PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSE & COMMUNICATION

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Professional Discourse & Communication is an international, peer-reviewed quarterly journal dedicated to discussing various theoretical and applied problems of professional communication. Its articles provide researchers and practitioners with the most up-to-date, comprehensive and important research, paying specific attention to modern linguistic approaches to professional discourse as well as practical aspects of teaching methodology as related to the language of particular professional spheres.

PDC specifically addresses readers in any field of professional communication (business, legal, diplomatic, economic, political, academic, medical, art and any other professional sphere) who are interested in qualitative discourse analytical approaches, on the one hand, and scholars who are interested in issues of professional communication (discourse studies, functional linguistics, pragmatics, semiotics, rhetoric, linguosynergetics, sociolinguistics, cognitive linguistics, stylistics, cross-cultural communication, cultural studies, country studies, second language acquisition and teaching methodology, and related fields), on the other hand.

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 6 ISSUE 4

Dmitry S. Khramchenko, Editor-in-Chief

Welcome to Volume 6, Issue 4 of *"Professional Discourse & Communication,"* a collection of innovative and thought-provoking studies that explore various aspects of political rhetoric, cinematic discourse, health communication, language policy, and linguistic structure. This issue presents a set of articles that highlight the significant influence of discourse in transforming our understanding of the world, affecting our behaviours, and constructing social reality. From the manipulation in political speeches to the structures governing film discourse, from the framing of health crises in media reports to the re-evaluation of language proficiency requirements, and the grammatical structures of under-researched languages, the featured articles by authors from Ghana, Russia, Ethiopia, and Nigeria offer important perspectives on the recurrent theme of the issue – the power of communication in professional and institutional discourses.

The opening paper *"Manipulative Strategies in Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Mahamudu Bawumia's Speech in Ghana"* by Abdullai Abubakar sets the stage by introducing the theme of discourse analysis and its critical application in studying political communication. It provides a foundational explanation of how discourse can be manipulated to influence public perception, which is also a theme of several other articles of this issue. Using van Dijk's ideological square framework, the author analyzes a speech by Ghana's Vice-President, revealing the linguistic strategies used to manipulate public opinions and consolidate political power. The study shows how political language reflects and constructs power relations and social disparities. This research emphasizes the need for critical engagement with political rhetoric, especially in communicative situations where language can influence electoral outcomes. The article is a must-read for scholars of political communication and anyone interested in understanding the functional, pragmatic and cognitive mechanics of language in the discourse of professional politicians.

Following the political discourse analysis, Vladislav Anisimov's *"The External Hierarchy of French Film Discourse"* extends the discussion to the cultural and socio-political extralinguistic environment of film discourse. The author's research identifies elements that define the thematic and narrative choices in French cinema, e.g., artistic works, folklore, historical events, and philosophical texts. The study demonstrates how socio-political phenomena influence cultural elements and how film discourse interacts with other forms of communication such as advertising, music, and the internet. By establishing the hierarchical position of film discourse, Anisimov offers a framework for analyzing cultural and artistic forms, enriching our knowledge of the relationship between film, culture, and society. This study highlights the interdisciplinary nature of discourse analysis and its ability to reveal the connections between artistic expression and social processes.

"Lexicalisation in Media Reports of Recurrent Diphtheria Outbreak in Nigeria: Implications for Health Communication" by Opeyemi Emmanuel Olawe builds on the themes of discourse and cultural influence by focusing on media discourse and its impact on public health communication. The author examines how Nigerian newspapers framed the recent

diphtheria outbreak, showing the influence of lexical choices on public perception and response to health crises. The study analyzes various media frames, such as "Health Crisis," "Victim," and "Government Response," demonstrating how specific lexical phrasing can predetermine public opinions. Olawe's elaborate use of frame theory and lexical priming theory puts focus on the media's role in health-related discourse, advocating for responsible reporting and collaboration between health authorities and mass media outlets during health-related disasters. This research is timely and relevant, offering necessary recommendations for policymakers, health practitioners, and media professionals.

"Beyond Language Barriers: Rethinking English Proficiency Requirements for Nigerian Graduates" by Abideen David Amodu, Kingsley Okwuruoha Ikeokwu, and Adaku Chinenye Amaechi shifts the focus to language policy and its implications for education and professional pedagogical communication. It addresses a specific issue related to language proficiency and its impact on access to international education, offering a different perspective on discourse and communication barriers. The article challenges the necessity of international English proficiency tests for Nigerian graduates and argues that their extensive exposure to English in the country should be sufficient. Through a survey of Nigerian graduates, the authors show that these tests are perceived as unnecessary and financially burdensome. Their research calls for an approach to language proficiency requirements that considers linguistic realities and promotes equitable access to international education. This article starts a conversation about fairness, equity, and global education goals, and also urges those in power to reconsider language policies that may create obstacles for students from countries like Nigeria.

Mitike Asrat, Girma Mengistu, and Endalew Assefa's *"The Structure and Function of Yemsa Adverbial Clauses: An Empirical Study"* fills a gap in the linguistic literature by analyzing adverbial clauses in Yemsa, an Omotic language spoken in southwestern Ethiopia. Using data from native speakers, the authors describe the syntactic and morphological characteristics of these clauses, identifying adverbial subordinators and their functions in expressing temporal, locative, manner, reason, and purpose relations. This study contributes to what we know about linguistic diversity and the workings of human language, as well as emphasizing the importance of documenting and analyzing under-researched languages. Moreover, the results of this research demonstrate the relevance of linguistic structures in professional discourse, considering how the precise use of adverbial clauses can enhance clarity and cohesiveness for communication in different professional spheres, from legal and medical fields to educational and technical areas. Linguists and language enthusiasts alike will find this article a compelling addition to the field of syntax and morphology.

"Metaphorical Conceptualization of Sadness in Wolaita" by Faskal Faranso Faltamo, Derib Ado Jekale, and Mulugeta Tarekegne Tsegaye explores the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions, specifically sadness, in a rare language of Wolaita. It provides a cross-cultural and cognitive-linguistic approach that explains how language defines emotional experiences, tying together the themes of discourse, language, and communication in a delicate and reflective manner. The authors examine how the Wolaita people of Ethiopia conceptualize sadness through metaphorical expressions in their language, applying the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Metaphors such as "sadness is pain," "sadness is fluid," and "sadness is a gift" reveal both shared patterns and culturally specific ways of perceiving emotions. This research is connected directly to the study of professional

communication by offering examples of how emotional language is formed by culture. In professions such as psychology, anthropology, and international relations, recognizing these conceptual frameworks is critical for clear and empathetic interaction. By analyzing how emotions are expressed in Wolaita, this study emphasizes the importance of the cultural background of professional discourse and encourages further exploration of emotion metaphors in communication in different languages and societies.

Lastly, in the "Conference Report" section of this issue, Victoria Malakhova overviews the main discussions at the International Scientific Conference "English Studies in the Third Millennium: New Approaches and Development Trends", which was held on October 3-5, 2024 in Minsk, Belarus.

As always, this issue of *"Professional Discourse & Communication"* reflects our commitment to publishing high-quality, interdisciplinary research that advances the studies related to professional discourse and institutional verbal interaction. We invite our readers to engage deeply with these studies, reflect on their implications, and consider how they might inform future academic research and practical applications in their respective fields.

MANIPULATIVE STRATEGIES IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MAHAMUDU BAWUMIA'S SPEECH IN GHANA

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Abstract: The exploration of the discourse-power interplay has been the motivation behind Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research orientation. CDA analysts have and continue to display vivid interest in the discourse of the dominant groups, particularly politicians, with the objective of describing and elucidating how existing social structures – power abuse, dominance, and inequality – are enacted, reproduced and sustained. While there is a vibrant literature on political speeches, not much work has been done on discursive manipulation as a form of social power abuse and dominance in political discourse from the Ghanaian perspective. This study therefore presents a critical analysis of a political speech by Mohammadu Bawumia, presidential candidate for the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP), with the aim of investigating how the Vice-President discursively represents himself, the government, and the past government as a strategy for accomplishing his manipulative goal. Drawing on van Dijk's ideological square framework for analysis, the result shows the use of the macro-strategy of positive representation of the in-group (government) and negative representation of the out-group (opposition or former government), which manifests at all levels of discourse through the use of other minor discursive strategies: positive self-presentation, authority, number game rhetoric, active/passive structures, implication, and presupposition. Key findings include the strategic use of statistics to enhance credibility, the deployment of passive constructions to conceal government failures, and the use of metaphors to dissociate Bawumia from the government's shortcomings. The outcome of the study implies that political speeches are imbued with covert ideologies, asymmetrical power relations, power abuse, dominance, inequality, and deception, which can only be exposed and resisted through the application of CDA tools. The study therefore recommends advocacy by policymakers and other civil society groups to awaken the consciousness of readers and listeners of political speeches to scrutinize political utterances, given their opaque nature and partisan or ideological functions.

Keywords: manipulation, manipulative strategies, ideology, political discourse, critical discourse analysis, ideological square.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, the presumption that discourse (language use) is socially constitutive and socially determined has culminated in a growing scholarly interest in the exploration of the relationship between discourse and social power within critical discourse analysis (henceforth, CDA) (Fairclough, 2003; Cap, 2014; Boyd & Llamas, 2018). CDA has been primarily concerned with how existing social power structures — power abuse, dominance, and inequality — are enacted, reproduced, sustained, and resisted through the text and talk of dominant groups, particularly politicians (Fairclough, 2001, 2003; van Dijk, 2003). While there is extensive literature on the speeches of politicians from various parts of the world, discursive manipulation in presidential rhetoric remains underexplored, particularly from the Ghanaian perspective. Existing literature on Ghanaian political discourse mainly focuses on ideologies, power, and solidarity (Anderson, 2014; Addy & Ofori, 2020; Danquah, 2020; Antwi, 2022; Adae, Danquah, Hamidu & Agyei-Yeboah, 2023).

To address the gap identified above, the current study analyzes Mohammadu Bawumia's outdooring speech, with the aim of exploring the linguistic/discursive tactics and techniques he utilized to achieve his manipulative goal in the speech. As purposely intended for the outdooring of Bawumia as a candidate for the 2024 presidential election, this speech represents various social groups — the candidate himself, the government, the opposition party, and the Ghanaian electorates — either in positive or negative light. Consequently, it generated a talking point in the Ghanaian media landscape, making it an appropriate material for critical analysis. The current study is unique as it is the first Ghanaian study to examine Bawumia's speech through the lens of critical discourse analysis. The relevance of the current study, therefore, lies in its potential to contribute to the vibrant literature on critical discourse analysis of political discourse, in general, and Ghanaian political discourse, in particular. More specifically, it attempts to uncover the hidden intention behind the strategies and structures deployed in the speech. Further, it hopes to enhance the understanding of the discourse-power interplay by establishing how political text and talk contribute to the enactment and reproduction of power abuse and dominance. Finally, it is envisaged that the outcome of the current study will contribute immensely to awakening the consciousness of the Ghanaian electorates to be critical of political language to resist political manipulation, dominance, and discrimination.

1.1. Background

H. E. Dr. Mahamadu Bawumia is the current Vice President of the Republic of Ghana and a Former Deputy Governor of Ghana's Central Bank. Between 2008 and 2016, he was a running mate to the then flagbearer of the New Patriotic Party (henceforth NPP), Nana Akufo-Addo. While in opposition, Bawumia delivered several public lectures on the Ghanaian economy, attacking the then government for mismanaging the economy. This made him popular in the Ghanaian political landscape, both within and outside his party. Unfortunately, since 2020, the state of the Ghanaian economy has not been in good shape.

