three systems, which he calls attitude, evaluation, and graduation (Gales, 2010). Gales refers to the work of Martin and White (2005) in order to give an explanation of the three systems. Thus attitude is related to affect, which is the encoding of particular emotions. Evaluation is related to judgment, which is the evaluation, both positive and negative, of behaviours in terms of their normality, capacity, tenacity, veracity and priority (Martin & White, 2005, p30).

Graduation is related to appreciation or the "aesthetic evaluation of things, phenomenon, or processes" (Gales, 2010, p. 30). In Martin and White (2005), attitude is given as the expression of feelings and evaluation whiles graduation is used in discourse to mark intensity or amount. Pretch (2003) studied how *evidential* expresses uncertainty, doubt, and commitment. In her study which is corpus-based, she makes a different categorization than Biber (2004) and Biber andFinegan (1989). Even if the distinction between epistemic and affective stance is common in the literature, it is not without problems. Although a few verbs seem to be epistemic rather than affective, very many other states seem to be blends of affective and epistemic dimensions of meaning. Similarly, some states seem more affective than epistemic. However, they all become more epistemic if made relational and directed to an epistemic object.

2.10 Conclusion

Du Bois (2007) argues that stance is not something you have but something you do, something you take (p. 171). Using the language of Wittgenstein (1953) cited in Du Bois (2007), there are no private stances. Stance can be imagined as a kind of language game in Wittgenstein‟s sense, which unfolds within a recognized framework for interpreting the action. To realize stance dialogically means to invoke a shared framework for co-action with others (Du Bois, 2007, p. 171). Stance is best understood in terms of the general structure of the evaluative, positioning and aligning processes that organize the enactment of stance. From a dialogic perspective, no stance stands alone. Each stance is already specific concerning the participants it indexes. The stance triangle (including its component vectors) thus provides a general account of the framing processes which adapt to both the particularities of the individual stance act and its unique configuration of dialogic-sequential development.

Stance is undeniably complex. Du Bois explains that the ultimate import of stance is that stance is an act of evaluation owned by a social actor. Stance can be shown to bind together the minimum structures necessary to attain the force of social action. The working definition for stance in this study corresponds to Hyland‟s (2005) interaction model where stance is defined as “an attitudinal dimension that includes features which refer to the ways writers (speakers) present themselves and convey their judgments, opinions and commitments” (p.176). It is clear from the discussions that each scholar or writer has their way of representing stance. In a situation where speakers do not agree directly with their interlocutors, they might wish to demonstrate that they understand that disagreement is part of the conversation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of how the study was conducted. These include the research design, participants, sampling techniques and data collection. This chapter also discusses the issue of ethics, challenges encountered in the data collection, and the present the data analysis.

3.1 Research approach

The quality of any research is determined by how the data gathered are used to solve a research problem (Anderson & Miller, 1994). The research approach for this study is qualitative. The approach describes vividly any data collected in order to arrive at reliable and valid findings. In a qualitative research approach, the researcher collects data from participants and analyzes them in a form of descriptions to arrive at research findings. This approach is used because the nature of the information needed to conduct the study is purely descriptive and oral which does not need any form of manipulations by the researcher. Selinger and Shohamy (1989) consider this type of approach as one that avoids the researcher‟s cultural and intellectual biases to interfere with the data. Therefore I adopted this approach in order to describe the various stance markers used in Akan and the various categories they fall in. This approach also helps me to describe communicative conditions under which these stance markers of Akan are used.

3.2 Research design

The research design for this work is case study. Amedahe (2002) indicates that a research design is a plan or blueprint that specifies how data relating to a given problem should be collected and analyzed. Zainal (2007) explains that case studies, in their true sense, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships. Yin (1984, p. 23) cited in Zainal (2007, p. 2) defines the case study research as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used". Case study seeks to find answers to the „why" and „how" types of questions. Since my research seeks to find how Akan speakers express stance markers in the language, case study as a research design fits the work.

Case study narrows the scope of the description of the study by limiting the study to the boundaries of the issues being studied. My work is limited to Akan speakers alone and does not try to extend to any other local language in Ghana hence limiting the research which falls under case study. A case study has to give a statement or assertion that expresses a judgment or opinion. A case study is used in the description of a phenomenon and this description means the data could be organized into different sub headings based on the knowledge, justification or arguments that exist independently from experience. An analysis conducted by Varapu et al (2008, p. 8) inferred that case study method is the only method which could address all the requirements set forth by research design. They note that the case study method is an effective way of doing research while dealing with problems involving human interaction.

Since my work falls in conversation and deals with interactions and expressing opinion case study as a research design fits the work. Case study method has specific procedures, techniques and strategies for conducting a systematic empirical research. It could be considered as the best available method for constructing theories and generalizing study findings. Case study method does not need a large sample, aims for analytic generalization, utilizes multiple methods of data collection/analysis, and triangulates data. It does all the above within the context of the problem, with minimal interruption. I employed case study since am studying a single phenomenon; stance makers in Akan.

3.3 Research site

The research site for this project is Kumasi, the capital town of the Ashanti Region. More specifically Abrepo community, a suburb of Kumasi within which Kumasi Girls SHS is located. The school is the only second cycle institution located in the community and for proximity sake I chose to work with the community and the school where I work. The students offering Akan as their elective subject were recruited for this project.

3.4 Participants

The participants for this study were students of Kumasi Girls SHS 2, a section of the staff who are Akan native speakers and speak the language fluently, and Abrepo community, where I interacted with and was part of some of their social gathering to gather data as part of my field notes. The students were selected because they were available at the start of the project till the time the project was completed. Classes selected among the SHS2 students were classes offering Akan as their elective subject and have opportunity to use the language for 24 periods within the week, since the official language and medium of communication in the school is English. The teachers selected were those who were willing and ready to participate in the research and were ready to be interviewed.

3.5 Population

Polit and Hungler (1999) define population as the entire aggregation of cases that meet designated set of criteria. They further argue that whatever the basic unit, the population always remains the entire aggregation of elements in which the researcher is interested. The population for this study is Kumasi Girls SHS comprised of students of Green track system who are offering Akan (Twi) as their elective subject in addition to ten teaching staff members and some members of the Abrepo community.

3.6 Sampling technique

The purposive sampling technique was used for this study. The technique was used to select the classes and students for the study. The criteria for participation are to be able to speak the Akan language and express oneself fully in the language. In addition, the participants should have an opportunity to use the language frequently. Asamoah-Gyimah and Anane (2016) have indicated that the purposive sampling technique enables the researcher to select participants on the basis of their knowledge about the issue under the study. The availability of the participants and the distance of their locations should also be considered. Kumasi Girls SHS is an institution whose medium of instruction and communication is English. Therefore, the classes offering Akan as their elective subject were used since they have the opportunity to use the language during the two hour‟s lesson daily. The teachers selected are those who are native speakers of the language and were ready to participate in the research work in terms of granting interviews. In addition, the Abrepo community was also selected because of proximity and the use of Akan as their medium of communication. Therefore, the sample size for this research work was 450 native Akan speakers.

3.7 Data collection instruments

The data were collected from June 2019 to January 2020 in class during discussions. The recordings were done with the knowledge of the students and teachers involved. I did not interview any Abrepo community member and therefore did not inform them of my research work but only took part in their social gatherings and church programs to take field notes. I collected the data from the primary source and resorted to interviewing, focus group discussion, audio recording and field notes. The data from the focus group discussion were transcribed for the purpose of this work. Although the class lessons were recorded, the background was noisy and their utterances could not be heard clearly. However, the focus group was isolated from the general class to a serene environment which made the audio clear enough to transcribe. Conversations and interview were used to obtain data containing stance markers.

3.7.1 Interview

This is an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. On the basis of data collection process for any research work, the researcher interacts with the participants in order to obtain relevant information from them. Interviews can create opportunity for the researcher to translate questions into a local language for easy participation by respondents, especially when respondents are predominantly illiterates (Kumephor, 2002). I employed unstructured form of interview to enable respondents to freely talk about personal issues and their evaluations on current happenings in the country in their own language without restrictions. The reason was that the information needed for the study was purely a form of oral work that required open discussions. The interview was done individually at each place that the researcher found the respondents.

3.7.2 Conversations

These are verbal interactions between groups of people on an issue. The type of conversational strategy the researcher employed in collecting data on stance markers used in Akan was group conversation. In this type of conversation, respondents are made to freely contribute to a topic under discussion. It does not really follow a particular pattern. The motive behind using conversations is that it gives each participant freedom to express herself so as to get the various forms they use to take stance in a concept. The form of data relevant for the study could also be generated through conversations rather than interviewing participants individually. All relevant discussions in the conversations were recorded using an android phone.

3.7.3 Focus group discussion

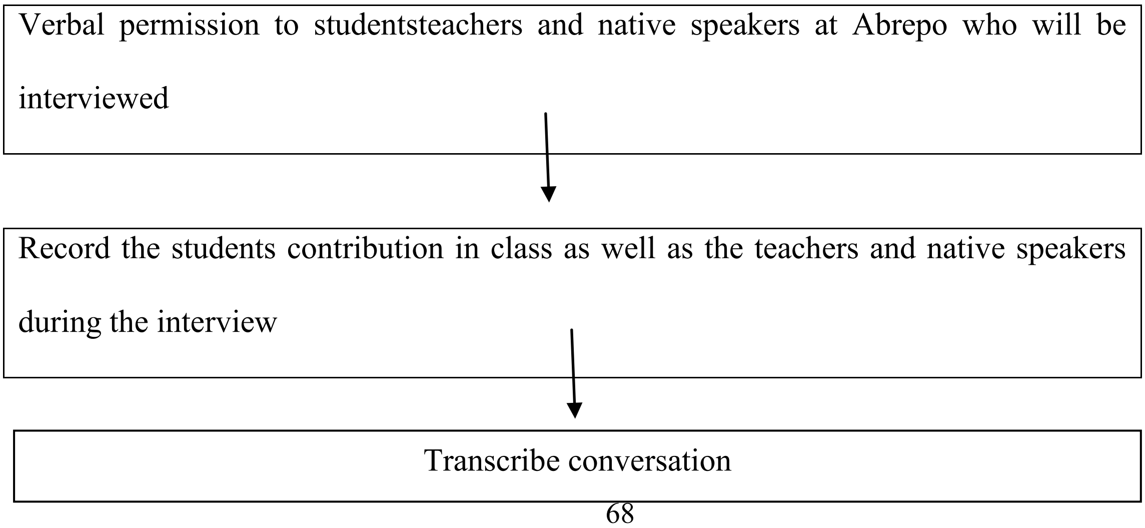
This was done by selecting five in three groups, making a total of fifteen students to participate in the discussion. Each group was met three times at different dates. Each group conversation was recorded for transcription. The students were made known of the project and the fact that I will transcribe their utterances and so were made to understand that they should not interrupt when a friend is making her point out. This was strictly followed by the students and made the recording a successful one. The students were selected from among the classes offering Akan as their elective subject and were part of the population for the research. The focused group conversation was effective than the general class recording because they were isolated from the class to a quite environment which made their voices clear enough to transcribe. Students were responding to a novel read in class which they were to give their judgment and opinion about the main character‟s behavior. Students freely spoke because they have read the novel and could relate to real life situation and therefore were not tensed in knowing what to say when it was their turn to speak.

3.7.4 Field notes

As part of my research instruments, I added field notes since I realized that students, teachers, and the Abrepo community use stance markers at any time it is needed in their conversation. In most cases, I may be passing by and hear some people mentioning stance markers in their conversation which I will not be able to capture on tape but I can quickly write them down. During break time in the school, teachers often argue a lot, especially on political issues, free SHS policy, the double track system and any trending news in the country which demands them voicing their opinions. Apart from the teachers who accepted to grant interview and to be recorded, the other teachers did not allow me to record any argument they had during their leisure time with the reason being that, I can lose my phone and they might not know where their utterances may land them even though they were sharing their opinions on national issues. I therefore resorted to writing down sentences which deemed necessary for my work. This did not give me opportunity though to ask further explanation since by the time I was done with one sentence another person will be on floor talking and I needed utmost attention to listen to how they made their evaluation and took stance.

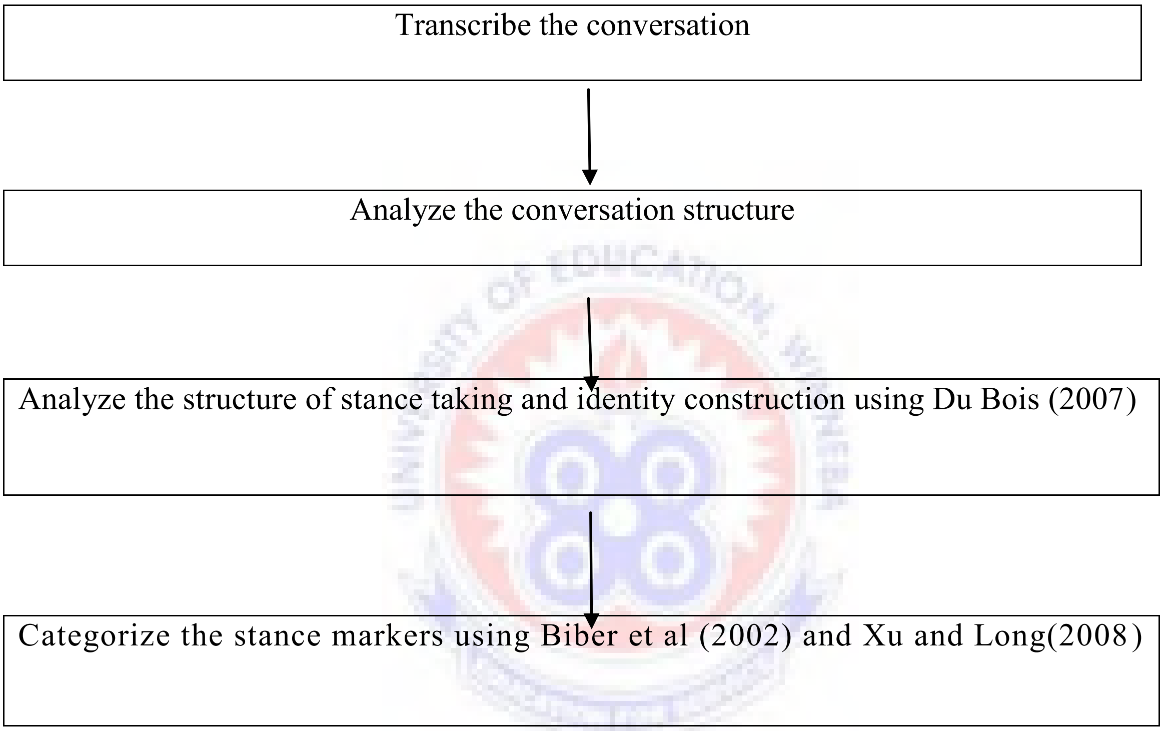
3.8 Procedure for data collection

Recordings were done with a mobile phone so that the researcher does not forget these stance markers utilized by the respondents. The recordings were played repeatedly for transcription and analysis. The audios were transcribed in Akan and areas where participants used a stance marker were then glossed in addition. With interviews and conversation, I interacted with participants with a particular motive in mind. I used these instruments because it enabled the participants to freely express how they take stance in their language and also have ample time to play all the audios recorded in order to identify the stance markers used. The recordings were played repeatedly for transcription. This is in line with Owu-Ewie (2012) that interviews are purposeful conversations with participants in order to obtain information to answer a research question. I first identified myself to the respondents and obtained permission from them before the commencement of the interviews to ensure ethical considerations. The purpose of the study and nature of the interview were disclosed to the respondents as a way of generating their interest. This is illustrated as follows:


Verbal permission to studentsteachers and native speakers at Abrepo who will be interviewed
Record the students contribution in class as well as the teachers and native speakers during the interview
Transcribe conversation

3.9 Data analysis

All data collected in the form of audio recordings were transcribed and analysis was done using the stance triangle by Du Bois to identify the stance markers used by the participants. The stance markers identified were then grouped according to Biber et al‟s (2002) stance adverbials which are grouped under epistemic, attitude, and style stance markers. This is illustrated as follows:


Transcribe the conversation
Analyze the conversation structure
Analyze the structure of stance taking and identity construction using Du Bois (2007)
Categorize the stance markers using Biber et al (2002) and Xu and Long(2008)

The data were analyzed by examining the stance taken during interaction. This means that emphasis was placed on how the speakers take stance and assert their identity. The next phase of the analysis examined the types of stance taking by using the model of Biber et al‟s (2002) stance adverbials. Languages exhibit different degrees of grammaticalization in the expression of the range of attitudes towards knowledge. In English and Akan, we find a whole range of lexical elements for stance marking, including modal verbs, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and phrases. However, the grammatical form which the stance takes was not being considered in the present study when identifying them from the audio.