Consequently, many Ghanaians, including the opposition, have attributed the current economic crisis to the government's bad policies. A few months ago, as another general election looms, the Vice-President was elected the flagbearer of the ruling NPP. This generated talking points, both in

the traditional media and on social media. Critics, including some members of the party, claimed the NPP committed political suicide for choosing the Vice President as its flagbearer on the account that he failed to fix the Ghanaian economy. On February 7, 2024, Vice President Bawumia addressed the nation on the achievements of the government, his vision/priorities, and why he is the best candidate for the presidency. Not surprisingly, the speech garnered attention in the media landscape as well as from political analysts from different academic disciplines. While some analysts opined that the Vice-President dissociated himself from the failure of the government, others embraced the speech.

1.2. Research Questions

The current study analyzes Bawumia's political (outdooring) speech, with the aim of investigating the ideological discursive strategies utilized by the speaker to represent himself, the government, and the opposition while manipulating the audiences. Thus, the study seeks to explore the various ways in which the speaker discursively establishes and maintains power and dominance in connection with the binary opposition between Us and Them in his speech. The study is therefore guided by the following specific questions:

a) What discursive strategies are employed in the speech?

b) How do the discursive strategies assist the speaker in exercising power and dominance over his audience?

1.3. Organization of the study

The study is structured as follows: the next section presents the theoretical background, where the theoretical foundation underpinning the study, key concepts, related literature, and analytical framework are discussed. Section three deals with the method, data and analysis procedure while section four is devoted to the results of the study. Section five deals with a discussion of findings while the final section presents the conclusion and implication(s) of the study.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

The current study employs a CDA methodological approach to investigate how power abuse and dominance are reproduced and sustained by political text and talk. Proponents of CDA (Fairclough, 2001, 2003; van Dijk, 2001, 2015; Wodak, 2007; van Leeuwen, 2009) postulate that discourse (language use) contributes to reproducing and sustaining power abuse, dominance and exploitation. Therefore, CDA's aims at demystifying text and talk by uncovering the occurrences of power abuse, dominance and exploitation are embedded in it. Van Dijk (2001, p. 352) defines CDA as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Thus, CDA analysts explore the communication strategies and structures that are employed to influence or manipulate audiences. The CDA approach is multifarious – it is not derived from one single specific theory but rather from "different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 5). While a detailed

description of these approaches is beyond the scope of this study, it is imperative to mention four notable ones that have offered immense contributions to the growth of CDA: Fairclough's (2001) Dialectical Relational Approach, Wodak's (2007, 2015) Discourse-Historical Approach, van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Representation framework and van Dijk's CDA approach (2001).

2.2. Ideology

One of the crucial notions of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is ideology, as it constitutes the basis of social power structures. Traditionally, ideologies are false consciousness, rigid or misguided ideas shared by the dominant groups (Richardson, 2007; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Van Dijk, 2004). By contrast, from a contemporary perspective, ideologies are positive properties shared by both dominant and dominated groups (van Dijk, 2004). Fairclough (1989, 2001) regards ideologies as common-sense assumptions which contribute to reproducing and sustaining unequal power relations, and are often taken for granted. In this respect, ideologies are the property of discourse structure and events (discourse is a material or observable form of ideology) (Fairclough, 2013). Van Dijk (1998, 2004), on the other hand, approaches ideology from a sociocognitive perspective, defining it as the foundation of social representations shared by group members. For van Dijk (1998), ideologies cannot be seen as taken-for-granted commonsense assumptions because they are often explicitly taught, acquired, and expressed by group members. Unlike Fairclough, Van Dijk (2004) states that ideologies invest in discourse structures through cognitive representations shared by group members. This means that the relationship between discourse structures and social structures is mediated by social representations (cognition) (see also Chilton, 2005). Despite the diversity in the approaches to ideologies, all the scholars seem to be emphasizing the relationship between discourse (language use) and social power.

2.3. Manipulation

The essence of political discourse is the attainment of power and dominance; hence, social power is a crucial notion of CDA. Van Dijk (2006b) discusses two forms of social power: persuasion and manipulation. Persuasion refers to the legitimate exercise of control by dominant groups over the dominated groups. Thus, in persuasion, interlocutors have access to information and therefore act depending on whether or not they accept the argument of the persuader or speaker. However, this study is concerned with manipulation – the ultimate goal of all discourses and practices of politicians. Manipulation is a form of social power abuse – dominance – "the exercise of a form of illegitimate influence by means of discourse" (van Dijk, 2006b, p. 360). In manipulation, unlike persuasion, interlocutors believe or act in the interest of the manipulator and against their own interests, which contributes to the reproduction of inequality in democratic states (Emeka-Nwobia, 2016). Thus, manipulation is "a communicative and interactional practice, in which a manipulator exercises control over other people, usually against their will or against their best interests" (van Dijk, 2006b, p. 360). It is a social, cognitive and discursive phenomenon that involves control of dominated group members' actions and discourses, control of their minds and is reproduced by text and talk (van Dijk, 2006b; van Dijk, 2016; Qaiwer, 2020). More importantly, it thrives on privileged access to, and control over public discourse (Van Dijk, 2003, 2006b). That is, by virtue of special access to public discourse and communicative events, speakers may use discourse structures in a way that enables them to control or influence the knowledge, attitudes,

norms, values and ideologies of their audiences. In this respect, discourse is synonymous with other valued social resources on the basis of which power is exercised, and to which there is unequally distributed access.

2.4. Political discourse

The term *political discourse* is used multifariously to denote discourses and practices associated with asymmetrical power relations, dominance and resistance. Schaffner and Chilton (2002, p. 5) see *political discourse* as "the struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it". For the purpose of this current study, however, political discourse is used in its narrow sense to denote text and talk of professional politicians, such as presidents, ministers, parliamentarians, presidential candidates, and so on, emphasizing the dialectical relationship between discourse (language-use) and politics (van Dijk, 1997); Chilton & Schaffner, 2002; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Wilson, 2001, 2015). Van Dijk (2004, p. 24; 2006a, p. 728) regards politics as "one of the social domains whose practices are virtually exclusively discursive as well as ideological, and political cognitions are largely reproduced by text and talk". Political ideologies are shared by group members and are expressed through language-use (discourse), presupposing that, as Fairclough (2001) states, discourse (language-use) shapes ideologies and is shaped by ideologies. Kpeglo and Gidi (2022, p. 92) assert that "language-use is ideological in nature since it involves the careful selection of linguistic forms that express the user's desired message".

2.5. Empirical Studies

A plethora of existing studies on political speeches examine ideologies and social power relations through pronominal choices (Blass Arroyo, 2000; Allen, 2007; Sharndama, 2016; Shyam, 2022; Putri & Kurniawan, 2015; Wieczorek, 2013; Adegoju, 2014; Wirth-Koliba, 2016; Allami & Barzegar, 2020). Others are also devoted to discursive manipulation, which is the focus of the current study (van Dijk, 2006; Nazish et al., 2014; Cabrejas-Peñuelas & Díez-Prados, 2014; Vadai, 2017; Qaiwer, 2020). Van Dijk (2006) analyzes Tony Blair's parliamentary speech on the war against Iraq in 2003, using his Triangulated framework. Van Dijk (2006b, p. 380) reports that manipulative discourse features the following strategies: enhancing the power, moral superiority and credibility of the speaker(s), and discrediting dissidents, while vilifying the Others, the enemy; the use of emotional appeals; and adducing seemingly irrefutable proofs of one's beliefs and reasons. Subsequently, Vadai (2017) applies the Power, Ideology and Manipulation Identification (PIMI) instrument to analyze the same speech by Blair. Akin to van Dijk, Vadai (2017, p. 126) reports the following strategies: "a focus on 'Our' positive acts and 'Their' negative acts, giving few or many details, being general or specific in connection with certain topics, being vague or precise, and explicit or implicit." The author concludes that while ideologies constitute the basis of manipulation (illegitimate influence), manipulation might enhance the power of the speaker through ideologically biased utterances.

Among existing studies on campaign speeches, Cabrejas-Peñuelas and Díez-Prados (2014) conducted a corpus analysis of the pre-electoral debate between candidates of the two main political parties in Spain. Using Martin and White's analytical framework for the analysis, the co-authors find that both candidates used evaluative devices as a strategy for winning votes while representing

their opponents negatively. Similarly, Nazish and Illahi (2014) analyze the campaign speech of Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan by applying van Dijk's Sociocognitive framework. The co-authors find that the speaker used a propagandistic strategy to construct a good image for herself and her members and a bad image for the opposition party. They conclude that the linguistic choices made by the speaker reproduce inequality and dominance. Further, Qaiwer (2020) applies three theoretical approaches to examine the representation of Islam and Muslims in President Trump's 2016 campaign speech: epistemic discourse analysis theory, discourse and manipulation framework and social actors' representation framework. The author finds that the representation of Islam and Muslims and how the representation was legitimized by Trump reproduced positive representation in one context and negative presentation in another. Emeka-Nwobia (2016) applies Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze the electoral campaign speeches of Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo and Goodluck Jonathan. The paper aims to determine how language is utilized as an instrument for manipulating the electorates by politicians and the result reveals that the two presidents utilized manipulative language to market their agenda by portraying themselves to be humble servants, and political redeemers, aligning with the vast majority of the suffering. Similarly, using Culpeper's (1996) Impoliteness theory to analyze the '2019' campaign speeches by Mohammedu Bukhari and Atiku Abubakar, Oso (2019) reports that rather than focusing on issues, the political parties and their candidates launched face attacks, using impoliteness strategies to discredit their opponents in order to sway the electorate in their favour: name-calling, dissociating from the opponent and seeking disagreement.

Existing Ghanaian studies relevant to the current study are Abdullai (2013) and Logogye (2021), which examine Us and Them polarization in Ghanaian political discourse. Drawing on van Dijk's (2004) ideological square framework for analyzing the 2008 campaign speeches of the two dominant parties: the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC), Abdullai finds that both parties deployed the overall strategy of positive self- and negative other-presentation, implemented through the use of other micro-discursive strategies and structures: *implication, lexicalization, actor description, categorization, disclaimers,* and *evidentiality*. In terms of differences, whereas members of the ruling NPP deployed more rhetorical devices: *metaphor, comparison,* and *irony*, the opposition NDC members deployed *compassion, hyperbole, norm* and *value violation, generalization,* and *presupposition*. Similarly, Logogye's (2021) analysis of Nana Akufo-Addo's State of the Nation address reveals the use of the overall strategy of positive self- and negative other-presentation, manifested through the use of other minor discursive strategies: polarization – us and them, number game, evidentiality, authority, and hyperbole.

It is clear that literature on discursive manipulation in Ghanaian political discourse is scarce and more needs to be done; hence, the current study seeks to shed light on how manipulation is enacted and reproduced by the political (outdooring) speech of Mohammadu Bawumia.

2.6. Theoretical Framework

The current study applies van Dijk's (2004) ideological square framework situated within CDA for analysis, given that "political manipulative discourse is ideological and therefore features a polarized structure" (van Dijk, 2006b). The framework is predicated on the presumption that ideologies invest discourse structures through mental models of group members. Thus, discourse structures and social structures are mediated by cognition. The main tenet of the framework is that ideologies often have a polarized structure, which ultimately affects the biased personal mental

models of group members. Again, since these mental models control the contents of discourse, discourse often features the overall strategy of positive representation of ingroup members and negative representation of outgroup members, referred to as ideological square as a result of its four complementary macro-strategies:

Emphasize our good thins

Emphasize their bad things

De-emphasize our bad things

De-emphasize their good things (Van Dijk, 2004, pp. 15-16).

The above four macro-strategies may be applied to all levels of text and talk – action, meaning and form – as shown below:

- Overall interaction strategies
  ▪ Positive self-presentation
  ▪ Negative other-presentation
- Macro speech act implying Our 'good' acts and Their 'bad' acts, e.g. accusation, defence
- Semantic macrostructures: topic selection
  ▪ (De-)emphasize negative/positive topics about Us/Them
- Local speech acts implementing and sustaining the global ones, e.g. statements that prove accusations
- Local meanings Our/Their positive/negative actions
  ▪ Give many/few details
  ▪ Be general/specific
  ▪ Be vague/precise
  ▪ Be explicit/implicit
- Lexicon: Select positive words for Us, negative words for Them
- Local syntax
  ▪ Active vs passive sentences, nominalizations: (de)emphasize Our/Their positive/negative agency, responsibility
- Rhetorical figures
  ▪ Hyperboles vs euphemisms for positive/negative meanings
  ▪ Metonymies and metaphors emphasizing Our/Their positive/negative properties
- Expressions: sounds and visuals
  ▪ Emphasize (loud, etc.; large, bold, etc.) positive/negative meanings
  ▪ Order (first, last; top, bottom, etc.) positive/negative meanings (van Dijk, 2006b, p. 373).

Thus, the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is implemented through other micro-discursive strategies and moves, such as positive self-presentation, authority, agency, number game rhetoric, implication, metaphor, presupposition, disclaimer, polarization, generalization, actor description, comparison, consensus, and so on. The analysis of the text aims at exploring the micro-discursive strategies used by the speaker to influence the minds (belief, knowledge, norms, values, etc.) of his audiences.

3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

This current study was situated within the framework of the qualitative research paradigm, given that CDA is itself a qualitative-oriented analytical method and concerned with the analysis of language use in its natural social-political context. Qualitative research, according to Tagoe (2009),

attempts to understand or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. Data for the analysis comprises a written version of Mohammadu Bawumia's vision statement address to the nation delivered on 7th February, 2024 (see the Appendix), which was downloaded from the website of city news, a Ghanaian private radio station (Arthur, 2024).

A coding method was adopted to prepare the data for analysis. Initially, the data was read thoroughly to become conversant with its content in order to select the relevant part (fragment) that coheres with the objective of the study. Subsequently, based on Van Dijk's (2004) ideological analytical categories, the selected fragment was parsed into various excerpts and the discursive strategies used in each excerpt were identified. For easy identification, each excerpt was labelled using the initials of its discursive strategy. This was followed by the categorization of the excerpts. Applying van Dijk's (2004) ideological square framework, analysis was conducted at both the macro- and micro-levels. At the macro level, the underlying meaning of the macrostructures (topics) was uncovered. The micro-level analysis (the focus of the study), on the other hand, aimed at exploring how the discursive strategies contribute to the reproduction of positive self- and negative other-representation. Therefore, a content analysis procedure was applied to critically analyze and interpret the excerpts in order to explore their underlying discoursal/ideological meaning.

4. ANALYSIS OF DATA

The analysis of the data has been guided by Van Dijk's (2004) ideological square framework. The result shows that the macro-discursive strategy used in the speech is positive self-presentation for Vice-President Bawumia and his NPP-led government and negative other-presentation for the previous NDC-led government. This overall strategy is implemented at all levels of the text through the use of other micro-discursive strategies and moves; positive self-presentation, authority, agency, number game rhetoric, implication, metaphor, and presupposition. The results of the macro- and micro-level analysis are presented as follows.

4.1. Global Meaning Analysis

Analysis at the macro level aims at uncovering the macro-structures or topics on which the entire speech is based (van Dijk, 2009). The result reveals these macrostructures: a) Bawumia's presidency offers selfless leadership Ghanaians desire; b) Bawumia is the best candidate for the presidency; and c) the current government has a superior record in all sectors of the economy. These macrostructures are underpinned by the overall macro-strategy of positive self- and negative other-presentation, which is also implemented at the local level of the text through the use of other minor discursive strategies.

4.2. Local Meaning Analysis

Analysis at the local level explores the discoursal/ideological meaning underpinning the micro-discursive strategies used in the speech. To enhance understanding, each micro-discursive strategy is defined. The domain of discourse analysis to which it belongs has also been added as presented below.

4.2.1. Positive self-presentation (macro-semantic strategy)

The first micro-discursive strategy found in the address is positive self-presentation. According to van Dijk (2006a, p. 739), "whether or not, in combination with the derogation of outgroups, group-talk is often characterized by another overall strategy, namely that of ingroup favouritism or positive self-presentation" and "this may take a more individual form of face-keeping". The use of the positive self-presentation strategy is evident in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 1:
> *I believe the time has now come for me to speak to you, the good people of Ghana, about my candidature, what we have experienced as a nation, my vision and priorities, and why I believe I am the best candidate for the presidency of this country in the 2024 Presidential election. I recognize that submitting myself to your service, the electorate, to vote for me as President, is no different from interviewing for a job. One needs to tell a prospective employer what he has accomplished in his previous job, and how he can successfully deliver in the new position he is seeking.*

Bawumia begins his address with the strategy of positive self-presentation by demonstrating his democratic belief: informing the electorates about his candidature. Van Dijk (2006a, p. 377) refers to this move as *captatio benevolentiae*. Bawumia further enhances his democratic credentials by representing the campaign for political office as a job interview and the electorate as the employer: *I recognize that submitting myself to your service, the electorate, to vote for me as President, is no different from interviewing for a job.* Using such a simile, Bawumia acknowledges the power of the electorate in democratic settings. Although he allegedly seeks to accomplish his personal dream, he suggests that his presidential bid be motivated by his desire to serve the ordinary Ghanaians. This is aimed at influencing the audience for acceptance. Beard (2000, p. 41) observes that "politicians often claim humility and service to the people as their motive for wanting power in order to justify the confidence of the populace as well as portraying themselves as down to earth, having listening ears and worth listening to because of their humility". In the following excerpt, the overall strategy of positive self-presentation is further enhanced.

Excerpt 2:
> *For me, to lead is to solve. Indeed, all my adult life, my biggest motivation is about finding solutions; solutions that improve lives; solutions that make public services efficient and accessible; solutions that make society progress; solutions that protect the public purse; solutions that make our businesses competitive. I derive my greatest satisfaction from solving problems and I have done so whenever I am given the opportunity and will do more if I am given the mandate to do so.*

In the above excerpt, Bawumia portrays himself to be a leader who is so committed to solving challenges and problems confronting Ghanaians. He claims that since he assumed the Vice President position, he has made public services efficient and accessible, protected the public purse, and made Ghanaian businesses competitive. It presupposes that he is not seeking to be president in his interest; but rather in the interest of the ordinary Ghanaian. In view of the above, he appeals to the

Ghanaian people to vote for him to continue his good work: *I derive my greatest satisfaction from solving problems and I have done so whenever I am given the opportunity and will do more if I am given the mandate to do so*. Making public services efficient and accessible implies that Ghanaians are offered job opportunities and other services, yet many Ghanaians are always complaining about unemployment and economic hardships. In the following excerpt, Bawumia projects the image of the government while representing the opposition negatively.

4.2.2. Authority (Argumentation)

The next micro-discursive strategy utilized by Bawumia to manipulate his audience is authority. According to van Dijk (2006), many speakers in an argument have recourse to the fallacy of mentioning authorities to support their case, usually organizations or people who are above the fray of party politics, or who are generally recognized experts or moral leaders. International organizations (such as the United Nations, or Amnesty), scholars, the media, the church or the courts often have that role. In the following excerpts, Bawumia employs this strategy to implement the intended positive self- and negative other-presentation.

Excerpt 1:
> *Ladies and Gentlemen, when we assumed office in 2017, we were confronted with an economy with declining economic growth along with several problems and challenges. A graphic description of the state of the economy at the time was provided by the former President and my main opponent for the 2024 presidential election, who announced to the nation when he was President that all the meat was finished and the economy was left with bones.*

It can be noticed that Bawumia represents the current government positively and the opposition negatively. He does this by claiming that the government inherited a weak economy from the previous Mahama-led administration. Using the blame-game strategy, Bawumia seeks to vilify his opponent while legitimizing the government's economic management performance. Thus, he wants Ghanaians to believe that there was no economic growth under the previous administration. For the audience to accept his claim, he references the Former President, John Dramani Mahama as the source of his claim: *a graphic description of the state of the economy at the time was provided by the Former President and my main opponent for the 2024 presidential election, who announced to the nation when he was President that all the meat was finished and the economy was left with bones*. We notice that Bawumia's reference to the Former President's utterance is aimed at expressing his ideology of objectivity and enhancing his public credibility. Clearly, Bawumia's motive for using the blame-game strategy is to shed responsibility as the chair of the Economic Management Team and also enhance his electoral chances while diminishing the chances of his opponent.

Excerpt 2:
> *However, between 2020 and 2022, we experienced severe challenges, triggered by the pandemic which brought the world and our country to a thundering halt. We may be tired of hearing it but there is no avoiding the fact that the COVID-19 pandemic*

resulted in the greatest economic depression in the world since the 1930s, with most countries recording negative GDP growth. The severity, especially of the Pandemic, was captured in the words of the IMF Managing Director.

In excerpt 2, Bawumia attributes the economic challenges confronting Ghanaians to the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, the economic hardship is not the result of weak policies and programs of the government: *We may be tired of hearing it but there is no avoiding the fact that the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in the greatest economic depression in the world since the 1930s.* Again, for the audience to accept his claim and also protect his public image, he references the IMF Managing Director to suggest that he is sharing the official report. So, we observe clearly that the motive behind Bawumia's claim is to legitimize the economic challenges while concealing the government's failure and escaping responsibility.

4.2.3. Agency (form)

Another strategy deployed by Bawumia to implement positive self- and negative other-presentation is the use of passive construction to hide ingroup negative action. According to van Dijk (2006a), in ideological discourse, active and passive constructions are deployed by speakers to emphasize the positive action of ingroup members and the negative action of outgroup members. To hide our negative actions, agentless construction may be used. The use of agentless construction to conceal ingroup negative action is evident in the succeeding excerpts.

Excerpt 1:
> *The fiscal deficit which was reduced from 8.4% in 2016 to 4.1% by 2019 increased to 10.8% in 2020 (as a result of revenue declines in the midst of increasing expenditures). In addition, our debt became unsustainable. Along with many emerging market economies, Ghana lost access to international capital market financing. This resulted in a balance of payments crisis as Ghana had to continue to honour its debt service obligations, energy payments and the import bill. We faced a serious global and domestic economic crisis.*

From the above excerpt, we observe that Bawumia employs passive constructions without agents as a rhetorical strategy to emphasize the opposition party's negative action while concealing that of his government. He concedes that fiscal deficit and national debt are on the increase, yet he believes the increase happens as a result of revenue declines, not the government's actions and inactions. So, the removal of the agent responsible for the actions is aimed at concealing the failure of the current government. Mooney and Evans (2015, p. 37) observe that "the deletion of the actor serves to foreground the goal and background the person responsible". Also, according to Vadai (2017, p. 121), "a major ideological device at the syntactic level is the placement of important topics in subject positions". Bawumia's motive is to escape responsibility and appear credible in the sight of the audience (Fairclough, 2001). Interestingly, however, in seeking sympathy for the government, he resorts to the use of active construction: *We faced a serious global and domestic economic crisis.* The use of the agentless construction continues in the succeeding excerpt.

Excerpt 2:

> *Ghanaians were hit by rising food prices, increased exchange rate depreciation, rising fuel prices, rising transport fares. Bond holders also saw a sharp decline in their net worth following the debt restructuring program. We faced very challenging times. But with calm leadership and the support and understanding of the good people of Ghana, we weathered the storm. The government had to seek IMF support to stabilize our economy and restore fiscal and debt sustainability over the next three years.*

Although Bawumia sympathizes with Ghanaians for experiencing economic hardship, in respect of rising food prices, he does not attribute the problem to anybody. He adopts the same move while addressing the bond holders. He suggests that the decline in their net worth came as a result of a debt restructuring program, even though the debt restructuring was sanctioned by cabinet. Therefore, the removal of the agent is a deliberate attempt to conceal the in-group (government) failure or negative action. In other words, using the agentless construction, Bawumia is suggesting that government is neither responsible for the rising food prices nor the decline in the net worth of bond holders. Just as we observed in the previous excerpt, here, too, Bawumia uses active construction to seek sympathy for the government: *We faced very* challenging times.