3.10 Conclusion

The methodological framework discussed in Chapter 3 provides clear understanding on how the study was carried out especially in linking the theories to the data collected and data analysis. In general, this chapter serves as the methodological framework which discusses the analysis of the entire research. The findings of the study are discussed in chapter four.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the analysis of stance markers in Akan. The discussions focused on the frequently used stance markers in Akan in terms of the word classes that can constitute a marker and its structural distribution of the word classes among others. In addition to the structure, the functions that these markers perform will also be disccussed. Biber et al (2002, p. 15) state that lexical items are the main carriers of information in a text or speech act. Therefore, these lexical items are sub-divided into word classes. The first section discusses into detail, the grammatical class used as stance markers in Akan and the structure of these classes. The second part of this chapter discusses the discourse functions of these stance markers with examples from the data. The structure is tabulated with examples. The summary of the word classes used as stance markers in Akan is also tabulated to easily identify the most word class used in stance taking in Akan. Further discussion is done using tables to identify the predominant stance markers in Akan as they occurred in the data.

Mushin (2001, p. 52) states that "the relationship between speakers and their knowledge of what they talk about is more complex than simply mapping sources of information onto language forms". Mushin (2001) further notes that epistemic stance is about both the pragmatic pressures that motivate the conceptualization of information in terms of a speaker‟s assessment of her knowledge. In a series of lexical bundle studies conducted by Biber and colleagues (Biber & Barbieri, 2007; Biber & Conrad, 1999; Biber, Conrad, & Cortes, 2003, 2004; Biberet al, 1999), it was found that conversation and academic prose present distinctive distribution patterns of lexical bundles. For example, most bundles in conversation are clausal, whereas most bundles in academic prose are phrasal. The structural classification of lexical bundles in the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English

(Biber et al, 1999) has been widely used in other studies on recurrent word combinations (Cortes, 2002, 2004; Hyland, 2008a, 2008b). In the Longman Spoken and Written English (LSWE) corpus, fourteen categories of lexical bundles are grouped in conversation and twelve categories in academic prose with some overlap between them (Chen & Baker, 2010). My analysis in this chapteris based on the recurrent word combinations retrieved from the data. In this section, structural and functional comparisons are made among these stance markers.

4.1 Types of stance markers used in Akan

The various types of markers identified in the data are epistemic stance markers, evidential stance markers, deontic stance markers, attitude stance markers, and style stance markers. These markers as used in the language are discussed with examples in the following sections.

4.1.1 Epistemic stance markers

The word epistemic is derived from the Greek word „episteme‟ which means knowledge; it is concerned with matters of knowledge and belief (Lyons, 1977, p. 793). It is concerned with the reliability of the information conveyed and covers expressions of certainty and uncertainty. Coates (1983) argues that in its most normal usage, epistemic stance markers must convey the speaker‟s confidence in the truth of what is said based on a deduction from facts known to him. Extract 1 is a conversation between speakers who are sharing opinion on a friend‟s journey.

Extract 1

SPEAKER 1: Sɛ Ntensere sim a ɔbɛyera nti anhwɛ na woankɔ. (Ntensere risks getting lost so he may not embark the journey).

SPEAKER 2: *Ɔwɔ obi a ɔde no bɛkɔ a ɔrenyera ɛno nti* ***sɛ ɛteɛ biara*** *ɔbɛkɔ. (Once he knows someone who will take him to his father then* ***definitely*** *he will go.)*

Another conversation where Ntensere‟s father has not returned so many years:

SPEAKER 3: *Ɔntumi mma no nyinaa* ***sɛsɛɛ*** *wɔaware (perhaps he is married that is the reason why he is not coming home)*

SPEAKER 4: *Madam ɛbɛtumi nso aba sɛ* ***ebia*** *ɔnnyaa sika na emmom obi mpo na waboa no ama wanya biribi aba fie (madam it maybe that someone offered him a help and not that he is rich)*

The following extracts also contain some epistemic stance markers:

1. *Ɔde nneɛma aba deɛ nanso* ***yɛreka paa deɛa*** ɔnnyaa sika. *(even though he has sent some items but* ***in actual fact*** *he has not gotten money)*
2. *Obi retu kwan a* ***mpɛn pii no*** *ɔnka nkyerɛ obiara* ***ɛnkanka*** *aburokyire efiri sɛ wɔsuro bayie. (****In most cases*** *someone doesn‟t inform hisrelatives of his intent of travelling* ***typically*** *when going abroad.)*
3. ***Deɛ menim*** ne ***sɛ*** *obi rekɔ aburokyire a* ɔnkra.(To my knowledge someone doesn‟t disclose their location when travelling overseas)
4. ***Mehunu no sɛ*** ɔwɔ sika ɛno nti na wanya bi aba no. (I can deduce that he has money.)
5. ***Ayɛ sɛ*** *obiara hwɛ ahoɔfɛ na ɛde ware.(it seems most people consider beauty as a yardstic for marriage)*
6. *Sika ne ahoɔfɛ na obiara de ware nansa yi enti* ***yɛnfa no sɛɛno*** *na aba so.(So to speak money and beauty is the order of the day*

In an interaction, the interpretation of the stance somehow relies on his background knowledge (Damari, 2009). This goes to confirm what is proposed in Du Bois‟ (2007) stance triangle where a speaker needs to know the stance object.Furthermore, based on his knowledge on the stance object, this will help to evaluate and take position, thereby leading to stance taking. A person‟s knowledge could make a certainty stance, doubt or share their view on the stance object. ***sɛ ɛteɛ biara*** *(definitely),* ***ɛyɛ nokwasɛm*** *(it is obvious),* ***sɛsɛɛ*** *(perhaps),* ***ebia*** *(maybe),* ***yɛreka paa deɛa*** *(in actual fact),* ***mpɛn pii no*** *(in most cases),* ***ɛnkanka*** *(typically),**Deɛ menim*** ne ***sɛ*** *(to my knowledge),* ***Mehunu no sɛ (****I can deduce)* ***Ayɛ sɛ (****it seeems)*and ***yɛnfa no sɛ*** *(so to speark)* are some of the epistemic markers used in akan based on speakers‟ knowledge of the stance object.

4.1.2 Evidential stance markers

Evidentiality is concerned with understanding the source of information and the assessment of its reliability. Mushin (2001) argues that some forms are considered evidential only if they specify the type of source of information. He also notesthat for others, the core semantics of the evidential category centre around the expression of speaker attitude toward knowledge rather than the specification of knowledge acquisition or the knowledge one has about the object. Mushin (2001) further argues that there is no clear form and that a form should be characterized as evidential only if evidentiality can be analyzed as part of the core semantics of the form. Akans express evidential markers in their speech based on what they know or what they have heard from others as in the extractsas follows:

Extract 2

1. ***Deɛ mahunu*** *ne sɛ wɔrekɔ aburokyire a wɔntaa nkra. (*What ***I have observed*** *is that they mostly don't inform others when travelling.)*
2. ***Deɛ mate*** ne sɛ *wokra a wontumi nkɔ.* ***(What I have heard*** *is that if you make your intention known you might not go)*
3. *Owura deɛ**menim*** *sɛ ɔbɛ ba. I know that he will come)*
4. ***Owura se***waba. (According to Owura he has come)
5. ***Metee*** sɛ wɔaba. (it was reported he has come)

The markers ***deɛ mahunu*** *(What I have observed**), Deɛ mate (***it was reported*),* ***menim*** *(I know),* ***Owura se (***According to Owura) and ***Metee sɛ (***I heard that) are examples that native speakers use to express evidence of their source of information. In an interaction, the interpretation of the stance, which is taken by the stance-taker, somehow relies on his background knowledge (Damari, 2009). Therefore, in taking a stance, the stance taker positions as subject, evaluates an object, and aligns with other subjects (Du Bois, 2007). So a speaker saying „***Deɛ mate****ne sɛ wokra a wontumi nkɔ"* repeated this utterance to align with what he has heard about travelling overseas and believes in it, hence, echoing „*wo ntumi nkɔ"* from the evidence „***Deɛ mate'***. A speaker in Akan makes use of the marker ***menim*** to indicate their evidence on confidence. These are as a result of repeated action on certain times which they know is likely to repeat. So a student remarks that „*Owura deɛ****menim*** *sɛ ɔbɛ ba"*because the teacher has never missed his class and therefore was able to use the marker ***menim***, even though he has not received any message from the teacher and the teacher has not shown up in school. This goes to affirm the proposed systems in Du Bois‟ (2007) stance triangle that speakers have the opportunity to evaluate before taking a stance.

4.1.3 Deontic stance markers

Deontic stance markers refer to the writer‟s or speaker‟s position on obligation/ necessity. They show the speaker‟s or writer‟s stance towards the social knowledge of information on obligation, responsibility, and permission (Xu & Long, 2008, pp. 11-12). They are divided into three types: „necessity/obligation stance markers‟, „permission/possibility/ability stance markers‟ and „causation/effort stance markers (Xu and Long, 2008). The use of deontic stance markers is seen in a conversation where the speakers express their opinion onthe need for a church member to their pastor when embaking on a journey is illustrated in Extra 3:

Extract 3

SP 1*: Akwantuo deɛ* ***ɛwɔ sɛ****wokɔ bɔ ɔsɔfoɔ amaneɛ. (He has to inform the priest.)*

SP2: *Sɛ onnya mmaeɛ a* ***ɛnneɛ*** *ɔmmɔ ɔsɔfoɔ amaneɛ. (if he will keep long then he should inform the priest).*

Other examples are shown as follows:

1. *Sɛɔkɔ hunu ne papa a* ***ɛbɛtumi*** *ama n"ani agye.(if he sees his father it can/could make him happy)*
2. *Sɛɔkɔ nkoa deɛ a* ***ɛkwan biara so*** ɔbɛhu no. (*It is possible he will see him)*
3. *Madam* ***mɛtumi*** akasa? (*Can I/ May I talk?)*
4. *Madam* ***meresrɛ kwan****akɔ efie.(madam I want to ask for permission to go home)*
5. *ɛsɛ sɛ ɔkɔ hwehwɛ ne papa* ***sɛdeɛ ɛbɛyɛ****a n"anibɛgye.(he has to go in search of his father so that he can/will be happy)*

4.1.4 Attitudinal stance markers

Attitudinal stance markers show the speaker"s position and his evaluation on emotion and personal feeling such as good, better, or useful. They have the same function with Hyland"s attitudinal markers: "attitude markers indicate the writer"s affective, rather than epistemic, attitude to propositions, conveying surprise, agreement, importance, frustration, and so on, rather than commitment... By signaling an assumption of shared attitudes, values and reactions to material, writers both express a position and pull readers into a conspiracy of agreement so that it can often be difficult to dispute these judgments" (Hyland, 2005, pp. 108-109). These markers are found in Extract 4 as follows:

Extract 4

1. ***sɛ wo rehwɛ a*** *obiara pɛ sika. (As might be expected everyone likes money)*
2. ***ɛyɛ nwanwa****sɛ mmaa pɛ sika. (It is surprising that women like money)*
3. *ɛwɔ awareɛ mu no* ***mewɔ gyedie*** *sɛsika hia kyɛn ahoɔfɛ. (I"m hopeful that money is important than beauty in marriage)*
4. *Sika nti* ***ɛrenyɛ me nwanwa****sɛ n'adwene sesa a. (It won"tsurprise me if there is a change of mind because of money)*

5. *Nansa yi **deɛ ɛha adwene** ne sɛ ahoɔfɛ nkoa na mmarima de ware. (Disturbingly, of late men use beauty as a yardstic for marriage)*
6. ***Deɛ ehia** paa ara ne ɔdɔ wɔ awareɛ mu. (what matters most in marriage is love)*

The framework for this research, which is the stance triangle, projects that interlocutors have the opportunity to evaluate, thereby positioning them to either align with the stance object or express their opinion or feelings towards the proposition. Akan use the following markers to express their attitude towards a stance object. ***Deɛ ehia** (the most important), **deɛ ɛha adwene*** (disturbingly), ***ɛrenyɛ me nwanwa*** (it won"tsurprise me), ***mewɔ gye di sɛ*** (am hopeful that), ***ɛyɛ nwanwa** (it is surprising) and* ***sɛ wo rehwɛ a*** (as might be *expected)* are some examples of attitude stance markers used by Akans.

4.1.5 Style Stance Markers

Style stance markers comment on the manner of conveying the message as speakers being frankly, honestly, or truthfully. These are exemplified in Extract 5.

Extract 5

1. ***Nokware paadeɛ**me nnka nkyerɛ obiara sɛ meretu kwan.(Honestly I won"ttell anyone that am travelling)*
2. *Hwɛ**Ma me nka nokware nkyerɛ wo**obiara suro bayie. (To tell you the truth everyone is afraid of witch craft)*
3. ***Sɛ me ka na ɛnha wo a*** mɛka. (If you will not be offended then I will tell you)
4. *Akosua **ma me nhwɛ** mɛka awarefoɔ deɛ no first(„let me ponder over It, i will talk about the marriage issue first)*

Akans, just like any other language speakers, also have a way of expressing their views. Depending on the individual, the interlocutor may choose to be straight forward with you by letting you know he is not hiding any truth as in the marker „***Ma me nka nokware***

nkyerɛ wo' (To tell you the truth).Some interlocutors may want to buy time to think over the stance object and use markers like ***'ma me nhwɛ'*** (*let me ponder over it).* Some interlocutors are also honest and so go straight to the point by using the marker ***Nokware paadeɛ*** (*Honestly).* This indicates thatthe stance taker and stance object determine the style stance to use as Du Bois (2007) observes. According to him, stance subjects have the opportunity to evaluate position and even choose to align.

4.1.6 Summary

This section has shown that Akan speakers have various ways they mark stance in a conversation. The context or the opinion the speaker wants to express on the stance object determines the type of stance marker to use. Therefore, if the speaker wants to share his/her knowledge on the stance object, an epistemic type of marker will be used base on the function that marker wants to perform in the utterance. However, if a speaker wants to share their feelings and emotions about the stance object an attitude stance marker will be used. Evidential types of markers are used to indicate our source upon which a stance is taken. Style types of stance on the other hand are those that show the manner a speaker presents his opinion whiledeontic types are those that expresses the moral or ethical obligations expected in the society.

4.2 Structure of the stance markers

Biber et al (2002, p. 436) claim that "speakers and listeners have no time to revise or reconsider the grammatical structures being produced during spontaneous speech". It is by this assertion by Biber et al that I want to discuss the structure and functions of stance markers used in Akan. From the data, the answer to Research Question 2 regarding the structure of stance markers in Akan is presented. The categories of structure of Akan stance markers found in my data are discussed.Four broad structural categories were distinguished: Noun phrase-based, Adverbial phrase-based, Main clause-based and Subordinate clause-based. Noun phrase-based structure includes any noun phrases with postposition, Adjective, Adverb, Emphatic particle, Complement and Determiner fragments. That is, Category (1) in Table 1. Adverbial phrase-based structure refers to those starting with an Adverb plus Pronoun, Emphatic particle, Complement and Determiner fragment, as seen in Category (2) in Table 2. With regard to the main clause-based structure, any word combinations with a verb component and a noun phrase such as in Category (3) in Table 3. Subordinate clause-based structure on the other hand had any word combination with a verb component and Complement as substantive, together with Noun, Pronoun, Emphatic particle, and Adverb. The structural types of stance markers are seen in the following sections:

4.2.1 Noun phrase structural patterns

This section looks at the expressions that have noun phrase structure marking stance. It looks at the various word classes used by the native speakers that form the components of the noun phrase marking stance.