4.2.4. Number Game Rhetoric (Argumentation)

The analysis of data reveals that Bawumia mostly employs number-game rhetoric to construct positive self-image and negative other-image. According to van Dijk (2006a, p. 738), "much argument is oriented to enhancing credibility by moves that emphasize objectivity. Number and statistics are the primary means in our culture to persuasively display objectivity". The use of this micro-discursive strategy can be seen in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 1:

> *Ladies and Gentlemen, the good news is that the data shows that the economy is recovering from the crisis we faced. Inflation has declined from 54% in January to 23% in December 2023. Economic growth is rebounding, spending is under control with the fiscal deficit as a percentage of GDP has declined from 10.8% in 2020 to 4.2% in 2023. The debt to GDP ratio, after increasing from 61.2% in 2019 to 76.6% in 2021 has declined to 66.4% in 2023. And exchange rate depreciation has also slowed down sharply since February 2023, Whereas the exchange rate depreciated by 30% in 2022, between February and December 2023, it only depreciated by 9%.*

In the above excerpt, Bawumia uses a number-game strategy to construct a positive image for the current government by claiming that the Ghanaian economy is recovering from the crisis. The purpose of providing the statistics is to enhance his credibility and objectivity. It is worth noting that Bawumia uses deictic temporal adverbials *(in December 2023, in 2020, in 2022, in 2021)* not just to situate his argument in an appropriate historical context, but rather to emphasize the good things happening under the current government. Thus, the selection of such deictic temporals is aimed at drawing audiences' attention to the achievements of the government. It is worth noting that, even as Bawumia emphasizes in-group positive action, he uses agentless constructions. Clearly, such a discursive move is not intended for concealment but rather for the exhibition of

humility. In other words, being aware of the veracity of the economic challenges, he does not want to be seen praising himself and his government (Danquah et al., 2023). However, in the succeeding excerpts, Bawumia employs number-game rhetoric to construct a positive image for himself and the government while vilifying the previous administration.

Excerpt 2:

> *What is remarkable is that notwithstanding the domestic and global crisis that we have experienced between 2020 and 2022, the economic performance as measured by the key economic indicators (such as GDP growth, Agricultural growth, industry growth, Trade Balance, Exchange rate depreciation, lending rates, Gross international reserves and jobs) is better than that of the 2013-2016 period when there was no global crisis. Let me give some examples: On GDP growth, it is worth noting that between 2013 and 2016, Ghana's GDP growth averaged 3.9%. During our first term (2017-2020) GDP growth increased to an average of 5.3%. Following COVID-19 and the global slowdown, Ghana's GDP growth declined to an average of 4.9% between 2017 and 2022. What is remarkable about this performance is that notwithstanding the global economic crisis from COVID-19, economic growth under our government is still stronger on average than under the 2013-2016 era preceding our coming into office.*

Unlike the previous excerpt, the above excerpt expresses the overall strategy of positive self- and negative other-presentation through the use of number-game rhetoric. Bawumia claims that the current government's economic management record is superior to that of the previous government by providing statistics, aiming at enhancing his credibility and objectivity. Thus, the essence of the statistics is for the audience to know that he is not expressing a biased opinion. Again, as I indicated previously, Bawumia's motive for using the deictic temporal adverbials (*between 2020 and 2022, 2013-2016 era,* etc.) is to contrast the performance of the current government and that of the previous government. It implies that the current government has managed the economy better than the previous administration. The use of number game rhetoric for positive self-projection and negative other-projection continues in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 3:

> *Industrial GDP growth also followed a similar trend. After averaging 3.3% between 2013 and 2016, industrial growth increased to an average of 7.5% between 2017 and 2020. Industrial Growth however declined after the global crisis with a recorded average growth rate of 5% between 2017 and 2022. Again, what is remarkable about this performance is that notwithstanding the global economic crisis from COVID-19, industrial growth under our government is still stronger on average than under the 2013-2016 era.*

Here, Bawumia's biased assessment of the performance of the two governments in the management of the economy focuses specifically on industrial GDP growth. He claims that his government has performed better than the previous government as far as industrial growth is concerned. For political reasons, subsequently, Bawumia attributes the decline in industrial growth between 2017 and 2022 to the global crisis, implying the decline is not caused by government policies:

Industrial Growth however declined after the global crisis with a recorded average growth rate of 5% between 2017 and 2022. Clearly, Bawumia's strategy is aimed at concealing the failure of the government while demonizing the previous government. Bawumia continues his in-group favouritism and outgroup demonization in the succeeding excerpts.

Excerpt 4:
> *Ghana's trade balance (the difference between exports and imports) prior to 2017 was in persistent deficit (for the best part of 30 years!). Between 2013 and 2016 the trade deficit averaged $2.5 billion. The trade balance improved significantly to a surplus that averaged $1.8 billion between 2017 and 2020. Notwithstanding the global crisis, Ghana has continued to record a trade surplus which has averaged $1.9 billion between 2017 and 2022, a better performance than in the 2013-2016 period when there was no global crisis. This is evidence that we have indeed increased productivity and exports relative to imports.*

Bawumia continues with his biased assessment of the performance of the two administrations in the management of Ghana's trade balance. As expected, he associates good performance with his government and poor performance with the opposition. The use of statistics to show objectivity is also evident here. It is also important to take note of the use of the word *surplus* in the third and last sentences. The word is used hyperbolically to enhance or exaggerate the good works of the current administration in the area of trade balance.

Excerpt 5:
> *Ghana's gross international reserves also increased from an average of $5.8 billion in the 2013-2016 period to an average of $7.9 billion between 2017 and 2022. On the performance of the cedi exchange rate, it is interesting to note that between 2013 and 2016 the cedi depreciated by an average of 17.7%. Between 2017 and 2020 there was a significant decline in the cedi depreciation to an average of 7.5%. The average cedi depreciation further declined to 6.8% between 2017 and 2021. However, following the 30% depreciation of the cedi in 2022, the average cedi depreciation between 2017 and 2022 is 10.75%. So again, notwithstanding the domestic and global economic crisis, the depreciation of the cedi under our government is lower than what we inherited from the 2013-2016 period.*

As we can see from excerpt 5, Bawumia now focuses attention on the performance of the current and previous governments in the management of Ghana's gross international reserves and cedi exchange rate. He contends that, whether gross international reserves or cedi depreciation, his government has performed better than the previous government. In 2016, while in opposition, Bawumia argued that the depreciation of the cedi reveals the weak foundation of the Ghanaian economy: *if the foundation of your economy is weak, the exchange rate will expose you* (GhanaWeb, 2022). It is therefore not surprising that, in supporting his above claim, Bawumia relies on the use of average percentages rather than nominal figures. The motive behind his discursive move is to conceal the government's inability to resolve the cedi depreciation and how weak the foundation of the Ghanaian economy has become. The following excerpt presents Bawumia's biased representation of Bank lending rates under his government and the previous government.

Excerpt 6:

> *In the area of Bank lending rates, the story is the same. Bank lending rates averaged 27.5% between 2013 and 2016. During our first term, average bank lending rates declined to 23.7%. Following the global and domestic crisis, bank lending rates increased slightly to an average of 25% between 2017 and 2022. Even though bank lending rates increased to 35% in 2022, on average interest rates have been lower in the 2017-2022 period.*

From the above excerpt, we observe the implementation of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation through the use of statistics and deictic temporal adverbials. Bawumia argues that his government's record in the area of lending rates management is superior to that of the opposition. Although he concedes lending rates have been on the rise under his government, he attributes the increment to global and domestic crises: *following the global and domestic crisis, bank lending rates increased slightly.* The use of the adverb slightly is aimed at mitigating the negative representation of in-group action (government's failure). A further mitigation of in-group negative action is implemented through the use of the subordinate clause in the last sentence: *even though the bank lending rates increased to 35% in 2022.* The use of such discursive move and strategy is intended to obscure reality and influence the audience for political gain. The excerpt that follows shows the use of the number-game strategy for positive self-presentation:

Excerpt 7:

> *What is probably the most remarkable development in terms of the economy is that our government has created 2.1 million jobs between 2017 and 2022 notwithstanding the global economic crisis. The public sector recruited 1.2 million people while the private sector created 975,000 jobs (per SSNIT data). We recruited 100,000 more health workers, 100,000 more teachers, more than doubled the fire service personnel, etc. Our government has quite clearly created more jobs in a seven-year period than any government. This is truly remarkable under the circumstances even though we still have to create more jobs.*

Bawumia explicitly emphasizes the achievement of his government in the area of job creation through the use of the nominal phrase *our government* and the deictic inclusive we. In essence, he seeks to make the agent (government) of the action (job creation) the focus of his discourse to solicit applause from the audience. In other words, Bawumia constructs a positive image for his government through the use of active structures. From all indications, Bawumia sees the government's job creation record as a tool for enhancing his electoral chances, as he repeated in his recent manifesto launch speech. Interestingly, however, according to analysts who have interrogated the manifesto launch speech, the Vice President's claim of *21 million jobs* is not supported by official records of some state agencies, Ghana Statistical Service and the Controller and Accountant Department, according to analysts. This clearly depicts people's awareness of the strategies politicians deploy to privilege their partisan/ideological interest over that of the masses, hence the need to resist such tendencies of power abuse and dominance. Thus, if people have access to alternative information, they are able to resist political manipulation (van Dijk, 2006b; Vadai, 2017).

4.2.5. Implication (meaning)

Another micro-discursive strategy discovered in the Vice President's speech is the use of implicature. According to van Dijk (2006a, p. 737), "for many pragmatic (contextual) reasons, speakers do not (need) to say everything they know or believe. Indeed, a large part of discourse remains implicit, and such implicit information may be inferred by recipients from shared knowledge or attitudes and thus constructed as part of their mental models of the event or action represented in the discourse".

Excerpt 1:
> *Supply chain disruptions and the rising price of oil resulted in major increases in the prices of fuel, freight and food across the globe. I believe it is worth pointing out that in addition to the external factors, there were two major items of expenditure that are critical to understanding the difficult economic situation we have faced. And these are the banking sector cleanup and the energy sector excess capacity payments. The three items (including COVID-19 expenditure) cumulatively amounted to GHC50.1 billion and this was financed from borrowing.*

From the above excerpt, Bawumia conceals his government failure while seeking sympathy from Ghanaians by suggesting that the increment in fuel and food prices was caused by external factors: *supply chain disruptions and rising price of oil,* and internal factors: *the banking sector cleanup and energy sector excess capacity payments.* Thus, the increment was not the creation of government. It is interesting to note that, although prices of goods are still high, the Vice President creates the impression that the economic challenges are over, as signalled by his choice of the past tense. Bawumia's move reflects the Former Finance Minister's claim that "the country has turned a corner". Following the mitigation of in-group failure, Bawumia proceeds to tout the achievement of his government while implicitly demonizing the past government, as evident in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 2:
> *We were elected into office in December 2016 to solve many of the systemic problems and challenges that our citizens were facing and which we had highlighted in our manifesto (e.g. no unique identity, no property address system, fake birth certificates, etc.). We have lived with many of these problems since independence.*

The Vice President and Flagbearer of the governing New Patriotic Party (NPP) demonstrates an understanding of the mandate given to him and the President in 2016, which was to resolve problems and challenges confronting Ghanaians. He suggests that the NPP-led government has just done that – challenges that preceded their government have been resolved: *no unique identity, no property address system, fake birth certificates, etc.* This implies that all previous governments failed to proffer resolution to the problems and challenges that confronted Ghanaians; therefore, if under his watch such problems have been fixed, it is only fair that Ghanaians consider him for the Presidency. The implementation of such self-projection is repeated through the use of implication as evident in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 3:

I had long held the view that many of these problems facing the economy could be resolved through digitalization. In fact, in my 2010 book on Monetary Policy and Financial Sector Reform in Africa, I proposed digitalization amongst others as the way forward for African countries. So, when we assumed office in 2017, as Vice-President, I made the decision, with the blessings and support of the President, to focus on the critical but underdeveloped systems that would expand the economy, improve systems, and create jobs through digitalization. Therefore, as the Minister for Finance oversees the budget (fiscal policy) and the Governor of the central bank also focuses on monetary and exchange rate policy, I focused on the complementary data and systems improvement that would ensure the ease of doing business and change the fundamentals of the economy.

Bawumia's quest to dissociate himself from the failure of his government is evident in the above excerpt. It is widely recognized that, since the inception of the Fourth Republic, a Vice President has always been in charge of the management of the economy, yet Bawumia claims that, as the Chairman of the Economic Management Team, his core mandate has been digitalization while management of the economy has been the responsibility of the finance minister and the Governor of the central bank. Thus, Ghanaians should not hold him responsible for the economic challenges. The use of such an exclusionary move is motivated by his intention to avoid public criticism and blame, thereby protecting his public image as well as his presidential ambition. Bawumia's attempt to dissociate from the bad record of the current is further implemented through the use of another discursive strategy, presupposition in the following excerpts.

4.2.6. Presupposition (meaning)

Presupposition (meaning) is a well-known semantic device often used to assume the truth of some proposition when such truth is not established at all or properties assumed to be known as if they were common sense and need not be specifically asserted (van Dijk, 2004, 2006a). Mooney and Evans (2015, p. 50) assert that due to the function of semantic presuppositions, "they can be used to efficiently incorporate a 'truth' into a text". In the excerpts below, Bawumia utilizes presupposition to conceal his inability to fix the economy.

Excerpt 1:

I was, thankfully, appointed as Chairman of the Economic Management Team (EMT). As a sub-committee to the Cabinet, we do not have any decision-making powers, but I am very proud of the quality of advice we have been providing over the years to Cabinet. As Vice-President, I was asked by the President to assist in solving some of the problems that were inhibiting the transformation of Ghana's economy. My approach was to help formalize the economy through digitalization as stated in our 2016 manifesto. This is why my office has had oversight responsibility for many of the government's digitalization projects.

The above excerpt depicts Bawumia's attempt to avoid the assumption of responsibility as he implicitly dissociates himself from the government's failure. The claims that the Economic Management Team (EMT) under his leadership only offers advice to cabinet implies that the economic

crisis cannot be attributed to him and, by far, the EMT: *I was, thankfully, appointed as Chairman of the Economic Management Team (EMT). As a sub-committee to the Cabinet, we do not have any decision-making powers.* It is instructive to note that the powerless status of EMT is represented as common knowledge through the use of the opening phrase: *as a sub-committee to cabinet.* If Bawumia and his team have been offering advice to the cabinet and yet the economy is in a bad state, then, it presupposes such quality advice is often rejected by the cabinet: *I am very proud of the quality of advice we have been providing over the years to cabinet.* Clearly, Bawumia's attempt to shed responsibility to enhance his credibility is an indication that he admits the government has failed to fulfil its electoral promise to manage the Ghanaian economy prudently. Let us consider the next excerpt.

Excerpt 2:
> *Ladies and Gentlemen, in this regard, I have been engaged in a lot of consultation and doing a lot of thinking in the last few months about lessons of the last seven years as well as my vision and priorities as I seek to become President of the Republic of Ghana. Clearly, the initial conditions that we inherited in 2017 are not the same as will be in 2025. Therefore, my priorities will be different. We have done many good things and I will be seeking to build on them.*

According to Bawumia, he is prepared to assume the political office to offer new and better leadership, having consulted and taken notes of the mistakes of the current government. He is confident the new government under his leadership will inherit a strong economy which will enable him to deliver to the satisfaction of all Ghanaians: *clearly, the initial conditions that we inherited in 2017 are not the same as will be in 2025.* The use of the above expression presupposes that, while Bawumia admits the current government has failed, he attributes the failure to the weak economy they inherited from the previous government. Bawumia continues to avoid the assumption of responsibility through the use of another discursive strategy, metaphor, as shown below.

4.2.7. Metaphor (Meaning, Rhetoric)

Another micro-discursive strategy deployed by Bawumia is metaphor. According to van Dijk (2006a, p. 738), metaphor refers to "abstract, complex, unfamiliar, new, or emotional meanings" made "more familiar and more concrete" in text. Mooney and Evans (2015, p. 50) state that "metaphors create and assert equivalence between two things".

Excerpt 1:
> *Ladies and Gentlemen, as Vice-President I am like a driver's mate. But if, by the Grace of God, you make me President, I will be in the driver's seat with constitutionally mandated authority to pursue my vision and my priorities. So, what do I want to do in terms of vision, priorities and policies if you give me the opportunity, by the Grace of God, to become President of the Republic of Ghana?*

Bawumia continues to enhance his credibility while concealing his failure to discharge his mandate as the chair of the EMT through the use of a special metaphor driver's mate. This metaphor asserts unequal power relations between a driver and his mate. Therefore, using such a metaphor implies that, as a Vice President, he wields no decision-making powers. In other words, he is

saying that he has not been in charge; hence, Ghanaians should not blame him for all the economic hardships. This is an exclusionary strategy that enables Bawumia to implicitly dissociate himself from the failures of his own government, as signalled by the second sentence: *but if, by the Grace of God, you make me president, I will be in the driver's seat with constitutionally mandated authority to pursue my vision and my priorities.* Thus, if he becomes president, that is the only time he will take responsibility for his policies and actions.

5. DISCUSSION

So far, the current study has been analyzing Mohammadu Bawumia's recent outdooring speech, with the aim of exploring the discursive strategies the speaker employed to influence and control the minds of his audience to accept his message. Analysis of the data reveals that Bawumia enacted and legitimized manipulation through the use of the overall strategy of positive self- and negative other-presentation. This overall macro-strategy manifested in the speech through the use of other micro-discursive strategies and structures such as *positive self-presentation, authority, number game rhetoric, agency, implication, presupposition,* and *metaphor*. The outcome of the analysis proves that manipulation features the usual polarized structure of ideological discourse. The speech is replete with a biased representation of reality in favour of the speaker's own interests while blaming negative situations and events on his opponent. This revelation is in tandem with Wirth-Koliba's (2016) observation that power and dominance thrive on binary opposition between *Us* and *Them*. Wieczorek (2013) similarly reports that the discursive projections of positive self-image and negative other-image are to be expected during the struggle for power, particularly in single-turn political speeches.

The number game rhetoric has been the frequent micro-discursive strategy. This is not surprising as it aided the speaker in enacting a biased representation of reality (economic management record of the current and previous government) through the provision of statistics. The provision of statistical evidence contributed to making the speaker appear credible and objective, given that the audiences lack access to such statistics. Thus, by assuming the role of an assessor of the Ghanaian economy, the speaker established an unequal relationship with his audiences and influenced such relationships to exercise domination over his audiences. According to Vadai (2017, pp. 113-126), by having privileged access to information, politicians take "the role of an omnipotent character, the knower of the information, the seer of the future, who has an influential position". Again, van Dijk's (2006b, p. 379) analysis of Tony Blairs' speech reveals that manipulative discourses feature strategies such as "emphasizing one's own power and moral superiority, discrediting one's opponents, providing details of the 'facts', polarization between *Us* and *Them*, negative Other-presentation, ideological alignment, emotional appeals, and so on".

The speaker also employed agentless passive constructions to execute his manipulative agenda. In most cases, the speaker placed circumstances at the subject position to enhance the bad record of the opposition while concealing that of the current government. Apart from concealing in-group negative action, he also utilized agentless construction as a strategy for marking humility. This occurred when he did not want the audiences to know he was showering praises on the government. However, in emphasizing the in-group positive action (government's job creation record) and seeking sympathy for the government, he utilized active constructions. Clearly, passive constructions are used in political speeches as an ideological strategy for concealing or mitigating

the in-group negative acts and avoiding the assumption of responsibility (Vadai, 2017). Thus, to attain a manipulative goal, politicians "hide the negative within particular formulations such that the population may not see the truth or the horror before them" (Wilson, 2001, p. 400).

Further, the analysis shows that the speaker employed metaphor as a rhetorical strategy to attain his manipulative goal. Specifically, the speaker used the phrase *driver's mate* to implicitly dissociate himself from the failure of the government and legitimize his presidential ambition. Even though Bawumia has been Vice-President for the past seven years, he used the presupposition strategy to portray himself as the new messiah whose preoccupation is to take Ghanaians to the promised land. The analysis also shows the use of *positive self-presentation, authority,* and *implication* by the speaker to portray himself as objective, visionary, and humble. However, the motivation behind his discursive move is the attainment of public approval and support. According to Qaiwer (2020, p. 340), "speakers may represent the speech of the other in a fallacious argument in an attempt to highlight the evidentiality of their claim" (Qaiwer, 2020, p. 340). Finally, the outcome of the study shows that Bawumia represented social reality from his own biased perspective, with the aim of imposing his political interest and ideologies on the audiences for electoral gain. On that score, the study supports Qaiwer's (2020, p. 328) assertion that "power abuse may be exercised when arguments are based on manipulative or coercive attempts".

6. CONCLUSION

This study attempted an analysis of the discursive reproduction of manipulation in Mohammadu Bawumia's political speech. Drawing on a critical discourse analytical approach, it sought to uncover the partisan/ideological motive behind the choice of subtle ideological discourse structures in the speech. The result showed a biased representation of social groups in a manner that serves the interest of the speaker and undermines the interests of the audience. Thus, the speech is characterized by a binary opposition between Us and Them, with the *Us* group (in-group) represented positively and the *Them* group (out-group) represented negatively at all levels of discourse.

In all, the results of the study established the dual function of the discursive strategies and structures employed by the speaker: they are used not only for disseminating information but also for influencing the cognitive representations of audiences for electoral gain.

However, the results revealed that discursive strategies employed by politicians do not all the time conform to the postulates of van Dijk's ideological square concept, as there is an instance where the speaker deemphasizes the positive action (achievements) of the government in the speech.

6.1. Limitation(s)

As a CDA-based study, it did not analyze the entire speech but focused on a fragment that contains the ideological/discursive strategies it sought to explore. Again, although it would have been prudent to add speeches by other Ghanaian political leaders for a comparative analysis, the scope of the study made it impossible. Further, in tandem with the CDA approach, the discursive strategies were subjectively selected based on the explanation offered by van Dijk (2004). Finally, the excerpts were subjectively analyzed by applying the interpretative content analysis procedure and taking into account the social-political context of the speech. In spite of the foregoing, it is worth stating that the analysis was not in any way influenced by personal bias.

6.2. Implication(s)/Recommendation(s)

In spite of the limitations, the findings of the current study bear far-reaching implications. The findings imply that language use in a social-political context is imbued with underlying partisan/ideological motives. Thus, politicians impose their ideas and ideologies on their audience through strategic use of language, making it difficult for the audiences to uncover the real intention behind their utterances. Again, the findings imply that the underlying partisan/ideological constructs embedded in the political text and talk can only be studied and exposed through the lens of CDA.