Table 4.2.1.Noun phrase structural patterns

STRUCTURE	TYPES	TOKEN
1. Pronoun + noun + post position + determiner	Mʻʻadwene mu no	85
	Me nteaseɛ mu no	24
	Me nsusueɛ mu no	21
2. Noun + Adjective + Determiner	mpɛn pii no	28
3. Pronoun + Emphatic particle	Me a anka	73
4. Pronoun + Emphatic particle + Complement	Me deɛ	62
5. Noun +Adverb+ Emphatic particle	Nokware paa deɛ	13
6. Noun + noun + Post position	ɛkwan biara so	21
7. Pronoun+ Adjective +complement +Emphatic part	ɛno-nkoa deɛ a	23

4.2.1.1 Pronoun + noun + postposition + determiner

Different types of this structure were seen in the data even though they performed the same function.

Me +adwene + mu + no	"In my mind"
Me + nteaseɛ +mu + no	„To my understanding"
Me +nsusueɛ +mu +no	„I suggest"

These are similar to lexical bundle structures by Biber et al (2004) where the noun phrase structure is a combination of Noun phrase + modifier. Among this structural type, *m'adwene mu no* was most frequently used.

4.2.1.2 Noun + adjective + determiner

This expression is a combination of *mpɛn + pii + no* „in most cases". This is also a different structure with the noun as the head of the phrase and equally follows the structure of a phrasal component. This example is the only type that appeared in the data.

4.2.1.3 Pronoun + complement +emphatic particle

The marker *me + a+ anka* „left to me" is also a different structure which follows the structural patturen of a phrasal component. This type of example is the only one identified to have this unique structure in the data. It appeared 73 times in the data which was mostly used when speakers were expressing what they would do if found in a similar situation under discussion.

4.2.1.4 Pronoun + emphatic particle + complement

This structure compared to 4.2.1.3 only interchange the position of the emphatic particle and the complement but the noun head position is maintained in the expression *Me + deɛ* +a „to me" as used by speakers.

4.2.1.5 Noun +adverb+ emphatic particle

Speakers used a combination a noun and adverb to express stance which they usually maintain the position of the noun head as in *Nokware + paa +deɛ* „to be honest"

4.2.1.6. Noun + emphatic + postposition

This structure as in *ɛkwan +biara +so* „by all means" is also a different way speakers of Akan construct stance marking without going contrary to the phrasal component.

4.2.1.7 Pronoun+ adjective +complement +emphatic particle

The marker *ɛno + nkoa + deɛ* + a „if only" is the only type that appeared in the data with this structure and maintained the phrasal component structure of Akan language just like how the others have appeared. However noun alone could not be used as a marker in Table 4.2.1. This is the reason why the phrases identified in the language were sub divided to see which of the head of phrases could stand alone as stance marker in the language. Predominantly, Table 1 has a 3-word structure fragment followed by 2-word and few 4-word structure fragments. This means the fragments of the word structure in Table 1 ranges from 2-4word fragments in stance taking in Akan when it is a noun phrase.

4.2.2 Adverbial phrase structural patterns

This section focuses on the expressions that have adverbial phrase structure marking stance. It looks at the various word classes used by the native speakers that form the components of the advervial phrase marking stance.

Table 4.2.2.Adverbial phrase structural patterns

STRUCTURE	TYPE	TOKEN
1. Adverb	Gyama	37
	sɛsɛɛ	26
	Ebia	116
	Nkanka	2
2. Pronoun + Adverb + Question marker	ɛno saa nti	118
3. Adverb + Determiner + Emphatic particle	dodoɔ no ara	31
4. Pronoun + adverb	ɛno deɛ	18

5. Adverb + Adverb	Gyama ebia	14
	Gyama sɛsɛɛ	11
	Sɛsɛɛ ebia	19
	Sɛsɛɛ gyama	9
	Ebia sɛsɛɛ	14
	Ebia gyama	18

4.2.2.1 Adverb

Akans use only adverbs without modifiers to construct stance marking in the language. However speakers used different types of adverbs to express the same notion of doubt as in the examples below.

Gyama	„probably‟
sɛsɛɛ	„perhaps‟
Ebia	„maybe‟
Nkanka	„typically‟

4.2.2.2 Pronoun + adverb + adverb

The marker *ɛno* + *saa* + *nti* „because of that‟ is also a different structure that was identified in the data which maintained the phrasal component of adverbial phrase. However, this is the only type identified in the data.

4.2.2.3 Adverb + determiner + emphatic particle

The marker *dodoɔ*+ *no* +*ara* „many of them‟ is also a different structure used by Akans to express to express stance marking. However, only one type of this structure of example was found in the data.

4.2.2.4 Pronoun + adverb

The marker *ɛno*+ *deɛ* „that one‟ is the only structural type identified in the data.

4.2.2.5 Adverb + adverb

Akans sometimes use a combination of two adverbs to construct stance marking whiles only one of them could perform the same function as in the types below.

Gyama +ebia	„probably maybe‟
Sɛsɛɛ+ gyama	„perhaps probably‟
Ebia +Sɛsɛɛ	„maybe perhaps‟

Nine different types of examples with the same structure were identified in the data.It could be seen that adverbs alone in Table 2 could be used as a marker in the language. In Table 2 however, adverb was predominantly in all the fragments to construct the adverbial phrase in the Akan language.

4.2.3 Main clause structural patterns

This section looks at the expressions that have main clause structure marking stance. It looks at the various word classes used by the native speakers that form the components of the main clause marking stance.

Table 4.2.3. Main clause structural patterns

STRUCTURE	TYPE	TOKEN
1. Pronoun + verb	mɛ-tumi	20
2. Pronoun +Verb + Noun + Noun	ɛ-yɛ nokware-asɛm	14
3. Adverb	Ampa	31
	Aane	29
	Saa	12
4. Pronoun + Verb + Noun	ɛ-yɛ nokware	16
5. Noun + Negation + Verb + Post Position	akyinnyeɛ n-ni mu	11
6. Pronoun + Noun	Me gyedi	24
7. Emphatic particle + Emphatic particle	Saa pɛpɛɛpɛ	16
8. Pronoun + Negation + Verb + pronoun+ Adjective	ɛ-n-yɛ me nwanwa	28
9. Pronoun + Negation + Verb + Verb +Determine r+ Emphatic particle	a-n-kɔ-ba no saa	10
10. Pronoun + Verb + Noun	ɛ-yɛ nwanwa	16
11. Verb +Pronoun + Noun	Ma me kwan	8
12. Verb + Pronoun + Verb + Noun + Verb + Pronoun	Ma me nka nokware nkyerɛ wo	9

4.2.3.1 Pronoun + verb

This type of structure expresses a complete thought and has the component of main clause having a subject and a verb as in the example *mɛ+tumi* „I can". This example type is the only structure found in the data.

4.2.3.2. Pronoun + verb + noun + noun

The marker *ɛ-+yɛ +nokware+asɛm* „it is true" is also a structure with more than one noun. This is the only structural type found in the data.

4.2.3.3 Adverb

The adverbs *ampa/aane /saa* „true or yes" are simple adverbs with an embedded subject. This structure gives a simple response of one"s stance taking in the language.

4.2.3.4 Pronoun + verb + noun

The marker *ɛ-+yɛ + nokware* „it is true" is the same as 4.2.3.2 but some speakers decided to omit the last noun which does not change the meaning or function it is performing.

4.2.3.5. Noun + negation + verb + postposition

This structure can also have a positive remark with the same structure depending on theattitude of the speaker as in the example *akyinnyeɛ +n+-ni+ mu* „there is no doubt"

4.2.3.6 Pronoun + noun

The marker *me + gyedi* „I am sure" shows that a noun and a pronoun can be used as a stance marker in the language. This structural type of example is the only one found in the data.

4.2.3.7 Emphatic particle + emphatic particle

The maker *saa +pɛpɛɛpɛ* „exactly so" is exhibiting that Akans can use two emphatic particles to mark stance in the language. One of these is use to make emphasise in the language.

4.2.3.8 Pronoun + negation + verb + pronoun+ adjective

The marker ε-+*n*+-*yε*+ *me*+ *nwanwa* „I am not surprised‟ has its positive remark depending on the attitude of expectation of the speaker.

4.2.3.9 Pronoun + negation + verb + verb + determiner+ emphatic particle

The marker *a*+-*n*+-*kɔ*+-*ba*+ *no*+ *saa* „it is unfortunate‟ Also has its positive structure marker which is used by the speaker dependin on the expectation of the speaker.

4.2.3.10 Pronoun + verb + noun

The marker ε+-yε+ nwanwa „it is surprising‟ is the opposite marker of 4.2.3.8, depending on the expectation of the speaker.

4.2.3.11 Verb +pronoun + noun

Akans use this structure when seeking for something. Example *ma* +*me* + *kwan* ˝*give me way*˝. This structure was used when a speaker was seeking for permission.

4.2.3.12 Verb + pronoun + verb + noun + verb + pronoun

The marker *ma* +*me* +*nka*+ *nokware*+ *nkyerε* +*wo* „*let me tell you the truth*˝ is a combination of three word class but the most important component ot a clause is present in this structure. This structural type was the only one present in the data.Table 4.2.3 gives a clear view of the patterns of word classes in the main clause. It ranges from 1-5word lexical words. However, pronoun is seen to be predominant apart fromthe verb which is an indicator of a clause. This gives evidence in *mεtumi* (pronoun + verb) and *me gyedi* (pronoun + noun) alone can express stance in Akan. However,*me gyedi* (pronoun + noun) is a main clause without a verb.

4.2.4 Subordinate clause structural patterns

This section looks at the expressions that have subordinate clause structure marking stance. It looks at the various word classes used by the native speakers that form the components of the subordinate clause marking stance.

Table 4.2.4. Subordinate clause structural patterns

STRUCTURE	TYPE	TOKEN
1. Pronoun + Copula + Verb + Verb complement + adverb	ɛ-bɛ-tumi aba sɛ ebia	34
	ɛ-bɛ-tumi aba sɛ sɛsɛɛ	14
	ɛ-bɛ-tumi aba sɛ gyama	9
2. Pronoun + Verb + Complement	a-yɛ sɛ	59
3. Pronoun + Verb Adverb + Emphatic particle	Wo-hwɛ paa ara	26
4. Noun Verb Complement	adanseɛ kyerɛ sɛ	14
5. Pronoun Continuous Verb Adverb Emphatic particle	Yɛ-re-ka paa deɛ a	18
6. Noun + Pronoun + Past +Verb	deɛ me-a-te	16
	deɛ me-a-hunu	7
7. Pronoun + Copula +Verb	ɛ-bɛ-ma	26
	ɛ-bɛ-tumi	56
8. Pronoun + Copula + Verb + complement	ɛ-bɛ-yɛ sɛ	14
9. Pronoun + Copula + Verb + Verb + Complement	Wo-bɛ-tumi aka sɛ	31
	ɛ-bɛ-tumi aba sɛ	79
10. Adverb + Pronoun + verb + Adverb	sɛdeɛ ɛ-teɛ biara	9
11. Pronoun +Verb + Complement	Wo-hwɛ a	21
	Me-hwɛ a	18
	Me-nim sɛ	25
	Biribiara kyerɛ sɛ	11
	ɛ-wɔ sɛ	32
	ɛ-twa sɛ	17
	ɛ-hia sɛ	11
	ɛ-sɛ sɛ	38
	Me-pɛ sɛ	12
	ɛ-firi sɛ	71
	ɛ-ne sɛ	16
12. Pronoun + Verb + Noun + complement	Me wɔ gyedie sɛ	18
13. Pronoun +Verb + Pronoun + complement	Me nka no sɛ	13
14. pronoun + Verb + Past + complement	Me-te-e sɛ	8
15. Noun + Verb	Owura se	18
16. Adverb + Noun + Verb +past + Determiner	sɛdeɛ Owura ka-eɛ no	6

17. Pronoun +Verb + Determiner + Complement	Me hunu no sε yεn-fa no sε	41 17
18. Complement + Pronoun + Verb + emphatic particle	sε wo-hwε a	27
19. Noun + pronoun + verb	deε ε-hia	5
20. Complement + Pronoun + Verb + Conjunction + Negation + Verb +Pronoun + Emphatic particle	sε me ka na εn-ha wo a	3
21. Pronoun + Copula + Verb + Emphatic particle	ε-bε-san nso	12
22. Pronoun + Verb + Question marker + Emphatic particle + Complement	ε-yε dεn ara a	14

4.2.4.1 Pronoun + copula + verb + verb complement + adverb

The patterns of this structure are seen in the following examples:

(ε-+bε+-tumi+ aba+ sε)+ebia „possibly may be‟

(ε-+bε-+tumi +aba +sε) +sεsεε „possibly perhaps

(ε-+bε-+tumi +aba +sε ++gyama „possibly probably‟

This structural type is unique in that the whole structure has only one adverb but the meaning it expresses is an adverb of doubt.

4.2.4.2 Pronoun + verb + complement

The marker *a+-yε +sε* „it looks like‟ is a different structural pattern identified in the data. Some speakers as a way of speaking very fast sometimes omit the verb in this structure.

4.2.4.3 Pronoun + verb + adverb + emphatic particle

The marker*wo+hwε+ paa +ara* „from the look of things‟ is the only structural type example that occurred in the data

4.2.4.4 Noun+ verb + complement

The marker adanseɛ+ kyerɛ+ sɛ „evidence shows that‟ is an example of this type of structural component. Different types were constructed using the same structure.

4.2.4.5 Pronoun + continuous + verb+ adverb + emphatic

Different stance markers were constructed using this structure as in *yɛ+re+ka+ paa+ deɛ a* „to tell the truth‟ as an example.

4.2.4.6 Noun + pronoun + past + verb

Different types of examples were constructed as stance markers using this structure. Examples are:

deɛ +me+a+te „what I have heard‟

deɛ+ me+-a+hunu „what I have seen‟

4.2.4.7 Pronoun + copula + verb

This structural pattern also has different types of examples as ɛ-+bɛ+-ma „it will‟ and ɛ+-bɛ+-tumi „it can‟

4.2.4.8 Pronoun + copula + verb + complement

This structural pattern also appeared with only one type of example as ɛ+-bɛ+-yɛ+ sɛ „it maybe that‟

4.2.4.9 Pronoun + copula + verb + verb + complement

Examples of this structure are seen as follows:

Wo+-bɛ+-tumi+ aka+ sɛ „you can call it‟

ɛ+bɛ+-tumi +aba+ sɛ „it is possible that‟

This structural pattern also has different types of examples expressing different function according to what the speaker wants to express.

4.2.4.10 Adverb + pronoun + verb + adverb

The marker *sɛdeɛ+ ɛ+-teɛ+ biara* „at all cost‟ structural pattern also appeared with only one type of example.

4.2.4.11 Pronoun + verb + complement

This structural pattern also has different types of examples expressing different function according to what the speaker wants to express. It is the most dominant structural type that appeared in the work. Examples are:

Wo+hwɛ+ a „it seems that‟

Me+hwɛ+ a „I see that‟

Me+nim+ sɛ „I know that‟

4.2.4.12 Pronoun + verb + noun + complement

This structural pattern also has different types of examples expressing different function according to what the speaker wants to express. Example : Me+ wɔ+ gyedie+ sɛ „ I believe that‟

4.2.4.13 Pronoun + verb + pronoun + complement

Different types of examples were constructed as stance markers using this structure. Examples: Me+ nka =no+ sɛ „let‟s call it that‟

4.2.4.14 Pronoun + verb + past + complement

This structural pattern also has different types of examples expressing different function according to what the speaker wants to express Me-+te+-e +sɛ „I heared that‟

4.2.4.15 Noun + verb

Different types of examples were constructed as stance markers using this structure. Example: Owura +se „according to Owura‟

4.2.4.16 Adverb + noun + verb +past + determiner

This structural pattern also has different types of examples expressing different function according to what the speaker wants to express as in sɛdeɛ +Owura +ka+-eɛ +no „as reported by Owura‟.