In view of the foregoing, policy-makers and other civil society groups ought to use their platforms to draw politicians' attention to the perlocutionary effect of political language. Again, and more importantly, media consumers ought to be sensitized on the need to be critical of political language to resist manipulation, inequality, discrimination, and deception, especially during electoral campaigns. In addition, as an academic contribution to resisting social power abuse and domination, there should be further critical discourse studies examining, for instance, the use of deictic elements and rhetorical resources for discursive manipulation in electoral campaign speeches, manifesto-launch speeches, and state of the nation addresses. It is also worth examining how gender inequality is discursively reproduced and resisted by the text and talk of Ghanaian parliamentarians.

Conflict of interest
The author states that there is no conflict of interest.

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ВНЕШНЯЯ ИЕРАРХИЯ ФРАНЦУЗСКОГО КИНОДИСКУРСА

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Аннотация: В статье анализируется внешняя иерархия французского кинодискурса, предлагается модель внешней иерархии кинодискурса с учетом порождающих кинодискурс элементов и его взаимодействия с другими дискурсами в иерархической структуре. Эмпирическим материалом исследования послужили французские кинофильмы периода 1990-2024 гг. и элементы кинотекста в других дискурсах (рекламном, музыкальном, медиа-дискурсе, интернет-дискурсе и дискурсе сетевой литературы). Обращение к иерархии дискурса и, в частности, французского кинодискурса обусловлено незначительной изученностью данного вопроса в российском и зарубежном языкознании. Цель исследования – выявить и систематизировать внешнюю иерархию французского кинодискурса. Актуальность исследования вызвана популярностью кино как вида искусства, возросшим интересом к кинодискурсу со стороны исследователей и отсутствием специальных работ по иерархии кинодискурса. Научная новизна работы заключается в выявлении и комплексном анализе внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса, создании модели внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса. Анализ внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса потребовал применения комплекса методов, среди которых метод дискурс-анализа и теоретические методы исследования (обобщения, синтеза, индукции и дедукции). Проведенный анализ показал, что структурными элементами внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса являются порождающие его элементы – художественные произведения, фольклорные элементы, исторические события, биографические данные, философские тексты и идеи. Данные элементы находятся выше кинодискурса по иерархии. Каждый кинофильм принадлежит определенной эпохе, в связи с чем на его создание оказывает влияние социокультурный контекст, предписывающий выдвижение значимых для страны и общества элементов культуры и устранения табуированных явлений. Иерархия кинодискурса по отношению к другим дискурсам обусловлена полидискурсивными единицами, относящимися по форме и функционирующими в одном дискурсе, но имеющими прецедентное содержание другого дискурса. Анализ прецедентного содержания полидискурсивных единиц позволил определить более высокое расположение кинодискурса по отношению к рекламному дискурсу, интернет-дискурсу, медиадискурсу, дискурсу сетевой литературы и частично музыкальному дискурсу.

Ключевые слова: иерархия, внешняя иерархия, кинодискурс, кинотекст, полидискурсивные единицы.

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

На сегодняшний день понятие иерархии используется в терминологическом аппарате большого количества наук, основными из которых являются философия, экономика, история, социология, право, а необходимость упорядочивать элементы и выстраивать их иерархию не вызывает сомнений. Опираясь на понятие иерархии, исследователи рассматривают иерархию ценностей (Ковалев, 2011) и потребностей (Гаврилова, 2021; Гарин, 2014) человека. К иерархии обращаются, в частности, в области информатизации образования (Гришкун, 2003), при описании нормативных актов (Жанузакова, 2022), и компетенций современного педагога (Гулая, Романова, 2020).

Впервые иерархия (греч. ἱεραρχία, букв. — священноначалие) как термин упоминается у афинского мыслителя (Псевдо-) Дионисия Ареопагита в его трактатах «О небесной иерархии» и «О церковной иерархии», где иерархия обозначает расположение частей или элементов целого в порядке от высшего к низшему (Подвойский, Попов, 2022). По справедливому замечанию Б.Б. Леонтьева, иерархия является общим свойством всех процессов, объектов и их элементов в природе и обществе: «если где-то иерархия не обнаружена, значит там уровень изучения проблемы пока еще далек от научного» (Леонтьев, 2012, с. 29). С XX века понятие иерархии применяется для описания структурной организации многоуровневых систем и рассматривается как «важнейший принцип, обеспечивающий взаимную корреляцию и соподчинение процессов на различных уровнях системы, каждый из которых специализируется на выполнении определенных функций …» (Там же, с. 713).

Исследования, ключевым элементом которых является систематизация или описание иерархии, находят свое место и в лингвистике: учеными рассматриваются, в частности, вопросы иерархии языков (Алпатов, 2012) и языковых уровней (Савицкий, 2021; Доладова, 2016), тема-рематической иерархии текста (Самоделкин, 2016), иерархии отношений тропов (Третьякова, 2014), иерархии механизмов речи (Сизова, 2017), иерархии концептов в рамках определенного дискурса (Онищенко, 2012). Кроме того, на языковом материале рассматриваются вопросы иерархии ценностей народов и личности (Нелюбова и др., 2020; Юсупова, 2021; Коробкова, 2019), иерархии прецедентных феноменов в сознании языковой личности (Долевец, 2005) и знаковая иерархия (Фалина, 2013).

Многомерность исследований, посвященных иерархии в различных областях научного знания, и, в частности, в языкознании и литературоведении, свидетельствует о важности рассмотрения данного понятия в процессе упорядочивания элементов и компонентов определенных структур в ходе их многостороннего анализа.

2. ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ ОСНОВЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

2.1. Иерархичность дискурса: к истории вопроса

Рассмотрим подробнее понятие иерархии в свете дискурса. Так, в теории риторической структуры У. Манна и С. Томпсона (Mann & Thompson, 1988) утверждается, что любая единица дискурса находятся в риторических отношениях с другой единицей. К числу риторических отношений, выделенных исследователями, относятся последовательность, условие, причина, уступка, конъюнкция, альтернатива, цель, фон, развитие и др. (Там же). Иерархия дискурса рассматривается в работах А.А. Кибрика, где упоминаются его глобальная и локальная структура как «два полярных уровня единой иерархической структуры…» (Кибрик, 2009, с. 2). Ряд работ зарубежных исследователей, посвященных иерархии дискурса (Pitkin, 1977; Stoll, 1996; Grosz & Sidner, 1986; Polanyi, 1988; Van Kuppevelt, 1995) относится к XX веку и в основном затрагивает организацию текста или речи внутри дискурса как систему, а также противопоставление линейности и иерархичности дискурса, т.е. без учета междискурсивных связей и влияния социо-культурного контекста. В свою очередь, современные зарубежные исследования, тем или иным образом затрагивающие иерархию дискурса, направлены не на уточнение ранее сформулированных положений, а на их применение в узкоспециализированных вопросах, например, рассмотрение концептуального иерархического структурирования дискурса при возникновении и развитии языка жестов (Dachkovsky et al., 2023).

Непосредственно описанию иерархии отдельных видов дискурса посвящено ограниченное число работ. А.Н. Безруков рассматривает иерархию художественного дискурса с опорой на связность номинативных корпусных образований со стороны автора и актуализацию смысловых значений со стороны читателя (Безруков, 2017). Автор приходит к выводу, что «иерархия дискурса есть небуквальное его сложение, но взаимосвязь парадигмальных языковых форм, функционально существующих в сознании реципиента-читателя», определяя художественный дискурс как иерархически нормированный процесс (Там же, с. 50-51).

Существуют также междисциплинарные работы, посвященные рассмотрению иерархии в отдельных видах дискурса. Идея подвижной иерархии в философском дискурсе исследовалась в докторской диссертации А.Н. Фатенкова (Фатенков, 2006). Бузасне Сахвердова Нава-Ванда (Buzásné Sahverdova Nava-Vanda) анализирует иерархию в дискурсе правосудия на материале юридического ток-шоу «Час суда» (Buzásné Sahverdova, 2013).

Предпринималась также попытка создать иерархию видов дискурсов путем разделения их на реально существующие и т.н. «конструкты дискурсов на различных уровнях» (Заложных, 2017, с. 14). На основе проведенного анализа автором был сделан вывод о том, что в совокупности дискурсы составляют «воображаемую многоуровневую иерархию (пирамиду) дискурсов с реально существующими дискурсами в ее основе» (Там же, с. 14).

Основываясь на проанализированных научных источниках, можно сделать вывод, что иерархичность как свойство дискурса не подвергается сомнению. Вместе с тем, на наш взгляд, в большинстве случаев авторами констатируется иерархичность элементов дискурса как оппозиция линейной организованности данных элементов. Кроме того, противопоставляя категорию текста категории дискурса, исследователи сосредотачивают свое внимание на организации текста внутри дискурса как текстовой или речевой системы, не рассматривая

междискурсивные связи и влияние социокультурного контекста. На наш взгляд, анализ иерархии дискурса не может проходить вне данных категорий: изучение и описание дискурса вне контекста превращает его в статический объект, в то время как дискурс представляет собой процессуальное явление (Демьянков, 2005), «создающийся в процессе общения текст» (Кибрик, 1987, с. 41).

В свою очередь, отсутствие обращения к междискурсивной стороне иерархии дискурса противоречит интердискурсивности как свойству любого дискурса (Пантеева, 2020) и не позволяет рассмотреть внешнюю сторону иерархии конкретного дискурса. Именно «внешняя» иерархия кинодискурса с учетом социокультурного контекста будет рассмотрена нами в последующих разделах.

В связи с вышеизложенным, нами предлагается понимать дискурс как *семиотическое пространство в рамках статусно-ролевых или бытовых отношений, состоящее из набора элементов, находящихся в упорядоченных отношениях и взаимодействующих с другими дискурсами в креативном формате.*

2.2. К вопросу об иерархии кинодискурса

Кинодискурс определяется как институциональный прагматически-ориентированный тип дискурса, функционирующий во времени и пространстве и выполняющий специфические функции (Анисимов, 2021). Данный вид дискурса представляет собой полимодальное образование, создаваемое коллективным автором и участвующее в конструировании ценностной картины мира социокультурно-неоднородного коллективного адресата (зритель-представитель целевой аудитории и сторонний зритель, кинокритик, обозреватель-представитель СМИ) путем взаимодействия с ним при помощи визуальной, звуковой и изобразительной составляющих. В рамках данного исследования мы рассматриваем кинодискурс как генерализованный вид дискурса, включающий в себя сериальный дискурс и мультипликационный дискурс.

Иерархию дискурса представляется возможным исследовать в рамках его структуры. В.И. Карасик в рамках социально-прагматической интерпретации дискурса выделяет следующие компоненты институционального дискурса: цели, участники, хронотоп, ценности, стратегии, материал (тематика), разновидности и жанры, прецедентные тексты, дискурсивные формулы (Карасик, 2002). Анализ кинодискурса по данным параметрам позволяет констатировать институциональность данного вида дискурса (Анисимов, 2017). Однако выстраивание данных компонентов в иерархию не позволит в полной мере рассмотреть взаимодействие дискурса как текстовой системы, включающей в себя интертекстуальные и интердискурсивные связи с другими видами дискурсов. Кроме того, при акценте на структурных элементах дискурса за рамками исследования остаются внутрисистемные элементы дискурса: например, отношения между основной формой реализации (далее – объектом) дискурса и его структурными элементами. Применительно к кинодискурсу подобную внутреннюю иерархичность можно проиллюстрировать сравнением кинофильма с его структурными элементами, такими как кинозаголовок, синопсис, постер, трейлер и др., и выявлением иерархии между данными компонентами кинодискурса.

В связи с вышесказанным, нами предлагается рассматривать иерархию дискурса в двух основных направлениях, включающих в себя комплексное описание структурного и семиотического пространства дискурса: внешняя иерархия дискурса и внутренняя иерархия дискурса.