4.2.4.17 Pronoun + verb + determiner + complement

This structural pattern also has different types of examples expressing different function according to what the speaker wants to express as in :

Me +hunu +no+ sɛ „I see it that‟

yɛn+-fa+ no+ sɛ „let us take it that‟

4.2.4.18 Complement + pronoun + verb + emphatic particle

This structural pattern also appeared with only one type of example as sɛ +wo+-hwɛ+ a „from the look of things‟.

4.2.4.19 Noun + pronoun + verb

This structural pattern also appeared with only one type of example as deɛ+ ɛ+-hia „the most important

4.2.4.20 complement + pronoun + verb + conjunction + negation + verb + pronoun + emphatic particle

This structural pattern also appeared with only one type of example as sɛ+ me + ka + na + ɛn + -ha + wo + a „if you don‟t mind my saying‟

4.2.4.21 Pronoun + copula + verb + emphatic particle

This structural pattern also appeared with only one type of example as ɛ+-bɛ+-san +nso „it will also‟

4.2.4.22 Pronoun + verb + question marker + emphatic particle + complement

This structural pattern also appeared with only one type of example as ɛ+-yɛ+ dɛn+ ara +a „no matter what‟

Table 4.2.4 clearly shows that subordinate clauses dominate the word class used in constructing stance markers in Akan. Table 4.2.4, which constitutes the largest word classes used in constructing stance marker in Akan, has the word fragments ranging from 2- to 5-word fragments. From the table, it could be seen that verb is a must in the construction of subordinate clause. Pronoun was also seen to be a necessary word class to be present in all the expression. In few instances noun was used instead of pronoun as in example *adanseɛ kyerɛ sɛ* (noun + verb + complement) and *Owura se* (noun + verb). However, it was seen from the Table that it was possible to have a word class structure with both noun and pronoun in one expression.

4.2.5 Proportional distribution of lexical items of stance markers in Akan

Table 5 gives a view of the distribution of word classes among the stance markers used in the data.

Table 4.2.5. Proportional distribution of lexical words of stance markers in Akan

WORD CLASS	**CLAUSE**		**PHRASE**		**TOTAL**	**PERCENTAGE**
	main	**subordinate**	**Noun**	**Adverbial**		
Pronoun	13	37	5	3	58	26.01%
Verb	13	39	0	0	52	23.32%
Complement	0	25	1	1	27	12.11%
Noun	7	7	6	0	20	8.97%
Adverb	2	3	1	8	14	6.28%
Emphatic particle	3	6	3	2	14	6.28%
Determiner	1	3	4	2	10	4.48%
Copula verb	0	7	0	0	7	3.14%
Adjectives	2	2	1	1	6	2.69%
Post position	1	0	4	0	5	2.24%
Past marker	0	4	0	0	4	1.79%
Negation	3	0	0	0	3	1.35%
Question marker	0	0	0	2	2	0.90%
Continuous marker	0	1	0	0	1	0.44%
Total						**100%**

It is clear from the table that pronoun is predominant in stance taking in Akan. This is closely followed by verb as the next word class used in Akan for stance taking. Even though adverb alone could stand as a stance marker in Akan, noun seems to overtake adverb in stance taking in Akan. This follows in that order in the distribution of the word classes in Table 5 with question marker and continuous marker as the least word class used in stance in Akan.

4.3 Discourse functions of stance markers

Akan, like any other language, expresses stance in the language. I have opted for the framework of Biber et al (2002) since it offers a semantic taxonomy of stance markers that facilitate the identification of stance expressed by interlocutors. Biber et al"s (2002) model of stance adverbial will be used to categorize stance markers in Akan according to the meaning these markers carry. Biber et al (2002, p. 382) stated that "stance adverbials are adverbials that overtly mark a speaker"s or writer"s attitude to a clause or comment about its content". This means a speaker"s utterance openly displays his/her stance or position about the object of discussion. My working analysis will be based on the concept of stance corresponding to that of the *Longman grammar of spoken and written English* (Biber et al, 2002). I will focus my attention on stance adverbs, which Biber et al (2002) divide into three semantic categories, namely epistemic, attitude and style. The present study will add new categories to the semantic distinctions by Biber et al, thus the categories of Deontic stance markers, marking the writer"s/speaker"s position on necessity/obligation, permission, possibility/ability, and causation/effort by Xu and Long (2008).The functions of stance markers identified are categorized under the following:

4.3.1 Epistemic stance marking

Biber et al"s (2002) model of epistemic stance put adverbials under six divisions according to the meaning these stance markers express. Epistemic adverbial stance marker is by far the most common semantic categories of stance identified and shows higher occurrences than others. They convey a number of meanings as Biber et al"s categories epistemic adverbials into six major areas of meaning as certainty and doubt, actuality and reality, source of knowledge, limitation, viewpoint or perspective, and imprecision. The Akan stance markers identified will be discussed under the divisions that fit in the language.

4.3.1.1 Expressing certainty

The use of epistemic stance adverbials indicating doubt and certainty qualifies the author"s position as regards his/her degree of confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed ranging from "absolute judgments of certainty" to "indication[s] of belief in various levels of probability" (Biber et al, 1999, p. 854). The markers ***ɛyɛ dɛn ara a***,(at all cost) ***sɛ ɛteɛ biara***, (definitely) ***ampa/aane***,(true) ***akyinnyeɛ nni mu,(there is no doubt) ɛyɛ nokwasɛm, (truthly)*** **me** ***gyedi(am sure)*** and ***saa pɛpɛɛpɛ(exactly)*** are various expressions used by Akan speakers to express the notion of certainty in their language. Apart from being used to formulate the speaker"s judgment of being certain about the proposition being expressed, they also show how certain the speaker is about the stance object. Speakers use these utterances as a deduction of whatthey experience in life. An example of such is shown in Extract 6:

Extract 6

SPEAKER1: *Sandy,* me deɛ *ne papa no a ɔpɛ sɛ ɔkɔ hwehwe no no, it"sin order. Ne papa no annhwɛ no deɛ, nanso* ***ɛyɛ deɛn a****ɔno na ɔde no baa wiase (Sandy the man is his biological father so certainly it is in order to go in search of him)*

SPEAKER 2: Gyedie anamon a woatu no nti ***Sɛ ɛteɛ biara*** ɔbɛhunu ne papa, adeɛ yi ɔyɛdɛn ara wanhwɛ no ɛno nso nkyerɛ sɛ ɔnnyae nakyi di. (He will definitely see him with the faith steps taken)

SPEAKER 3: *Ebi koraa ɛnnyɛ sɛ ɔrekɔ hwehwɛ no anaasɛ ɔrekɔ yi sika ama no na mmom ɔpɛ sɛ ohunu se* ***ampa*** *me papa wɔ hɔ ɛnna wannhwɛ me (he just want to ascertain that his father is is truly alive)*

In this extract, speakers were responding to a novel *„sɛ ɛbɛ wie"* in which the main character embarked on a journey to find his father he has not seen for thirteen years but has received money and clothes from his father through his friend. Before the character embarked on the journey, students were asked to bring it in reality from novel perspective if it was worth it. Speakers were certain of their stance based on the deduction that the character has received money and clothing from a friend claiming to be in the same town with his father. Equialents of such functions in English are*of course*, *certainly, clearly,* and *obviously*, often used to mark the author‟s highest degree of confidence with regard to the truth of a statement.

The metadiscourse model proposed by Hyland (2005) includes these resources under the label boosters. This category encompasses those linguistic items aimed to express certainty and emphasize the force of propositions (Hyland, 2004, p. 139 as cited in Adams & Quintana-Toledo (2013). These markers are frequent in Akan Language. Biber et al‟s (2002) stance adverbial markers that express certainty share some similarities with Hyland (2005) ***boosters.*** Boosters as described by Hyland are words like *clearly, obviously* and *demonstrate*, which allow writers to express their certainty in what they say and to mark involvement with the topic and solidarity with their audience. He argues that they function to stress shared information, group membership, and engagement with readers (Hyland, 1999). In his explanation, boosters often occur in clusters, underlining the writer‟s conviction in his or her argument. These markers are used to convey certainty. Thus allowing speakers to make strong claims or draw clear conclusions. Xu & Long (2008) explain that certainty stance markers serve to give an accurate picture of the level of certainty. Inferred certainty indicates "a strong sense of probability" and it "strongly implies that the speaker has good reason for supposing that the proposition is true (Bybee et al, 1994, p. 180) cited in Xu & Long (2008).

Certainty stance marker is in line with "Boosters" in Hyland (2005, p 108) research. Boosters allow writers or speaker to express certainty in what they say. Both ***nokware*** and ***ampa*** mean true in Akan. When a speaker uses any of them, it shows a strong commitment to the truth value of the proposition. The primary function of ***ampa/aane/saa*** (*of course*) in the context where it occurs is to express the writer‟s expectation as regards the likelihood of the event being referred to in the statement. This adverbial seeks to foreground the fact that both speaker and hearer share some knowledge of the issue under discussion. As for ***ɛyɛ dɛn ara a*** (certainly), (clearly) and ***ɛ-yɛ nokwasɛm*** (obviously), these adverbials are used to frame the authors‟ absolute judgments of certainty towards the propositions expressed. They indicate their complete confidence in the certainty of the state of affairs. The authors‟ confident voices as portrayed here by the use of these adverbials do not seem to be simply the result of their intention to express an assured personal opinion.

4.2.1.2 Expressing doubt

Akan speakers use the expressions ***sɛsɛɛ (perhaps)***, ***ebia (maybe), Gyama (probably), Ayɛ sɛ (it looks like), Wohwɛ (it seems)****, **ɛbɛtumi aba sɛ*** (possibly) to express the notion of doubt or uncertainty.This means speakers use these markers to indicate that they are not certain about the condition of the stance object. There were instances where ***gyama*** was put in combination with ***sɛsɛɛ*** and other stance adverbials also expressing doubt where one could be used in the language to express the same opinion as in ***Gyama ebia (***probably maybe), ***Gyama sɛsɛɛ*** *(*probably perhaps), ***Sɛsɛɛ ebia*** (perhaps maybe), ***Sɛsɛɛ Gyama*** *(*perhaps probably), ***ebia sɛsɛɛ*** (maybe perhaps) ***ebia Gyama (***maybe probably) ***ɛbɛtumi aba sɛ Gyama*** *(*possibly probably*), **ɛbɛtumi aba sɛ sɛsɛɛ*** *(*possibly perhaps*)and* ***ɛbɛtumi aba sɛebia*** (possibly maybe) There are other stances markers like *perhaps* and *probably* used as hedging devices that alleviate the speakers‟ perception of likelihood of the stance object described in the proposition. Hedges are defined as devices which "indicate either (a) a lack of complete commitment to the truth value of an accompanying proposition, or (b) a desire not to express the commitment categorically" (Hyland, 1998, p. 1). In the extracts below, these markers are used in a manner to serve the purpose of minimizing the consequence of condemnation of the speaker and other devices used to mark doubt in Akan. An example of an interaction where some of these markers are used is found in Extract 7:

Extract 7

SPEAKER 1: *Sɛ ɔkɔeɛ akyɛ o* ***sɛsɛɛ*** *ahokyerɛ ne aniwuo nti na ontumi ma nti sɛ Ntensere kɔhwehwɛ ne papa a na ɔbɛhunu deɛ ɛrekɔ so (perhaps he is not coming because he is either in crises or ashamed to come for staying away such a long period)*

SPEAKER 2: *Ebi koraa papa no baabi a ɔwɔ, tebea a ɔwɔ mu ɛnyɛ.* ***ebia*** *baabi a akwadaa no aduru no,* ***ebia*** *na ɔno koraa bɛnya biribi de aboa ne papa no*. (*Maybe the guy wants to help his father)*

SPEAKER3: Seesei *no mehunu ne* ***sɛ*** *ɛneɛ* ***gyama*** *ne ho kyere no efirisɛ ɔkɔeɛ akyɛ (now I see he is probably in difficulty)*

SPEAKER 4: ***Ɛbɛtumi aba sɛ*** *wayɛ yie enti ɔreyɛ n‟asɛdeɛ sɛ ɔde nneɛma rebrɛ n‟abusuafoo enti naebia ɔreyɛ saa.* ***Ɛbɛtumi aba no sɛ*** *ɛnkɔ yɛɛ yie mmaa no saa sɛ deɛ yɛresusu no na mmom* ***ebia*** *ohunu sɛ ɛyɛ n‟asɛdeɛ enti biribi kakra a ɔbɛnya no* ***ɛsɛ sɛ*** *ode ba.* ***Ebetumi aba sɛ*** *adomfoɔ ne nnamfofoɔ bi na wɔreboa no ɛmma ɔnya saa nneɛma no de ba fie (he is possibly rich or the things came from friends who contributed to save his face)*

In this conversation, speakers were responding to reasons why a man who has travelled for so many years is not willing to come home.The structure ***sɛsɛɛ*** is mostly used by Akans when there is time frame associated with the stance object. In the extract, the stance object has been away for about thirteen years (time frame) and therefore the speaker looking at the long period the stance object has been away with no intention of returning to the family, then the speaker is assuming *by this time* he is married. In the same way, when you know any stance object and where he/she is likely to be within the time of the day, you can predict or assume where the stance object will be using time and Akans will use ***sɛ sɛɛ*** to mean „by this time‟ to express doubt to find him/her at some particular time and day he could be found.

The use of ***sɛ sɛɛ*** (*perhaps*) in a way is protecting the dignity of the speaker by hedging a statement in which he tries toprove to be the reality but have no evidence to it. The speaker does not speak as a fact but rather leaves interlocutors with the possibility of choosing, according to their knowledge of the matter. These markers make their utterances serious or less severe about their evaluation of the likelihood of the event described by them. Therefore, Hyland (1998, p. 1) cited in Adams & Quintana-Toledo (2013, p. 17) described these markers as hedges which he defined as devices which "indicate either (a) a lack of complete commitment to the truth value of an accompanying proposition or (b) a desire not to express the commitment categorically".

However, ***gyama, ebia, ayɛ sɛ, wohwɛ a, ɛbɛtumi aba sɛ,*** and ***madwene mu*** also express epistemic stance of doubt which have similar meaning to ***sɛsɛɛ*** but do not express time. All the examples are markers that show that they are not sure of their statement or assertions about the stance object. These markers show possibilities in life but not the realities. A speaker used ***ɛbɛtumi aba sɛ*** (*possibly*) as a stance marker in explaining that a person‟s ability to care for the family is not as a result of the person being rich but friends can even contribute to help him cater for the house therefore one cannot use money and other items provided to a family as a yardstick to judge that a person is rich. Hyland (2005) used the term hedges which share some similarities with Biber et al (2002). Hyland explains that hedges are deviceslike *possible, might* and *perhaps*, which indicate the writer‟s decision to withhold complete commitment to a proposition, allowing information to be presented as an opinion rather than accredited fact.

There were instances in the data where ***gyama (probably)*** was used in combination with ***sɛsɛɛ*** (perhaps) and other stance adverbials to express doubt where one could be used in the language to express the same opinion. This is illustrated in Extract 8:

Extract 8

SPEAKER 1: ***Gyama ebia*** *ɛyɛ no aniwu sɛ ɔbɛba*

(*He is probably maybe feeling ashamed to come)*

SPEAKER 2: *Adeɛ no deɛ* ***gyama sɛsɛɛ*** waware nti na ɔntumi mma no

(Looking at things probably perhaps he is married)

SPEAKER 3: ***Ɛbɛtumi nso aba sɛ ebia****na wayɛyie nso na onnyɛɛ yie saa, enti ɔrepɛ bi aka ho ansa na ɔbɛba fie a, waba. (Possibly maybe he looks like a rich man but he is not therefore he wants to be rich before he comes)*

SPEAKER 4: *Sɛdeɛ adeɛ no ayɛ no deɛ* ***sɛsɛɛdeɛ ebia*** *waware ɛnte saa deɛ a adɛn nti na ɔdaso te akwantuo mu (looking at the situation perhaps maybe he is married if not why is he not coming home?)*

These markers ***gyama ebia*** (*probably maybe*) and ***gyama sɛsɛɛ*** (*probably perhaps*) have been found to be unusual (e.g. Sakyi, 2013). This, according to her, is because one form is enough to express whichever idea the speaker wishes to express, and the use of two forms makes it clumsy, rendering the meaning in the second form redundant. In spite of this, some speakers were found to be using these utterances to simply emphasize the doubt of their utterance. An exception to this is the example ***sɛsɛɛ deɛ ebia*** (by this time maybe). This combination is acceptable because ***sɛsɛɛ*** in this sentence is an adverb of time. It can therefore be combined with any of the modal adverbs. The stance marker ***ebia*** (maybe) together with ***sɛsɛɛdeɛ*** show that the speaker is not certain about the information given and he is merely guessing.