Анализ внешней иерархии дискурса включает в себя описание двух ключевых компонентов данной иерархии:

1. Порождающие (генеративные) дискурс элементы, т.е. установление тех элементов, которые лежат в основе формы реализации (объекта) дискурса;
2. Взаимодействие дискурса с другими видами дискурса при помощи синтетических элементов – полидискурсивных единиц.

В свою очередь, анализ внутренней иерархии дискурса нами предлагается проводить внутри его семиотического пространства:

1. Анализ иерархии отношений между основной формой реализации дискурса (объектом дискурса) и его основными компонентами;
2. Описание иерархии имеющихся в дискурсе компонентов;
3. Рассмотрение иерархичности отношений исходного и локализованного / переводного текстов внутри дискурса.

В задачу данной работы не входит подробный анализ внутренней иерархии кинодискурса, однако считаем необходимым кратко остановиться на возможном направлении исследования внутренней иерархии кинодискурса. Поскольку в качестве объекта кинодискурса выступает кинофильм, мы считаем целесообразной возможность рассмотрения отношений между собственно кинофильмом и функционально-прагматическими единицами кинотекста, куда нами относятся кинозаголовок, синопсис, слоган, постер и трейлер кинофильма, в иерархическом аспекте. Мы считаем уместным также рассмотреть иерархию самого класса функционально-прагматических единиц кинотекста, представляющих собой малоформатные тексты кинодискурса. Целесообразность рассмотрения иерархии указанных малоформатных текстов заключается в многочисленности элементов данного класса и их высоком рекламном, информативном и прагматическом потенциале. Дополнительным элементом внутренней иерархии кинотекста может быть анализ иерархии семиотического пространства многосерийного кинофильма или т.н. «кинофраншизы», заключающейся в описании отношений между частями кинофильма. Наконец, анализ иерархии исходного и переводного текстов кинодискурса следует проводить как между исходным и локализованным кинофильмом, так и между иными элементами кинодискурса, например, исходными и локализованными малоформатными текстами кинодискурса.

Подчеркнем, что анализ внутренней иерархии кинодискурса возможен при понимании кинодискурса как гиперонимической категории по отношению к кинотексту как гипониму. По нашему мнению, выступая в качестве гиперонима, кинодискурс включает в себя ряд компонентов: кинотекст и его элементы, кинофильм, кинодиалог и др. Кинотекст, в свою очередь, рассматривается как основная составляющая кинодискурса и выступает базисом для создания кинофильма и взаимодействующая с адресатом (Анисимов, 2021).

В данном исследовании нами предлагается выявить внешнюю иерархию кинодискурса на примере французского кинодискурса.

3. МАТЕРИАЛЫ И МЕТОДЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Материалом исследования послужили французские кинофильмы периода 1990-2024 гг., а также элементы кинотекста в других дискурсах (рекламный, музыкальный, медиа-дискурс, интернет-дискурс, дискурс социальных сетей). Выбор временного периода 1990-2024 гг. обусловлен необходимостью рассмотрения материала современного (конец

XX-начало XXI вв.) французского кинематографа, обладающего наибольшим числом интердискурсивных связей с другими типами дискурсов, в связи с тенденцией к глобализации и модернизации.

При анализе внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса применялся комплекс методов: метод сплошной выборки в части отбора кинофильмов и элементов кинотекста в других дискурсах, дискурс-анализ и контент-анализ в части анализа элементов различных дискурсов и их полидискурсивных единиц, методы теоретического анализа и обобщения, синтеза, индукции и дедукции использовались при рассмотрении существующей научной литературы по истории вопроса и систематизации элементов внешней иерархии кинодискурса.

4. РЕЗУЛЬТАТЫ И ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ

4.1. Генеративная модель кинодискурса

Считаем уместным начать рассмотрение внешней иерархии кинодискурса с описания генеративных элементов, лежащих в основе кинофильма как основной формы реализации кинодискурса.

Обращение к жанрам кинодискурса (комедия, мелодрама, фильм-биография, исторический фильм, боевик, фильм ужасов, триллер, приключенческий фильм) и национально-прецедентным текстам французского кинодискурса (литературные произведения, исторические события, биографии знаменитых личностей, актуальные для общественной жизни Франции события) позволяет сделать вывод о порождающих элементах французского кинодискурса: к ним относятся художественные произведения, фольклорные элементы, исторические события и философские труды и идеи. Данные элементы лежат в основе кинофильмов и формируют их жанровую составляющую. Так, художественные произведения и фольклорные элементы служат основой для сценария кинофильма, где в первом случае экранизации подвергается само художественное произведение (*Le nom de la Rose,* 1986; *L'amour dure trois ans,* 2012; Les trois mousquetaires, 2023; *Au revoir là-haut,* 2017), а во втором – мифы, сказки и легенды французской и мировой культуры (*Astérix & Obélix contre César,* 1999; *Astérix & Obélix: Mission Cléopâtre,* 2002; *Astérix & Obélix: Au service de sa Majesté,* 2012; *Les nouvelles aventures d'Aladin,* 2015). Исторические события могут быть экранизированы сами по себе (*La 1 ère Guerre mondiale,* 2014; *Apocalypse: La 2 ème Guerre mondiale,* 2009; *Un peule et son roi,* 2018) или служить основой для кинофильма, демонстрирующего зрителю определенную эпоху, т.е. служить историческим контекстом, косвенно связанным с событиями кинопроизведения (*Normandie-Niémen,* 1960; *L'armée des ombres,* 1969; *L'armée du crime,* 2009). Схожая роль отводится и философским трудам и идеям, в том числе в кинофильмах, посвященных философам (*26 lettres et un philosophe,* 2014; *Marcel Conche, la nature d'un philosophe,* 2015; *Michel Foucault, le philosophe et le poisson rouge,* 2024). Биографические кинофильмы, именуемые в последнее время как «байопики», являются своеобразной экранизацией жизненного пути человека. Порождающим элементом подобных кинофильмов являются биографии известных в мировом и национальном масштабе личностей (*Yves Saint Laurent,* 2014; *Dalida*, 2016; *Coco avant Chanel,* 2009). Существуют также случаи, когда в фильме наблюдается синергия биографического описания личности

и исторического контекста. Примером подобных кинофильмов могут служить кинофильмы об исторических личностях, с которыми связаны определенные события национального или мирового масштаба (*Jeanne d'Arc,* 1999; *Jeanne captive,* 2011; *De Gaulle,* 2020).

Иерархически данные элементы находятся выше кинодискурса, поскольку порождают сам кинофильм и, шире, кинотекст, который без них оказывается невозможным.

Как и любой вид дискурса, кинодискурс развертывается во времени и пространстве, следовательно, при описании порождающих кинофильм и кинотекст элементов, следует уделить особое внимание социополитическому контексту, в рамках которого создается кинофильм. По нашему мнению, социополитический контекст предписывает использование или неиспользование различных элементов культуры в процессе создания кинофильма, путем выдвижения на первый план значимых для конкретной страны и общества тем и элементов культуры и, напротив, устранения табуированных и нежелательных на конкретном политическом и социальном этапах развития общества культурных явлений и атрибутов. Подчеркнем, что кинодискурс, наряду с рекламным, интернет- и музыкальным дискурсами, является одним из наиболее быстро реагирующих на различные изменения в социополитическом контексте дискурсов, что связано с передачей им ценностей, которые тесным образом связаны с национально-культурными и эстетическими ценностями лингвокультуры народа (Анисимов, 2017), а также необходимостью кинофильма «идти в ногу со временем» для популярности у современного зрителя и обеспечения успешных сборов в прокате.

Поскольку современные кинофильмы преимущественно рассчитаны на мировой прокат, авторы кинопроизведения стараются выбирать относительно нейтральные для большинства стран темы, подтверждением чему является достаточно упорядоченный список тем, таких как «любовь», «война», «семья», «дружба». Однако существуют случаи, когда в кинофильм намеренно помещаются определенные элементы культуры, имеющие популярность у зрителя или продиктованные запросом общества и эпохи (т.е. социо-политическим контекстом): в ряде кинофильмов разных лет затрагивается проблема сексуальных меньшинств и нетрадиционных отношений (*Presque rien* (2000); *On ne choisit pas sa famille* (2011); *À cause d'un garçon* (2013); *La Vie d'Adèle - Chapitres 1 et 2,* (2013); проблема взаимоотношений людей различных рас и религий представлена в кинолентах *Qu'est-ce qu'on a fait au Bon Dieu?* (2014) и *Qu'est-ce qu'on a encore fait au Bon Dieu?* (2019), согласно сюжету которых четыре дочери из известной в округе католической семьи друг за другом выходят замуж за араба-мусульманина, еврея-иудея, китайца-буддиста и африканца-протестанта. Отметим, что трактовка «национального вопроса и религиозных убеждений» признается исследователями одной из особенностей французских кинофильмов (Горшкова и др., 2014, с. 125). Передача важного для французского общества понятия «свобода» (*liberté*) также является основой французских кинофильмов разных лет: *Et vive la liberté!* (1978); *À nous la liberté* (1931); *Le fantôme de la liberté* (1974); *Intouchables* (2012); *Territoire de la liberté* (2014); *En liberté!* (2018). Обращение к актуальному для общества социополитическому контексту не ограничивается приведенными примерами.

Схема генеративной модели французского кинодискурса представлена на рисунке 1 (рис. 1).

Порождающие элементы

Рис.1. Генеративная модель французского кинодискурса

4.2. Внешняя иерархия французского кинодискурса

В ходе анализа нами были выявлены взаимодействия кинодискурса с другими видами дискурса: рекламным, музыкальным дискурсами, медиадискурсом, интернет-дискурсом и дискурсом сетевой литературы.

Взаимодействие дискурса с другими видами дискурса обусловлено феноменом интердискурсивности, представляющим собой «способность дискурса манифестировать свои базовые системообразующие признаки в нетипичной для данного типа дискурса ситуации (в ситуации, которая по внешним признакам относится к другому типу дискурса); способность дискурса расширять свои границы, "проникать" в другой дискурс» (Олизько, 2009, с. 31). Французский исследователь М. Пешё также отмечает присутствие в каждом дискурсе элементов других дискурсов: «всякий дискурс – в силу того, что существует и функционирует в системе других дискурсов – отражает в своем "телесном" составе, в репертуаре своих, в том числе возможных, высказываний – другие и многие дискурсы, и следы этих отражений мы обнаруживаем в текстах (Пешё, 1999, с. 267-268). Результатом интердискурсивных отношений, согласно Н.С. Олизько, является «креолизованное [в нашем понимании – поликодовое] сообщение», при структурировании которого использовались коды разных семиотических систем (Олизько, 2009, с. 31).

Интердискурсивность кинодискурса также не остается без внимания в работах отечественных ученых (Сургай, 2008; Зыкова, 2021). В рамках нашего исследования мы опираемся на феномен интердискурсивности в аспекте рассмотрения элементов одного дискурса в другом. При этом, мы разграничиваем интердискурсивность и иерархию дискурса, описывая последнюю не как простое проникновение элементов одного дискурса в другой, а как *более широкую связь между дискурсами, способствующую формированию общих для дискурсов единиц и характерных для данных единиц связей, с учетом более высокого положения одного дискурса по отношению к другому в процессе подобного взаимодействия.*

Рассмотрим подробнее взаимодействие кинодискурса с другими дискурсами. На наш взгляд, говорить об иерархическом взаимодействии дискурсов можно в том случае, когда в результате данного взаимодействия возникают новые объекты, находящиеся на пересечении двух дискурсов. Данные объекты мы считаем правомерным определить

как *полидискурсивные единицы,* то есть синтетические единицы, имеющие форму репрезентации текста дискурса, в семиотическом пространстве которого осуществляется их функционирование, тогда как прецедентное содержание данных единиц связано с другим дискурсом. Под прецедентным содержанием понимается включение прецедентных элементов кинотекста в состав полидискурсивной единицы: кинозаголовка, слогана кинофильма, имен актеров, персонажей, режиссера и другие элементов, связанных с кинофильмом и кинодискурсом. Термин полидискурсивная единица вводится нами по аналогии с такими существующими терминами, как полидискурсивность (Андреева, 2006) и полидискурсивный текст (Эрман, 2011), на основании функционирования данных единиц в двух и более видах дискурса.