4.2.1.3 Expressing actuality and reality

This kind of stance markers, according to Xu & Long (2008), shows a distance between what the speaker proposes and what the real world is, both of which are not exactly the same but own some kind of similarity. These markers can dispute their interpretations. Other epistemic adverbial stance markers present in audio recordings are those indicating actuality and reality, such as the ones shown in Extract 9:

Extract 9

SPEAKER 1: Sɛ ɔte aburokyre na ɔtumi de sika ne nneɛma ba nkoa deɛ a ɛnneɛ ***ɛyɛ nokware*** *sɛsika wɔ hɔ na obiara ɔbɛkɔ hɔ no nso bɛyɛ yie. (It is true he is rich once he is able to send money and clothing every time)*

SPEAKER 2: Ei na wo hwɛ neɛma a aburokyirefoɔ de ba no deɛ a ***biribiara kyerɛ sɛ*** *aburokyire ɛyɛ dɛ (it is for a fact life in overseas is more enjoyable)*

SPEAKER 3: *Madam hmmmm* ***ɛreka paa deɛa*** *aburokyire asetena ɛyɛ ya sene Ghana (life in actual fact is not easy for the blacks overseas)*

The speakers in this conversation were expressing their opinion on a topic as to why people will travel for years and will not be willing to come home although they manage to send items like money and clothing to their family.Akan, like any other language, also expresses actuality and reality. Actuality and reality adverbials as explained by Biber et al (2002) give the proposition the status of real-life fact, usually in contrast with what someone might have supposed. Akan natives use expressions as ***nokware***, (truth) ***biribiara kyerɛ,(evidently) wohwɛ paa a (in fact) , yɛreka paa deɛa(in actual fact)*** as stance markers to express actuality and reality. The speakers were expressing their opinion on a topic on why people will travel for years and will not be willing to come home yet they manage to send items like money, clothing etc to their family.

Speakers, in expressing their opinion, explain the reality that someone who has not made it in life outside the country cannot sends money and other items to their family. Therefore, the person outside the country‟s ability to send money and other items is an indication that he has made it in life. Speakers were expressing the realities and actuality in life which someone can easily deduce from the evidence available to take stance in his or her judgment. Speakers who used the stance marker ***nokware*** (true) were arguing from the point that if he had not gotten money there was no way he could have sent money and items home. ***Biribiara kyerɛ*** (for a fact) as a stance marker was also used by the speakers in taking stance as a result of the evidence available. They argued from the point that that even though they were not there with the person they were making evaluation of the situation based on what they were seeing to make judgment that the person had made it in life.

On the other hand ***wohwɛ paa a*** and ***yɛreka paa deɛa (***in actual fact)are markers used by speakers to take their stance not based on the evidence available but what generally they seem to believe the norm of life that people will naturally give when they have money to their families. It is a general phenomenon for anyone to neither believe people give what they have and we will not be surprised or need anyone nor evidence to take a stance. Therefore, speakers were taking stance by deducing from the reality without any evidence available to them. Speakers seem to agree with Biber et al (2002) that one can take a stance based on real life fact than what one might guess. ***Kyere se*** (in fact) and ***yereka paa*** (actually) provide a comment on the states of the proposition as a real life fact when Akan speakers use these makers.

4.2.1.4 Expressing sources of knowledge

Chafe (1986) cited in Xu & Long (2008) identifies three areas where evidence of information is sourced: the reliability of the information or the probability of the truth, the modes of knowing or the ways in which knowledge is acquired and the source of knowledge.

Epistemic stance adverbials indicating source and / or evidence constitute another frequent occurrence in Akan. They are used to make comments on the source of knowledge and/or the type of evidence speakers have for the information presented. The attribution of the source of information among the Akans constitutes an important part of stance taking. The use of the marker x ***se*** (according to x) makes the identification of the source of information in the examples below somewhat neutral and gives the specification of the source of information. Speakers do not only acknowledge the contribution of others but also and most importantly, side and coincide with them in their arguments and use these to support their own. ***Biribiara kyerɛ*** (evidently) and apparently are evidential markers used to indicate that the type of evidence the speaker has as his source of information expressed has been acquired through the senses (seeing) therefore the basis for the speaker‟s utterances. Extract 10is an example to illustrate this.

Extract 10

SPEAKER 1: *Bɔgafoɔ bi* ***Adanseɛ kyerɛ sɛ*** *aburokyire sika pɛ nna fɔm koraa (the evidence from family members overseas is enough to prove that life is not easy there)*

SPEAKER2: *Ɛfa akwantuo mu nsɛm pii no deɛ* **Metee** *(about stories of life overseas I heard it***)**

SPEAKER 3: Mɛkra paa efirisɛ ***me nim sɛ*** *meduru (I will make them aware because I know I will get there)*

SPEAKER 4: ***Deɛ mahunu*** *ne sɛ wɔrekɔ aburokyire a wɔnkra*

(What I have seen is that they mostly don‟t inform anybody when travelling abroad)

In this extract, speakers were responding to life overseas and what they will do if they get opportunity to go there. Akans value sources of information to judge the authenticity or otherwise of utterances. They therefore often use evidentials to make claims or speculations.

Adverbials of the source of knowledge as explained by Biber et al (2002) tell us where the claim reported in the proposition comes from. In expressing source of knowledge upon which a person takes stance in Akan, speakers used stance markers as ***menim (***I know)***, sɛ deɛ X kaeɛ no (***as reported by X)***, X se (according to X), metee (I heard), adanseɛ kyerɛ sɛ (evidently), yɛse (hear say).*** Speakers usually give their source of evidence that influence their stance. Akans normally take stance to exhibit their source of knowledge as a result of personal experience or what they have been told and believed it is true and have little doubt about it. A speaker may use a marker like ***menim (I know)*** to take a stance as a result of personal experience and what the speaker has witnessed in real life situation. It is normal for a speaker to predict rainfall just looking at the clouds without anyone telling the speaker it will rain because there have been personal experiences and has witnessed such weather conditions and what the outcome was and therefore taking stance on similar incidence will not be difficult for that speaker. Any time a speaker uses the marker ***me-nim*** in Akan is an indication that the evaluation of the stance object is based on the personal experience of the speaker or what she/he has as firsthand experience.

Another marker used by Akan native speakers that also play a crucial role in stance taking in terms of their source of knowledge is ***sɛ deɛ X kaeɛ no,***(As reported by X) or ***X se*** (according to X). In this instance the speaker is relying on the information from others to make evaluation and finally makes judgment of the stance object. Speakers in this situation can attribute their stance taking to what was said by X. Therefore, if there is any consequence on the stance taking by the speaker, he/she can argue that his/her stance was based on what X said. When a person is trustworthy in society, they are able to make a person take a stance on their utterances. Therefore, Akans are also able to tell where they get their information upon which they take a stance. Adams & Quintana-Toledo (2013) note here that scholars hold very different positions as for the relationship between epistemicity and evidentiality; for instance, the inclusive view adopted by Biber et al (1999) and followed in this paper is supported by Chafe (1986) and Palmer (1979), and more recently by Kranich (2009) and Ortega-Barrera and Torres-Ramírez (2010).

Minimizing the manipulation/interpretation of the information since no paraphrase is offered, speakers intend to sound as objective as possible. Evidentials primarily indicate sources of knowledge. They show the source of the information or the evidence of what the speaker proposes, which offers the other interlocutor high reliability and objectivity. It refers to the speaker or writer‟s expressed attitudes towards knowledge, more specifically, to how they obtain and evaluate knowledge (Marin-Arrese et al, 2004) cited in Xu and Long (2013).

4.2.1.5 Expressing limitation

Limitation stance implies that there are limits to the validity of the proposition. In this sense, speakers in their responses use markers to indicate their belief in the Akan system although there are limits to what they will say or do and even in general what the people of Akan mostly limit what should have been the reality.The markers ***dodoɔ no ara*** (largely), ***mpɛn pii no*** (in most cases) and ***ɛnkanka*** (typically) are some of the markers used by the speakers to indicate situations where they will not follow the norms of the Akans. In Extract 11, speakers were responding to interview questions as to whether they will let their relatives or church members or even friends be in the known that they are travelling overseas for greener pastures.

Extract 11

SPEAKER 1: Efirisɛ ***mpen pii no*** *yɛnnte awreɛ no ase, ɛnna yɛnntumi nnya adaagye mpo, na yasua onipa a, yɛne wɔn tena sɛ awarefoɔ.* (*In most cases we don‟t understand marriage and don‟t have time to study each other as couples*)

SPEAKER 2: Me nkyerɛ makyi ***ɛnkanka*** aburokyire efiri sɛ aburokyire deɛ abusuafoɔ ani bedi wakyi dodo (*it is typically overseas I will not disclose I am travelling there because of witch craft)*

SPEAKER 3: *Kane no na**dodoɔ no ara** twɛn ma wɔbɛware wɔn nanso nansa yi* ***dodoɔ no ara*** *wo ansa na waware wɔn (largely most women of today give birth before they marry)*

In Akan, we believe in saying good bye to our relatives when travelling. Again, we also believe death can occur at any instance.Therefore, it is appropriate to always let a relative or a close friend know of your whereabouts or property. This would help to rescue you in case of any eventuality. However, there are limits to what people can disclose to relatives or friends in what they do or believe in. Speakers in one way or the other have heard or seen relatives who travelled without informing their relatives but got to their destinations before calling back home to state their whereabouts. In this situation, speakers were able to generalize by using the markers ***dodoɔ no ara*** (largely), ***mpɛn pii no*** (in most cases) to indicate their opinion as to why most Akans do not inform their relatives when travelling even though they agree to the norm of Akans to provide such information, although there is a limit to everything. Speakers however, use the marker ***ɛnkanka*** (typically) to state what they will limit against the norm. They give their opinions on issues they may not make open but at times can make it open because they feel others are not threat to their lives but were emphatic on specific issues which they use the marker ***ɛnkanka*** to the limit of issues they can make it open.

4.3.1.6 Expressing viewpoint or perspective

These expressions mark the viewpoint or perspective from which the proposition is claimed to be true. Speakers of Akan use the expression ***me deɛ(to me)***, ***me a anka(left to me)***, ***mehunu no sɛ (I see that), meadwene mu no(in my mind), me nteaseɛ mu no(to my***

understanding),mehwɛ a (I see that), and ***deɛ menim (what I know)*** to exhibit what they perceive to be their judgment. In Extract 12, again, speakers expressed their opinion on two issues, that is, if it is necessary to embark on a journey to look for your father who you believe has money but is not coming home. The other issue has to do with whether it is necessary to inform your church members you are travelling overseas for greener pastures. Speakers, in making their judgment and evaluation, came out with the markers to indicate their opinions or evaluations are if they find themselves in such situations. Most speakers used ***me*** (1SG) to mean they are speaking from what they think and know as well as their personal reactions, and not the general evaluation of everyone. Extract 11 is shown as follows:

Extract 11

SPEAKER 1: ***Deɛ me nim*** *ne sɛ dawurobɔ beberebe no mmoa.*

(To my knowledge not everything should be announced)

SPEAKER 2: ***Me nteaseɛ mu no*** *beberee no ara bɔ wɔn ho mmɔden sɛ deɛ ɛbɛyɛ a, mpo kasa a yɛka sɛ, wo kɔ tenaa aburokyire no ɔbra bɛn na wo boeɛ no, yɛnnka bi nkyerɛ wɔn*. (To my understanding most of them work hard in order to be branded hopeless)

SPEAKER 3: ***M'adwene ne sɛ*** *kra na yɛnfa obi nhyɛ adwuma a woreyɛ mu. (In my view you*

SPEAKER 4: ***Me a anka*** *menkra* ***efirisɛ*** *me kra na se* ***ebia*** *aburokyire no annya amma so a, aniwuo bɛka me. (In my opinion it is not necessary to announce my travelling plan)*

The use of **me (i/me)** suggests that they are doing what Hyland calls *self mention*. Hyland (2005) discusses self mention as referring to using of first person pronouns and possessive adjectives to present propositional, affective and interpersonal information

(Hyland, 2001) cited in Hyland (2005). According to Ivanic (1998) and reechoed by Hyland (2005), talking about self is central to the writing process, and so it is difficult for writers to avoid projecting an impression of themselves and how they stand in relation to what they talk about. This argument by Hyland shares some similarities with Biber et al‟s stance that expresses view point or perspective. It is seen from the data that 1SG (***me*** =I or me) is used by all the speakers to indicate their position in the ongoing interaction. Self mention in discourse among Akan native speakers is predominant during stance taking.

4.3.1.7. Expressing imprecision

Several stance expressions lack exactness or accuracy and considered hedges. Imprecision is where there is lack of accuracy or exactness. Akan native speakers also use imprecision to make stance when they do not have the facts, although they have little knowledge and or deduce from trending issues and take a stance. Markers like ***wobɛtumi aka sɛ*** (You can call it)***, yɛnfa no sɛ (***so to speak***), ayɛ sɛ*** (kind of), and ***asɛ*** (sort of) are used by Akans to indicate imprecision. This is shown in Extract 12:

Extract 12

Speakers were responding to what influence marriage decisions among the youth today.

SPEAKER 1: *Ahoɔfɛ wɔ hɔ nso **Asɛ** sika di akotene paa wɔ awareɛ mu*

(Money is sort of yardstick for marriage)

SPEAKER 2: *Ɛɛɛ!!! Seesei deɛ **Ayɛ sɛ** ahoɔfɛ na obiara hwɛ de ware (Beauty is kind of what everyone looks for)*

SPEAKER 3:*Wo deɛ **yɛnfa no sɛ** tete awareɛ ne ɛnɛ aware yi deɛ wɔn annya hwee o*

(Modern marriage is more interesting, so to speak)

Akan speakers use these markers when they know something they presume is right but cannot generalize it to be what it is. More so, they use these markers to relate to other objects well known to the other interlocutor(s) which share resemblance to the stance object so that they can relate to it well. Thus, a marker like ***ayɛ sɛ*** (it looks like) is used from the speakers‟ perspective but that does not mean it is the same as what is happening. Therefore, these markers are used when speakers believe this is what is happening or what it is but may not be true as how they see it and can therefore not be emphatic in their opinion.

4.2.2 Attitude stance marking

Attitude is the way of thinking or feeling of a person about something or proposition. Attitude adverbials according to Biber et al (2002) tell the speaker‟s attitude toward the proposition. Typically, they convey an evaluation, or assessment of expectation. Attitude markers, explained by Hyland (2005), indicate the writer‟s affective, rather than epistemic, attitude to propositions, conveying surprise, agreement, importance, frustration, and so on, rather than commitment. Compared to epistemic stance adverbials, attitude markers cannot be so easily categorized into major areas of meaning; however, Biber et al (2012) have identified at least three main areas, namely, according to **expectation**, **evaluation** and **judgment of importance**. Attitude markers are not simply aimed at qualifying the information presented from the speaker‟s point of view but most importantly, they aim to create affective appeal or appeal to the other interlocutor‟s emotions and inviting them to accept their utterance. Attitudinal adverbial stance markers convey the speaker‟s attitudes, feelings, or value judgments towards the propositional content as can be seen in the following:

4.2.2.1 Expressing expectation

Akans also use expressions to indicate their feeling or affection towards the proposition. Speakers used the markers ***ɛnyɛ me nwanwa*** (not surprise), ***ɛwiase deɛ saa*** (naturally), ***sɛ wo rehwɛ a*** (as might be expected), ***me wɔ gyedie*** (am hopeful) and ***ɛyɛ***

nwanwa (it is surprising) to show their expectations of outcome of an issue of either being surprised, agreement, importance, frustration, and so on, rather than commitment. They all reveal the speaker"s affective attitude towards a given subject matter. An example of this is found in Extract 13, where speakers express their attitude about the role money plays in marriage:

Extract 12

SPEAKER1: ***Ɛyɛ nwanwa*** *sɛ mmaa pɛ sika saa* ***(***Surprisingly women like money)

SPEAKER 2: *Hwɛ adeɛ no deɛ* ***sɛ worehwɛ a*** *obiara pɛ sika* (As might be expected everyone likes money)

SPEAKER3: ***Mewɔ*** **gyedie sɛ** sika hia kyɛn ahoɔfɛ (Am hopeful that money is important than beauty)

One"s expectation determines the behaviour and action of a speaker towards a stance object. Akan native speakers use these markers to express what they expect. Therefore, they can be surprised or not surprised depending on their expectations. Their markers also indicate what naturally should occur and they express such attitudes in their utterances as such.

4.3.2.2 Expressing evaluation

When speakers" expectations of a proposition are not exhibited, they tend to give their judgment or evaluation of the happenings and how they feel. Therefore, speakers use markers of evaluation to explain what they were expecting thatturnsout to happen differently. Markers like ***deɛ ɛha adwene*** (disturbingly), ***nanso ankɔba sɛ*** (unfortunately), and ***ankɔba no sa(fortunately)*** were some markers used by native speakers of Akan to exhibit how they make evaluation of what they did not expect. An example is expressed in Extract 13, where speakers were responding to a question on what should influence marriage decisions:

Extract 13

SPEAKER 1: *Suban na yɛde ware nanso me wɔfase yi deɛ yi deɛ* ***ankɔba no sa***

(Unfortunately my niece‟s marriage was not based on character)

SPEAKER2: *Nansa yi* ***deɛ ɛha adwene*** *ne sɛ ahoɔfɛ nkoa na mmarima de ware*

(Conveniently people marry because of money but not character)

By deploying these markers, speakers offer their interlocutor(s) with a personal evaluation of the issue being discussed.For instance, in ‚*nansa yi* ***deɛ ɛha adwene*** *ne sɛ ahoɔfɛ nkoa na mmarima de ware*‟, by Speaker 2 above indicates that the speaker is trying to evaluate how marriage is considered currently in the country. The speaker knows that marriage should be based on love but she is not seeing that in current marriages anymore. She then gives a situation where a relative married a man far older than her just because the man is rich and can afford all her needs and not because she loves the man. A speaker‟s attitude toward the topic is naturally proposed based on their evaluation. By these markers, the speaker forms an idea or opinion about the value of the topic, or estimates the nature, ability, or quality of it. Through the evaluation by using stance markers, the interlocutor will get clear and direct opinions about what kind of attitude the speaker holds.

4.3.2.3 Expressing importance

Speakers of Akan use ***ehia*** (important) to express what they deem as necessary to indicate their attitude toward the proposition. In situations where speakers want to place emphasis on the importance or the degree, they usually add ***paa*** (most) to their utterance. An example is shown in Extract 14, where a speaker uses ***ehia*** in an utterance:

Extract 14

Deɛ ***ehia*** *paa ne ɔdɔ wɔ awareɛ mu*

(The most important thing in marriage is love)

4.3.3 Style stance marking

Style stance markers are used to comment on the manner of conveying the message. They are the least frequent in my data, in fact, there are few instances. They are used to describe the manner of speaking where the speaker restates the aim of a specific utterance within the conversation. No new information is added but the speaker simply tries to make himself clear and understandable by providing a paraphrase which has already been said. An example where speakers provide responseson different topics is shown in Extract 15:

Extract 15

SPEAKER 1: *Yoo Akosua, **ma me nhwɛ**, ayi ma me mfa Bɔgafoɔ deɛ no nni kan, Obi kɔ aburokyire na sɛ ɔde nneɛma mane na sɛ w‟anni akyire amma a, bɛyɛ mfie du afe biara ɔyɛ saa a, ɛyɛ nneɛma beberee.(Akosua let me ponder over it,I will talk of the burga issues first if someone sends items home without coming home to visit entails a lot)*

SPEAKER2: *__Nokware paa deɛ__ me nka nkyerɛ obiara sɛ meretu kwan*

(Honestly I won‟t inform anyone about my intention of travelling)

SPEAKER3: *__Yɛde to nseneyɛ ani paa deɛa__papa no di fɔ* (Technically speaking the man is at fault)

SPEAKER4: *__Ma me nka nokware nkyerɛ woo__biara suro bayie* (To tell you the truth every is afraid of witch craft)

SPEAKER5: *__Me nka no sɛ__obiara suro bayie* (If I may say so, everyone fears witch craft)

SPEAKER6: *__Sɛ me ka na ɛnha wo am__ɛka* (If you will not be offended I will let you know)

Akan speakers use style markers to indicate they are speaking on the stance object as it is and that they have nothing to hide. When speakers want to be straight forward and speak as it is, they use the expressions ***ma me nka nokware nkyerɛ wo (**let me tell you the truth)and ***nokware paadeɛ (**to be honest)**.** Sometimes, some speakers like to test the mood of the interlocutor before they express their opinion. So, some resort to a form of permission to speak in case some expressions become offensive as in ***sɛ me ka na ɛnha wo a*** (If you will not be offended). However, some speakers use this marker as a way of buying time to think of what to say as can be seen in the case of Speaker1.

4.3.4 Deontic stance markers

Xu and Long (2013) argue that what corresponds to epistemic modality is deontic modality, where the verbs mark the speaker‟s attitude to social factors of *obligation, responsibility and permission*. Deontic modals, like epistemic modals, signal a speaker‟s judgments but while with epistemic marking the judgments are about the way the real world is, it is about how people should behave in the worldwhen it comes to deontic stance marking. Broadly speaking, epistemic modality signals the level of knowledge or degree of certainty or possibility of a given state of affairs, while deontic modality concerns the necessity or obligation that such state of affairs will obtain (Reilly et al, 2005). The functions of deontic markers are discussed in the following sections:

4.2.4.1 Necessity/obligation stance markers

Necessity/obligation stance markers tell the idea a speaker holds about things and actions or event that is necessary and that must be performed according to what they believe. Akan, like all languages, uses stance markers that show obligation or necessity. Some stance markers used in the language are ***ɛnneɛ*** (then)**,** ***ɛsɛ sɛ*** (it should)**,** ***ɛhia sɛ*** (it is necessary)**,** ***ɛtwa sɛ*** (it is obligatory)**,** ***ɛwɔ sɛ** (it must)* and other forms to express necessity or obligatory.These markers tell the writer or speaker to perform an event or to see things in a way determined by the writer or speaker (Hyland, 2005) cited in Xu and Long (2008).

Basically, they are used to alert mainly obligation expected of the other interlocutor. This is illustrated in Extract 16:

Extract 16

SPEAKER1: *Akwantuo deɛ* ***ɛwɔ sɛ****wo kɔ bɔ ɔsɔfoɔ amaneɛ (You must inform your priest if you are travelling)*

SPEAKER2: *Akwantuo deɛ* ***ɛhia sɛ****wo bɔ ɔsɔfoɔ amaneɛ* (It is necessary to inform your priest.)

SPEAKER3: Sɛ onnya mmaeɛ a ***ɛnneɛ*** ɔmmɔ ɔsɔfoɔ amaneɛ (If he will keep long then he should inform the priest.)

These markers were obtained when respondents were expressing their opinion on the issue that if a church member gets opportunity to travel overseas he should inform the priest. Even though not all respondents agreed they should inform their priest with valid reasons, they realized that there is nothing more they can do than to inform the priest if their sudden departure will bring a gap in the service.

4.2.4.2 Expressing possibility/ability

Speakers who use these markers, according to Xu and Long (2008), think or assume that some things are capable of happening or have the ability to do something. These markers suggest "*I give the permission*‟, indicate „somebody has the ability‟, and express possibility in a more general sense" (Palmer, 2001, p. 10, cited in Li, 2004). Some of these markers in Akan are ***ɛbɛma*** (*it will), **ɛbɛtumi*** (it can) and **ɛkwan biara so** (it is possible). An example is shown in Extract 17, where speakers were responding to why there is need for a child to go in search of the father.

Extract 17

SPEAKER1: *sɛ ɔhunu no a* ***ɛbɛma*** *wahunu sɛ ɔwɔ papa* (*it will let him feel that he has a father)*

SPEAKER2: *Sɛ ɔkɔhwehwɛ no a* ***ɛbɛtumi*** ama woahunu sɛ wayeyie anaa ɛnte saa *(it can let him be at peace to know the status of his father)*

The markers*might* for instance, is normally a tentative alternative form to *may* with present time reference and merely indicates a little less certainty about the possibility (Palmer, 1990; Quirk et al, 1985). Possibility/ability stance markers are also present in Akan.

4.3.4.3 Expressing permission

These markers suggest „I give the permission", or „I am seeking permission. In Akan there are various ways native speakers use to express permission as ***mepɛsɛ***(I want to)**,** ***mɛtumi*** *(Can I/ May I)*,***mesrɛ sɛ***(I ask that)*,* ***mɛsrɛ kwan***(*I want to ask permission*). An example is seen in Extract 18:

Extract 18

SPEAKER 1: ***Mepɛsɛ*** *mekyerɛ m'adwene wɔ biribi ho a ɛfa adesua ho (*I want to express my opinion about learning)

SPEAKER 2*: Ɛɛ* ***mɛtumi*** *akasa? (Can I/ May I talk?)*

SPEAKER 3: ***meresrɛ kwan*** *akasa (I want to ask permission to speak)*

In Extract 18, the marker***mepɛsɛ*** makes it look like the speaker is just telling the other interlocutor her intention and not asking for permission. In Akan, a direct statement of your intention to your interlocutor is a form of permission which does not need approval but is used as a way of showing respect to take leave while you are still together. In the case of Speaker 2, ***mɛtumi*** *(Can I/ May I)* in its real sense is a question which demands an answer or response. However, it is accepted in Akan as a person‟s position seeking permission to talk and that the other interlocutors should accord him/her audience. Akans do turn taking in conversation. When a speaker wants to flow in his/her utterances and does not want any interruption while on the floor, they usually use the expression ***ma me kwan*** (permit me) to seek permission to do something without interruption. ***Meresrɛ kwan*** (I ask for permission) and ***meresrɛ (***I seek permission)are also stance markers that indicate permission in Akan.

4.3.4.4 Expressing causation/effort

These markers, according to Xu and Long (2008, p. 13), "show the results and consequences caused by something or some actions". They also explain that these markers represent the efforts or the activities that need to take place in order to get the required results according to the speaker‟s belief. These stance markers are also used in include***ɛno nti*** (for that reason), ***efiri sɛ*** (because), ***ɛno na,*** **sɛ ɛbɛ yɛ a** (so that) *and* **ɛnne sɛ** (that is why). An example is shown in Extract 19, where speakers were responding to the changes that technology has brought to the world.

Extract 19

SPEAKER 1: *Ena wohu sɛ human right no nso a, aba no ɛno nso yɛ another factor. Nti me me feel sɛ factors bi a aba soɔ* ***ɛno na*** *ama saa nneema no nyinaa asesa ɛnnɛ.(*I see human right as the factor of this change)

SPEAKER 2: kanee tete no na yɛ wɔ yɛn kwan a yɛfaso prevent anaase yɛ train akwadaa abaayaa **sɛ ɛbɛ yɛ a** ɔrenyinsen biribi te sɛ kyiribra sɛ wahu **ɛnne sɛ** modernity atwa mu a yɛnnyɛ saa yi (In the olden days we had a way of training girls but modernity has taken it off)

SPEAKER 3: *Ebi te sɛ wo deɛ mɛfa no sɛ, kanee tete no na yɛ wɔ yɛn kwan a yɛfaso prevent anaase yɛ train akwadaa abaayaa* ***sɛ ɛbɛ yɛ a*** *ɔrenyinsen biribi te se kyiribra se wahu ɛnne yɛ se modernity atwa mu yɛnnyɛ saa* (in the olden day we had a way of preventing teenage pregnancy so that the girls will not be cast out of the village but modernity has stopped all this).

Causation stance markers manifest the relations of cause and effect, and the effort or action that people take referring to the question under discussion. It also involves the results or consequences that arise from this. Thus, the markers indicate the cause or results related to people, or things people are concerned about.

4.3.4.5 Summary

This section so far has established the functions various types of stance markers identified in the data perform in the language. It has been identified that epistemic stance marker are expressions based on the knowledge of the speaker to express certainty, doubt, actuality and reality, source of knowledge,view point or perspective, imprecision and limitation. Attitude stance markers on the other hand are used by Akans to express expectation, evaluation and judgment of importance. Style stance markers simply express the way and manner speakers express their stance. Deontic markers are expressions that deal with ethical or moral obligations of a speaker such as expressing necessity/obligation**,** possibility and ability, permission and causation/effort. The distribution of various expressions identified in the work functions they perform is illustrated in the Table 4.3.4.5.

Table 4.3.4.5. Distribution of types of functional stance markers

Stance	**Types**	**Number**
Epistemic	Doubt	14
	Source of knowledge	8
	Certainty	7
	View point/perspective	7
	Actuality	5
	Imprecision	4
	Limitation	3
Attitude	Expectation	5
	Evaluation	3
	Importance	1
Deontic	Causation	6
	Necessity	5
	Permission	5
	Possibility	5
Style		5
Total		**83**

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the occurrences of stance markers used by Akan speakers. These markers have been shown to be realized by the semantic categories of epistemic, attitude, style, and deontic. Epistemic stance is predominant in my data, hence, its evidence in the work. Deontic stance marker talks about speaker‟s attitude to social factors of *obligation, causation, responsibility and permission* and were next in appearance after epistemic markers. Attitude and style stance markers are also present but the frequency of their occurrence is much lower compared to epistemic stance markers. With regard to style stance marker, there are very few actual instances that are aimed at describing the manner of speaking. The discussion so far suggests that Akans have various ways of expressing stance in their language.

This chapter also discussed the structural patterns of the stance markers. These were seen to contain adverbial phrases, noun phrases, main clauses, and subordinate clauses, to express epistemic, style, attitude, and deontic stance marking in Akan. It is seen from the data that an adverb alone can function as a stance marker in the language. This phenomenon also supports an issue pointed out in Nuyts (2001, p. 56), that "adverbs are used more frequently than adjectives when it comes to epistemic modality". However, there are more epistemic stance markers in the language than the other stance markers. Evidential stance marker was found to have the same meaning and features with Biber et al‟s (2002) *source of knowledge* hence, was not treated as a type in terms of the functions in the analysis. This is because the same form is used and treated as one under the epistemic source of knowledge and any of the two forms are used in similar situations to achieve similar effects.The analysis has shown that there is a vast difference between the forms of stance markers used in English and Akan. Through series of conversations, the analysis revealed that some structures exist in English but not in Akan. Subsequently, it was realized that Akan uses different word classes to express the same idea of stance as may be expressed in English.

Stance in Akan has been seen to perform various functions according to the meaning they carry. They express function of certainty, doubt, actuality and reality, source of knowledge, view point or perspective, imprecision and limitation. Stance markers again are used by Akans to express expectation, evaluation and judgment of importance. Some stance markers simply express the way and manner speakers express their opinion. Other stance markers are also used to express the ethical or moral obligations of a speaker such as necessity/obligation**,** possibility and ability, permission and causation/effort. To conclude Akans has a unique way of expressing stance. The structures identified in this work have shown that Akans do not have a specific lay down structure to construct stance marking. In some situations, Akans maintain a structure but use synonymous nouns to construct a different stance without breaking the structure like **M'*adwene***_mu no_(in my mind), ***me nteaseɛmu no***(to my understanding) and me **nsusueɛ**_mu no_ (I suggest). These words relate in meaning which all link to the use of the brain to analyse issues. This work has shown that Akans express stance marking in their daily interactions using a combination of many word classes in the structure to construct stance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This Chapter discusses the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The overall goal of this study was to investigate the stance markers used in Akan in terms of its structure and functions and how they differ from each other in the use of stance features. Previous researchers have mainly examined stance-taking in English and other languages (e.g. Hyland, 2005). This study is distinctive in that it examined how Akan speakers construct stance when they interact. The first part of the chapter presents the summary of findings which illustrate how the three research questions of the study are answered. This study contributes to the field by identifying stance taking strategies used in Akan and shows the differences in the use of four categories of stance structure with hopes of gaining better understanding of these structures. In many cases, the findings of this study have further validated that Akans have different categories of stance taking. The chapter further provides a discussion of the implications of these results and addresses the limitations of the study. The chapter ends with suggestions and directions for future research on the investigation of stance markers.

5.1 Summary of findings

The current study answered three research questions. The major findings of this study focused on the research questions which extensively talked about the types of stance markers, the structure of these markers, and the functions these markers perform. In all, speakers of Akan exhibited various kinds of stance markers.

5.1.1 Types of stance markers

The first research question examined what types of stance markers are in Akan. The findings suggest that Akan speakers make use of expressions of stance. The analysis showed these speakers make use of epistemic, evidential, attitude, style and deontic stance markers. The results further showedepistemic stance markers were the most frequently used, followed by deontic and attitude stance markers, with style stance markers being the least stance used by Akans. These findings correspond with Biber et al"s (2012) review of stance adverbials that argue that the highest frequency of overall stance adverbials is in conversation. Again, all of the most common stance adverbials were epistemic stance markers.

5.1.2 The structure of Akan stance markers

The second research question aimed at exploring the structure of stance markers used by Akan. Findings established that Akans have different structures in the construction of stance markers. Predominant among these structures were subordinate clauses. Four main structures were identified in stance construction in Akan. They are noun phrase, adverbial phrase, main clause and subordinate clause. As far as the structure is concerned, Akan speakers use more subordinate clauses to construct stance followed by main clauses, noun phrases and adverbial phrases are the least structure identified in the language, even though an adverb alone could stand as a stance marker.

5.1.3 The functions of Akan stance markers

The focus of the third research question was on a functional description of the use of stance markers. This research question comprised of a qualitative analysis of the most frequent type of stance marker in Akan. One of the most common strategies used by the speakers was the use of modal verbs (could, may, might, should, and would) as a hedging strategy as well as adverbs. This finding, in line with Hyland (1994), assert cautiously through the frequent use of modal verbs in representing and explaining their opinion. The uses of cognitive verbs (think and believe) were more frequent in Akan along with the use of first-person pronouns. The common use of self-mention markers and the use of first-person pronouns (*me=I*) demonstrated that stance-taking was personal in Akan.

The analysis also revealed that Akans use epistemic stance markers to express certainty, doubt, actuality and reality, source of knowledge, limitation, viewpoint or perspective, and imprecision. These findings resonate with other studies (e.g. Abdi, 2002; Abdollahzadeh, 2011; Hyland, 2011) which found hedges to be the most occurring category of stance that perform the function of epistemic doubt. Attitude stance markers were used by Akans to express expectation, evaluation and judgment of importance. Deontic stance markers on the other hand were used by Akans to express necessity or obligation, Possibility/ability**,** Causation/effort, responsibility and permission. In Akan, stance-taking was more personal due to the frequent use of self-mention markers. Confirming Hyland‟s (2011) finding, Akan native speakers tended to use first-person subject pronoun before hedges frequently to construct an authorial self and to emphasize their contribution to the discussion. The common use of self-mention markers and the use of first-person pronouns (*me=I*) demonstrated that stance-taking was personal in Akan.

5.2 The importance of stance markers in Akan discourse

The study undoubtedly has unraveled the importance of having knowledge about the structure and functions of stance markers in Akan. One of such importance is the introduction of reinforcement or summary of a previous statement where in conversation, participants normally care who says what and monitor it accordingly (Du Bois, 2007). This explains that when interlocutors interact and a person takes stance, the other interlocutor also has opportunity to evaluate and take stance. In a situation where the second speaker agrees with the first interlocutor, he/she can use a marker that presupposes that he/she is taking the same stance. For example, ***mensosaa*** (me also), can be used to summarize the first speaker‟s utterance and by so doing, show alignment with the first speaker. In addition, the study of stance markers in Akan contributes to the interactive nature of conversation to confirm what Biber et al. note: "in addition to communicating propositional content, speakers and writers commonly express personal feelings attitudes, value judgments, or assessments; that is they express stance" (Biber et al, 1999, p. 966). This gives clear indication that our choice of words in communication in terms of stance taking also depicts our feelings and emotions as well.

Stance markers used by Akan native speakers can also be used for enthusiastic emphasis. That is to say that having an approval from the interlocutor of being certain about the stance objects can enable me rely on his/her stance. This goes to confirm what Du Bois notes that, the stance taker evaluates an object positions a subject (usually the self) and aligns with other subjects (Du Bois, 2007). Stance markers in Akan also help in order not to prolong arguments. Once a speaker takes a stance and you support his/her evaluation, you can choose to align and if you don"t agree, there is an opportunity to also take a stance. In addition, stance markers can be used to soften suggestion. When a doubt stance marker is used it does not make a final decision. This means there is opportunity to make an evaluation, giving an opportunity for one to take another stance that may suit the situation.

5.3 Implications for communication among the Akans

The findings of this study suggest some implications for Akan native speakers and researchers. Several important implications pertain to the structure and functions of Akan stance markers. Despite the fact phrases and clauses expressions of stance, their frequencies differed across their usage and each had its own way to protect itself into the expression. By attending to stance markers, each structure and function could help Akans understand how they could express their opinions or construct identity in conversation? Another implication that can be drawn is that Akans can benefit from this comparative study to know the word classes that they use in constructing stance. This research not only analyzed structure differences, but investigated how Akan native speakers use stance features in conversation. The findings of these analyses may help Akans and writers understand how Akans present themselves during conversation. This may help novice writers raise their awareness of the use of stance in conversation among the Akans. Their awareness could promote their way of presenting their opinions and help them communicate better among the Akans. In addition, the current study points out the various functions these markers perform in the Akan language to better understand the little or no knowledge that Akans used more stance markers than expected. Investigating stance markers used by Akans helps the understanding of the frequent use of stance in conversation among the Akans.

5.4 Suggestions for future research

Based on the findings and limitations of this study, several recommendations could be made for future research, calling attention to the importance of more studies to compare stance markers in English which are not expressed by the native speakers of Akan. One proposal for future research concerns the size of the sample. Future studies could consider involving more research sites. For instance, participants could be drawn from different research sites rather than only one community which could reveal significant results. In order to better understand the different uses of stance, further studies also need to examine additional ways of using stance markers. More studies on stance focusing on Akan stance markers may greatly benefit the understanding of how Akans take stance. In addition, future studies on stance could investigate the perceptions of the speaker. With regard to Akan native speakers, follow-up interviews could be carried out to understand, for example, the speakers" awareness of how they present themselves and their opinions in their conversation. These studies may reveal significant information related to the use of the categories of stance.

5.5 Conclusion

According to Biber (2006), stance expressions can convey many different kinds of personal feelings and assessments, including attitudes that speakers have about certain information, how certain they are about its veracity, how they obtained access to the information, and what perspective they are taking. Many other researchers agree with the definitions of stance even though they take these from different angles in respect to the names given to this social act. For example, while some call it stance, others call it evaluation. I applied varied research instruments to arrive at the results. Furthermore, the participants" responses to the interview questions were presented and analyzed. The patterns of responses to the interview questions varied. However, there were similarities of responses in the interview. The study was not without its limitations. These limitations relate to the sample size, number of participants, and reliability of the participants. One of the limitations to this study stems from the small sample size of population representing to all Akans in Ghana and concerns the lack of diversity among the students, teachers and the Abrepo community, some of whom were not willing to allow their voices to be recorded.

A stance is consequential because it leads to real consequences for the person or institution"s point of view. Hence, some participants were unwilling to record their voices but would want to grant the interview so that I take notes while they speak. From the results it was evident that Akans use stance markers extensively in their interactions and that epistemic stance markers occurred more frequently among the types of stance markers identified. These findings confirm Conrad and Biber"s (2000, pp. 63-72) assertion that stance marking is frequent in conversation. Again, marking of epistemic stance was more frequent overall than marking attitude and style which showed clearly in my work. In addition, single adverbs were more frequent than the other grammatical realization in all registers. Finally, their finding was that finite clauses were more frequent in conversation than in the registers. These general findings by Conrad and Biber‟s (2000) on stance are what are seen in the data collection among the Akans.

Akans use stance markers in their daily conversations with most of the markers being epistemic. These markers were used based on the functions they want to construct with the stance marker as being certain or expressing doubt in the stance taken. Even though single adverbs were more frequent than the other grammatical realization in all registers to express stance, Akan native speakers at some points used a combination of adverbs to express doubt which one of them could perform the same function. These combinations were used when speakers mostly don‟t want to bear the consequence of their stance should they be held responsible for their stance taking. Akans speakers in some situations used different expressions but maintained the structure in constructing stance. Example *m'adwene mu no(in my mind), me nteaseɛ mu no(to my understanding)* and *me nsusueɛ mu no(I suggest)* are all different expressions performing the same function of view point or perspective but the structure is maintained by the speakers i.e. *Pronoun + noun + post position + determiner.* Akans therefore have their own unique way of expressing stance in their language.

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CONVERSATION

Abusuafoo merekyea mo. Mesre mo me hia mo mmoa. Mepɛsɛ me record mo de yɛ me work wai. Mesre mo obiara nkyere n“adwene. Se obi a onim se ne papa anhwe no, na wanyini na wahunu kuro a ne papa wo so na ope se oko hwehwe no. Wo betu onipa no fo se onye deen? Na deen nti na wo de saa afotuo no bema no? eno ye asemmisa a edi kan. Dee etoso mmienu. Se akwannya ba se se woretu kwan a, wo kra w“asorefoo a, eye anaase ennye? Merepe w“adwenkyere. Na kyere dee enti a, se eye a kyere dee enti a woreka saa, se wompene nso so a, mesre kyere dee enti a woreka saa. Mepamokyew monrecord no seiara ma me. Merepe mo mmuae paa ara mo mmoa me wai. Meda mo ase).

Dee etoso mmienu, m“adwene ne se ennhia se wo bebo dawuro wo asore dan mu akyere asorefoo se woretu kwan. Ewo hoara na won nhu wo a na eno ara no no. Dawurobo beberebe no mmoa.

Nea edi kan. Nea ne papa afei na wahunu se ne papa no, me megyedi se baabi a waduru yi biribiara a ese se onya firi agya ho no wannya, ennye ene yi na oreko gye aye hwee, ompe ne baabi ntena. Efirise, agya asedee a ese se oye ma no no wannye ama no. Ebi koraa na papa foforo bi na oye maa no. Enti saa papa foforo bi a oye maa no dee, omfa onoara se ne papa na onto n“adwene mu wo wei ho. Nsuo biara ye nsuo.

Mepawokyew, me nso m“adwene ne se, ewo se wo kobo Osofo no amanee, anaase wo ne Osofo no ye meeting se, Agya anaa Osofo, mepawokyew efiri nne reko yi, mepawokyew eye a monntae mon eye a mepawokyew monnhu me enti mepawokyew, mepawokyew me pe se me ka kyere mo se …………………… Enti mede nkra meregya mo anaase ka kyere wo maame se onko ka nkyere won se wonnhu no. Enoara ne m“adwene a mepe se meka.

Secondly, akwantuo ne asorefoo a worekra won no. Dee meka ne se wo a woretu kwan no, se wo ye, wo play leading role ewo asore no mu a, wo ntumi nsore prekope na wo nko a Sunday yebeto yʻʻani anaa yebehwehwe wo na yennhu wo. Mmom ennye asoremma no nyinaa na wobekra won, Sofo nkoara. Ebia, Sofo, Nyame aye adom, akwantuo abue ewo mʻʻanim enti ebia beye nnawotwe a nnawotwe mmienu a edi mʻʻanim yi, wo hwehwe me na wonnhu me a, na me ko. Enti Sofo no dee wo betumi aka akyere no. Na se, asoremma no nyina ara woreka akyere won se meretu kwan dee, eho nnhia. Se wo play leading role a, me dee ne se, se wo play leading role dee a, ennee kra Sofo. Na mmom wo ye ordinary member anaa wo ye chorister bi, wo nnye choir Director ne ayi a, na se akwantuo bi aba a, Bro, Sister, ko wo baabi. Na mmom wo play leading role dee a, ewo se wo bo Osofo amanee. Dee nti ne se, se dee ebeye a, yebeba asore na biribi, role no a wo play no na aduru ho yeto yʻʻani a yennhu wo obiara nte wonka na akyire yi won akote se watukwan, daabi, bo Sofo amanee na preparation bi wo ho a, ese se oye na ope replacement a, onye na ona ne ho so. Na eno nso me dee no no. Me da moa se.

Sandy, me dee ne papa no a, ope se oko hwehwe no no, itʻʻs in order. Ne papa no annhwe no dee, nanso oye deen a ono na ode no baa wiase. Onko nko hwehwe no. Ebi koraa papa no baabi a owo, tebea a owo mu enye. Ebia baabi a akwadaa no aduru no, ebia na ono koraa benya biribi de aboa ne papa no. Se ohyee da nso na wanhwe no a, ewo one ne Nyankopon ntem enti akwadaa no nko hwehwe no. Eno nkoara mpo no ye afodie, afobuo kesee ema papa no ankasa. He will forever feel guilty for the rest of his life. Enti akwadaa no nko hwehwe no. Onhu se yes, me papa nie. At least ese se ohunu se me papa nie, me papa te ase, aha na me papa owo. Ebi koraa ennye se oreko hwehwe no anaase orekoyi sika ama no na mmom ope se ohunu se ampa me papa wo ho enna wannhwe me anaase ebia biribi aba ne nsem na ope se oko hwehwe no. Eno dee onko hwehwe no, owo tebea bone mu a, onhwe no ennye hwee onoara akwadaa no afa mu dee se ese ohwe ne papa no anaase ohwehwe ne papa no onhwehwe no but papa noara a wannhwe akwadaa no, eye one ne Nyankopon ntem asem a, obeyi ano wo Nyankopon ho. Enti ope se oko a, onko na onko hwehwe no.

(Me nua ye audio recording bre me na kyere me w‟adwene wai. Se obi wo akwantuo mu na otumi de sika emane ene nneema a, wo betumi aka se, wakoye yie wo ho anaase onnyee yie na mmom orebo ne ho mmoden ara? Kyere me w‟adwene wai. Me pe no audio).

Ebeye afaanu. Ebetumi aba se waye yie enti oreye n‟asedee se ode nneema rebre n‟abusuafoo enti na ebia oreye saa. Ebetumi aba no se enko yee yie mmaa no saa se dee yeresusu no na mmom ebia ohunu se eye n‟asedee enti biribi kakra a obenya no ese se ode ba. Ebetumi aba se ado ne nnamfofoo bi na woreboa no emma onya saa nneema no de ba fie de beboa a,onoara ankasa a ote ho no eye den ma no. Enti me, mehu se eye nneema mmienu esiane se, akwantuo mu nsem yennim nti, ebetumi aba se wayeyie oreye yie nti oreye n‟asedee anaase onnyee yie na ebi mpo a na nnipa bi na ereboa no ama watumi de biribi aba fie. M‟adwen kyere no no.

Aane meresi so dua aka se wayeyie dee a, ne nyinasoo no gyina eneema no se nea ode beba no so ene ne ntem a ode beba. Obi wo ho a, bosome biara otumi send. Eba no saa a, metumi agyina eno so se wayeyie. Enti egyina enema no, ne dodo ne senea etee ne mpen dodoo anaa ne ntem a, ode beba no eno na metumi agyina asi no pi agyina so se, se nea oreye no yi dee, wayeyie.

Atirimuoden nso wo ho. Obi wo ho a ne tiri mu ye den. Atirimuoden ara keke se me tiri mu ye den se onhwe won. Owo bi paa ara nso esiane se ne tiri mu ye den nti, onnhwe won.

(Me da wo ase. Na se wo yi aboro firi ho a, edeen na ebesi a, emma obi nhwe ne ba? Nti mesre wo ye audio recording ma me. Wo yi aboro, aboro paa ara firi honom a, edeen na emma obi nhwe ne mma?).

Yoo Akosua, ma me nhwee, ayi ma me mfa Burgerfoo dee no ni kan, Obi ko aburokyire na se ode nneema mane na se w‟anni akyire amma a, beye mfie du afe biara oye saa a, eye nneema beberee. Dee edi kan, ebia na wahu se aburokyire no sedee yebisa kwan tu kwan, yegye kwan, how to ask permission, eye a na eye den kakra. Enti n‟adwuma a oreye no, ebia time a obesere kwan se ope se oba Ghana no, saa bere no yemfa mma no. Ena aburokyire adwuma no nso eye seasonal, season bi wo honom a, adwuma wo ho paa. Aye se wo te Nkran na Easter aduru na wo ye adwuma, ebia wo ye Radio Station na yese ok, Kwahu oo Kwahu. Wo a wo beko Kwahu no ebia eye sei, wo a wo nko a wobegye atena mu no, yebema wo sika sei wo behu se sika no a yede rema wo no ye attractive during that season no because time a aburokyire holidays dooso no aborofo no beberee beko holidays enti darkiefoo no na won na eye a woka akyire a worehwe enti eye saa na sika no ebia onipa no gye sika no a, yede rema no no feel se eno mmom sika no ho hia no se obegya adwuma ho aba. Ena two, ebi koraa na ultimately koraa no ebia yemma wo kwan, time a woresre se worepe kwan ako Ghana no yemma wo kwan mma wo nko. Oburoni fre biribi se essential services. Ebia adwuma a woreye no wo nni ho a w‟annanmu si no beye den enti yemma wo nko enti onipa no onnya kwan mma. Obi nso wo ho a na ne paaers nnye enti owo aburokyire ho dee a oreye adwuma but Nyame annye n‟adom na ogye kri ebesi Ghana ha na egye pannga, eno ara ne no waka. Me wo me wofa bi saaara , ono wakotena aburokyire saa ara obetumi amane aye biribiara. Yeasi dan awie aye biribiara nso se ebeye a obeba Ghanaha no ebeye den because ose ne papers nnye. Baako bi a otry baee Nyame nkoara nka oreka. Wahu, enti se ne papers no nnye a ennye ade a obetry se obeba mpo na wabeka ha. Eno nso ma onipa no ye n‟adwene se omma. Obi nso wo honom a ofeel se oba a, apart from ne yere ne mma a oresend won no oba a, w‟ahunu se Ghana no yeben abusua oo, enti se oba a, ebia abusua yi ese se ohwe wofa, ese se ohwe wofaase, ese se ohwe wei, ono nso sebe ne ho nso so. Aburokyire nso dee, wo firi ho ba a, yenim se o, wako bo bra na oreba enti se obeba abegye saa animguasee na ebia na onnya kwan nhwe abusuani biara nka won a aka no, ennee ona koraa mma ennee ode mane a eno mmom ye. Enna papers, ohiasem ne ade senea mereka yi ene adwuma mu ne nsem no. Basically, ebi nso a superstitious. Wonnhu se yen Ghanafoo no yeko aburokyire na ye ba a, yeye superstitious kakra. Se ebia oreba yi koraa no efie abayifoo ne ade, de n‟ani rebehwe no, ebia na w‟anntumi, yeanntumi amma no anko bio enti ohwe dwendwene ho saa na ennye adee a ofeel se obeba a, omma. Ebi nso ye economical, economic reason. Well, wohwe plane ticket ka a, obebo de aba in and out aba na ofeel se ode saa sika no send mmom a, na eno mmom aboa no a, na wahwe na ode aba because wo betwa plane ticket so many dollars wo de aba Ghana keke na wasan ko, ewo mu se nnipa ho hia dee but ka obeba abebo na saa sika no ode mane se momfa nye biribi wo fie mpo a, I think ebeboa no. Enna akoye ne yere ne ne mma yi dee yenntumi ntwa nnya se ebia wanya obaa foforo bi anaase biribi nti whatever comfort ebia ne yere de bema no ode bema no. Na mma no nso e? Nti eho no dee w‟ammisa ho yi dee memmfa nnye but se obi wo ho na se ebia owo, wanya obaa foforo wo ho a, ono no, dee ohia, obaa no ye ma no a, obefe ne yere no dee but seisei ara dee ennye adee a obeba because ofeel se wamane ne yere, wamane obiara, owo ne feelings bia at least obetumi anya obi I mean somebody is doing that job for him nti no eho nnhia se obeba Ghana. Me feel se eho no no.

Nea etoso mmienu ye; Gyama enna Sesee. Se wo hwe twi kasa mu a, ansa na yebe use gyama no, gyama no tumi ma asem a atwa mu, past event. Ebetumi agyina ho ama asem a ebesi m‟anim. Ebia me mfa no se gyama watu kwan, na ekyere se asem no asi dada. Gyama obetu kwan nti na oreye saa, eye daakye asem, daakye kabea but sesee dee eye mpenpren kabea. Saabere yi a merekasa yi, edeen na erekoso? Sesee waforo dua, sesee waboro. Saa time no a me ne wo rekasa no onipa waboro. Saa asem koro noara gyama na waboro, wotumi hunu se waye ama atwa mu. Gyama na waboro, atwa mu. Saa gyama koro noara betumi akogyina ho ama daakye kabea. Gyama obeboro, gyama obeko. Na mmom seseeno dee yenntumi nnyina ho mma daakye kabea. Sesee ye asem a atwa mu a yeguso reye, pasy participle. Sesee wada, sesee oreda seseena onni ho. Eno ne nkyerekyere mu kakra a, metumi de ama wo. I hope sem‟atumi aboa wo. Enjoy your evening.

Yaa, good morning. Wei dee fakye me. Nnawotwe yi awiee me ho kyeree me kakra. Asemmisa a, edi kan no dee hmmm. Yen nnuanom a etu ko amannone no ennye betee saa. Na yewo adwene bi wo yen tiri mu se wotu kwan ko amannone dee a, na ekyer se w‘‘ayeyie. Nti mpen pii no eye a beberee no bo won ho mmoden ede bi ba fie mpo senea ebeye a won a wo wo ha no behunu se ereko yie de ma won. Ebi wo ho a na ennko yie saa, nso obo ne ho mmoden. Obi nso wo ho a, okoduru ye no aye yie ama no. Na me dee, dee me nim ne se beberee noara bo won ho mmoden se dee ebeye a, mpo kasa a yeka se, wo kotenaa aburokyire no obra ben na wo boee no, yeannka bi ankyere won.

Yoo Yaa, eye me se nea edi kan no, eto dabi a, adwene a ewo nnipa bi tiri mu se, wo tu kwan a, na kyere se w‘‘ayeyie, enti ekoba no saa a, obi koraa wo akwantuo mu a, ope se oyere ne ho ara ma kakra bi aba fie se dee ebeye a, won a wo wo ha no nkoka se akwantuo a, otuiee no mfasoo amma so. Eto dabi a na onnyee yie ema emmoroso nanso obo ne ho mmoden senea ebeye a won a ewo ha no ennko ka se wayeyie wakotena honom enna omma ebi enso fie. M‘‘adwenkyere eno no.

Hmmmm asemmisa a etoso mmienu yi dee eye me se, se yeyi aboro firi ho a, etoo nyina to atwa o. Na eto dabi a emm, obi wo ho a na owo bi a obetumi de ahwe ne mma nanso asem yi awiee ne aboro o. Obi nso woho a Yaa, na onni bi. Onyaee a anka obeye enso na onni bi. Eno nti ebia na ode ho aniwuo ape baabi afa. Obi nso woho a, ne su ne no se ebia ono dee onhwe ba. Mmmm na ekyere se aboro noara. Yeyi aboro firi ho dee a, na ekyere se akoye se ahokyere anaase ohia na ebema obarima bi aye irresponsible. Efirise, m‘‘adwene ne se mpo wonni bia, ewo se wo kyere odo ne ade kakra ma yehunu se wo nso wo wo ho. Na ohia ne ahokyere ba, na obi wo ho na ohwe na aniwuo onntumi a, na wape baabi de ne ho afa na ekyere se wagya mmofra no de agya obaa no a, onnane n‘‘akyi emehwe won. Medaase.

(Wo gyedi se deen nti a?) Efirise ebia ope se oye adwuma beberee ka ho nya sika no bi ka ho ansa na waba fie hwe aba abehwe abusuafoo. Ebetumi nso aba se ebia na wayeyie nso na onnyee yie saa, enti orepe bi aka ho ansa na obeba fie a, waba.

(Obi nya sika a, onoara ankasa anntumi annfa sika no amma? Edeen na asi?) Ebia ayemhyehyee ne aniwuo, enam se na ne ba no sua ena ogyaa ne ho tuu kwan nti ebia ne yam hyehye no se, oba a, asem ben na ne yere anaa akwadaa no beka akyere no. Yaw ben na akwadaa no faa mu ene yaw no, yaw no a akwadaa no faa mu no ebetumi, ebetumi ama akwaadaa no ede ebetumi de yaw no aka asem bi a, ebehye ne papa no. Wahunu?

(Deen nti na ebema waye saa?) Dee emaa Ntensere yee saa ne se, Ntensere papa yee saa ma se ebia na onnyaa sika beberee, because okooee no na afe na ediie a osomaae nti na ope se ne yere no te ne nka se onwuiie eno nti na ode mfoni no baaee. Onoara ankasa amfa adee no amma. Na onnyaa sika beberee nti ope se oye adwuma no bi ka ho na se onya sika no a na waba ne kuro mu.

Ebia na wabo abusua foforo wo baabi a okopue no. Eno nti na onntumi nnya won ho nsan mma n‟akyi enti ode nneema bemane won sedee ebeye a‟ won behunu se ote ase na wonnhunu se ebia waware baabi foforo awo mma ewo honom. Sesee waware.

(Ebia na ono dee wawu mpo). Hmm orewus no na ode maa no se omfa mmra.

Madam anka meko, meko, meko efirise ebia na ne namfofoo a one won di agoro no, ebia won papanom ben won, woto nneema bere won.

(Wo beko anaa wonko?). Me na anka meye Ntensere a, anka meko efirise obiara pe n‟agya do, maame nkoara nntumi ntete oba. Nti nka Ntensere pe se anka ohu the way a papatumi hwe ne ba enti opapa oyee se obeko ako hwehwe no. (Wo beko anaa wonko?). Meko efirise won ama yeahunu se, se awofoo baako pe tete akwadaa a, eye a ntetee no ennko yie, Ntise awofoo no mmienu kabom tete abofra no a, na ebema no anya suban pa anaase obenya ntetee pa na watumi atena ase anaase obetena ase ama obiara behunu se eye ampa woatete no yie. (Wobeko anaase wo nko?). Madam me dee anka menko efirise anka papa no pe se ohu me a, anka ode nneema no reba no, anka onoara muu de beba but wampese obeba kuro mu ho abehwehwe se me te ase anaase m‟awu. E nti me paa dee anka mennko hwehwe no.

(Aden nti na Ghanafoo retu kwan a, wonkra? Na wo, woretu kwan a wobekra anaa wonnkra?).

Meretu kwan a mekra. Ghanafoo beberee retukwan a wonnkra, efirise won nim se wonkra a, dee ebesi wo ho, won nnim dee ebesi won akwantu akyi. Obi nim se okra a, ebia na wanko anko duru enti ope se okoduru ansa na okoduru a, wakra se ebia meko ne sei ne sei. Odikan kra na wannko annkoduru a, ebia ede awerehoo beba fie nti na wonnkra. (Na wo e? Woreko a wobekra?). Me dee anka mereko dee a anka mekra. (Na wo e? Wo gyedi se anka wobekra?). Mekra paa efirise me nim se meduru. Me a anka mennkra efirise me kra na se ebia aburokyire no annya amma so a, aniwuo beka me. Enti me a, anka mereko aburokyire a anka mennkra. Me koduru honom a na fre se maba abeduru.

(Wo gyedi se deen nti na onipa ko noo oretu kwan a onnkra? Wo nim busuani bi a, oretu kwan a wannkra?).

Won suro se won kra nnipa beberee a, ebi honom awonntumi nkoduru baabi a won reko no asomdwoe mu nti na beberee wo ho a won retu kwan a wonnkra gyese wokoduru ho na won akra.

Ebinom nnkra efirise nea mate ne nea mahunu ne se, se won ye won nkrataa no wo Ghana ha na won kodruru a, yesan hwe won nkrataa no mu bio. Nti yehwe na wo nkataa no nnye papa a,yebetumi asana ma abaw‟akyi. Obi nso o ho a ne krataa ye papa nso question, nsemmisa a yebebisa no no wanntumi annyi ano a, yenim se oreba abedi bone ntiyebesan ama no aba n‟akyi wo ne kuro mu. Nti na wonnkra no.

Madam wonnkra efirise, eto dabi a won koduru airport honom a, nneema beberee koso. Obi wo honom a makra onipa asomasi sei, makra m‟abusuafoo se mereko, obi wo honom a, okoduru honom mpo a, yebeka akyere no se, sei ne sein a asomasi abeka nti yemmfa wo nko nti obi wo honom a, onnkra. But me dee mereko a, mekra but mennka nkyere nnipa beberee, m‟abusuafoo kakraa bi. Me koduru honom a na m‟afre aka kyere won se m‟abeduru asomdwoe mu won mfa won mpaebo ntaa m‟akyi.

Madam me dee mekra, mekra because me maame anaase eduru ho na se maware a, me kunu. Se dee ebeye a, won ante me nka a, won behunu baabi potee ameko na won aba abehwehwe me‟akyi akwan.

Me, mehunu se nsonsonoe wo mo sesee no, sesee no a wobeka no. Sesee no mehunu ne se ene gyama no nsonsonoe wo mu efirise sesee no dee wo, wahunu na wo de reka na gyama no dee aye se worekyere w‟adwene. Se obi aka se seseeoko ne maame ho ena dee obeka se gyama oko ne maame ho ayese onim ayese onnim, nti saa.

Se yeka sesee a, onipa ko no wo nnyinasoo a, oreka saa asem no. Ebia ohyiaa onipa koro no wo baabi se ebia oreko kuro wei so. Onim se ekwan wei dee oreko a, oreko onipa asomasi ho. Ena yeka gyama no nso a,onni adwen koro a ode reka asem no. Oreka ebia ebeto mu ebia emmfa honom nti se obi kase ebia sesee oko aburokyire no no. Onim se okra no se oreko aburokyire na nansa yi onnhu no nti saa mmere yi oko. Na oka se gyama oko aburokyire a, onnim onipa koro no ho hwee, ontee ne nka nti onnim se oko anaase oko baabi foforo. Eno ne nsonsonoe a eda mu.

Madam sesee no.

Anka me dee mehunu se onipa koro no kita adee no a, ono retu me fo se ennye no a, anka medi ne ho yaw paara efirise meka se adee ne baabi a yerekoto no eye baako pe enti ono n‟ani gye hoaommpe se meto nti enna ono buu m‟aba mu wo ho a, me mekooee a ofaa akyire a okotoee nti anka medi ne ho yaw kese kese paa.

Madam me dee anka meka akyere no se oye onibrefoo because

Madam nka meka se oye onibrefooefirise me ne wo nam makohyia adee a eye me fe merebisa wo se meto, wo se daabi. Nti me hyia no dee a, anka me na me hyiaa no mpu ne mpu dee a, anhwe a, anka mebo no because adee a, ebia adekoro da m‟akoma so wo amma me annto wo mmom akoto, mekase wo ye sisifoo.

Madam (Anka ebeye wo nwanwa, wo ho bedwiri wo?). Anka me ho bedwiri me b ecause anka mehunu se like adamfop a me ne refa no.