4.2.1. Взаимодействие кино- и рекламного дискурсов

Взаимодействие кинодискурса и рекламного дискурса осуществляется при помощи рекламных интеграций и с использованием элементов кинотекста в рекламном дискурсе для продвижения продукта или рекламы кинофильма среди определенной аудитории. Примером использования элементов кинотекста в рекламном дискурсе может служить реклама нового продукта линейки *Eau sauvage* от парфюмерного дома "Dior" (рис. 2). Изображение главного героя вышедшего в прокат кинофильма *Largo Winch: Le Prix de l'argent* (дословный перевод – «Ларго Винч: цена денег», российская локализация – «Ларго Винч: гнев прошлого», 2024) является элементом кинотекста и используется для рекламы и продвижения нового французского кинофильма.
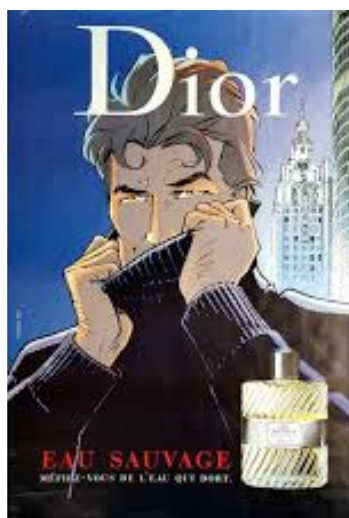
Рис. 2. Реклама Dior с использованием кинотекста
(Pinterest, 2024).

Другим примером, объединяющим кинодискурс и рекламный дискурс, является т.н. *product placement,* представляющий собой форму скрытой рекламы, при которой бренд или товар ненавязчиво включается в кинофильм (Тисенкова, Мельникова, 2016, с. 120). Различают несколько типов подобного размещения продукции: визуальный, когда зрители видят товар или логотип; аудиальный, представляющий собой упоминание о продукте в сюжете кинофильма; кинестетический, при котором актер используют товар в сюжете кинофильма

(Там же, с. 121). *Product placement* может также являться неотъемлемой частью сценария: «такая форма [размещения продукции в кинофильме] предполагает создание и отведение целых сцен для рекламы какого-либо бренда» (Галаванова, 2022, с. 135). Размещение продукции в кинофильме представляет собой функционирование элементов рекламного текста в кинодискурсе, используемое для продвижения и рекламы товара. Подобный прием также можно считать элементом интердискурса, образующегося на стыке кино- и рекламного дискурсов, поскольку собственно процесс рекламы продукта происходит в семиотическом пространстве кинофильма. В свою очередь, применение данного приема непосредственно связано с тем, что «успешное манипулирование элементами интердискурса усиливает взаимодействие с сознанием реципиента, в котором актуализируются обычно не связанные друг с другом концепты и фреймы» (Храмченко, 2013, с. 160). Примером размещения рекламной продукции в кинофильме могут служить автомобиль Пежо 406 (Peugeot 406) в серии кинофильмов *Taxi* («Такси», 1998, 2000, 2003, 2007, 2018), поход волхвов в Макдональдс в кинофильме *Les Rois mages* (российская локализация – «Трое Волхвов», 2001), использование героями кинофильма *Telle mère, telle fille* (российская локализация – «Ой, мамочки!», 2017) шампуня фирмы "Lovea" (Centre National du Cinéma et de l'image Animée, n.d.).

Собственно элементы кинофильма, являющиеся малоформатными текстами рекламного содержания – кинопостер, трейлер и слоган кинофильма – также способствуют взаимодействию кинодискурса и рекламного дискурса. Данные элементы кинофильма участвуют в его рекламной кампании и по своей форме принадлежат рекламному дискурсу: слоган кинофильма структурно соответствует рекламному слогану, кинопостер представляет собой рекламную афишу кинопроизведения, трейлер кинофильма – рекламный ролик. В то же время, прецедентное содержание данных единиц связано с кинодискурсом.

При помощи полидискурсивных единиц осуществляется взаимодействие кинодискурса и рекламного дискурса. Обращаясь к иерархии данных дискурсов, отметим, что кинодискурс находится иерархически выше, поскольку данные элементы или сформированы семиотическим пространством кинодискурса, или связаны с кинодискурсом по семиотическому наполнению: при отсутствии кинофильма нет возможности использовать его элементы в рекламных интеграциях, в частности технологию *product placement* в самом кинофильме. Кроме того, только при наличии самого кинофильма создаются его рекламные элементы, которые не характерны для рекламных кампаний иных групп продуктов (слоган, кинопостер, трейлер). В этой связи уместно будет привести положение И.В. Силантьева о том, что более сложный и статусный в социокультурной иерархии дискурс «отражает и несет в себе следы более широкого спектра других дискурсов» (Силантьев, 2006, с. 31). В нашем случае, при взаимодействии дискурсов, имеющих приблизительно одинаковый социокультурный статус, в качестве ключевого элемента, определяющего более высокий по иерархии дискурс, выступает форма реализации (объект) дискурса.

4.2.2. Взаимодействие кинодискурса и медиадискурса

Обратимся к анализу взаимодействия кинодискурса и медиадискурса. Под медиадискурсом мы, вслед за Т.Г. Добросклонской, понимаем «совокупность процессов и продуктов речевой деятельности в сфере массовой коммуникации во всем богатстве и сложности их взаимодействия» (Добросклонская, 2006, с. 21). Подобная трактовка медиадискурса позволяет рассматривать в качестве участников медиадискурса не только традиционные СМИ,

но и представителей т.н. «новых медиа», основным отличием которых является функционирование в сети Интернет, потенциал гипермедийности и возможность мобильного доступа к контенту (Носовец, 2016, с. 43). Формы реализации медиадискурса, в которых используется кинотекст, напрямую связаны или с продвижением кинофильма в прокате (интервью с актерами, режиссером, продюсером и другими лицами, участвующими в создании кинопроизведения, пресс-релизы кинофильма) или мнения и т.н. «обзоры» уже вышедшего в прокат кинофильма (кинорецензия; обзор кинофильма в прессе и у представителей новых медиа, в первую очередь блогеров; пост-релиз проката кинофильма, включающий в том числе информацию о сборах кинофильма в прокате; репортаж о съемках кинофильма). Перечисленные объекты медиадискурса используют элементы кинотекста в качестве своего семиотического наполнения, принадлежа по форме к медиадискурсу. Отметим, что исследователями отмечается полидискурсивность подобных единиц: например, В.А. Эрман отмечает, что кинорецензия представляет собой «дискурс в другом дискурсе» (Эрман, 2011, с. 3). Проиллюстрируем вышеизложенное на примере элементов медиадискурса, посвященных кинофильму *Les Intouchables* (в российской локализации – «1+1», 2011). Кинофильму посвящены рецензии во многих французских газетах и журналах, в частности, *Libération* (Publicité, 2011), *Le Figaro* (Palou, 2011), *Le Parisien* (Cinéma: «Intouchables», le film qui va toucher le public, 2011), в которых присутствуют следующие элементы кинотекста: краткое изложение сюжета и жизненных позиций главных героев кинопроизведения, кадры из кинофильма и фото актеров на кинофестивалях. В обзорах на кинофильм, снятых блогерами, фигурируют сцены из самого кинофильма и его трейлера (Real Life. Portraits & Témoignages, 2024; Le Clap, 2023). В интервью с актерами и авторами кинофильма также используются фотографии, а также кадры из киноленты (Le Clap, 2023; Cirodde, 2011). Кроме того, непосредственно представленные в формате интервью кинофильм, имена актеров и создателей кинопроизведения являются элементами кинотекста, наделенные полидискурсивной составляющей. В репортаже о кинофильме (в англоязычном кинодискурсе подобный вид репортажа именуют *making-of,* в русскоязычном кинодискурсе часто употребляется термин «фильм о фильме»), более комплексном жанре, можно увидеть следующие элементы кинотекста: кадры и сцены из кинофильма, интервью с актерами и создателями кинофильма, мнения сторонних экспертов, в том числе кинокритиков (Intouchables, n.d.). В пресс-релизе кинофильма фигурируют его синопсис, кадры из ключевых сцен, интервью с актерами, исполнившими главные роли (Омар Си, Франсуа Клюзе) и режиссерами (Оливье Накаш, Эрик Толедано). Завершается пресс-релиз перечислением имен участников съемочной группы и актеров кинофильма, расположенных на фоне кадра из кинофильма (Gaumont, n.d.). Таким образом, все приведенные объекты медиадискурса (кинорецензия, обзор в СМИ и новых медиа, интервью с актерами и режиссерами кинофильма, репортаж о съемках кинопроизведения, пресс-релиз киноленты) являются полидискурсивными единицами, функционирующими в семиотическом пространстве медиадискурса и имеющими форму медиатекста. В то же время, прецедентное содержание данных единиц относится к кинодискурсу, в связи с чем можно констатировать более высокое положение кинодискурса в иерархии по отношению к медиадискурсу, поскольку отсутствие объекта кинодискурса – кинофильма – приведет к отсутствию данных полидискурсивных единиц.

4.2.3. Взаимодействие кинодискурса и музыкального дискурса

Взаимодействие кинодискурса и музыкального дискурса осуществляется при помощи песен и музыки, присутствующих в кинофильме. В связи с многообразием терминологии в работах отечественных и зарубежных исследователей, оперирующих понятиями «музыкальный дискурс», «песенный дискурс», «музыкальный поэтический дискурс», *musical (music) discourse, discourse about music,* мы остановим свой выбор на термине «музыкальный дискурс» как наиболее генерализованном. В качестве объектов музыкального дискурса в кинофильме присутствуют песня и т. н. «основная тема кинофильма», т. е. музыкальное сопровождение кинопроизведения, не содержащее в себе слов, а только мелодию.

Кинематограф и музыка начали свое взаимодействие с появлением первых кинофильмов. Первоначально музыкальный элемент присутствовал в сопровождении кинофильма тапером, а позднее, в эпоху звукового кино, стал компонентом его монтажа (Платонова, 2020). Среди задач музыки в кино исследователи выделяют: оказание психологического воздействия на слушателя; помощь в восприятии тонкостей киномонтажа и операторской работы, режиссерской идеи; обеспечение целостности драматургии произведения (Там же). К драматургическим задачам музыки в структуре кинофильма Т. Ф. Шак относит качественные (взаимосвязь музыки с другими компонентами «образной системы кинофильма», т. е. приемами монтажа, визуальным и звуковым оформлением и т. п.), количественные (наличие музыкальной темы/тем в кинофильме) и процессуальные (развитие музыкальной темы/тем в кинофильме) (Шак, 2010). Функции музыки в кино подробно описаны в исследовании Т. К. Егоровой, которая пишет об использовании внутрикадровой музыки для «обозначения места, времени экранного действия, характеристики среды обитания и персонажей» (Егорова, 2014). В свою очередь, закадровая музыка выполняет иллюстративную (поддерживает фабульное развитие игрового действия), комментаторскую (отражает и раскрывает внутреннее душевное состояние героев, их чувства и переживания) и драматургическую функцию (музыка используется как одно из средств для выражения идеи фильма при помощи, например, лейтмотивной системы). Ученый также выделяет технические функции музыки в кинофильме, к которым относятся, помимо прочего, музыкальный акцент, т. е. выделение персонажа или объекта в кадре и дополнительное эмоциональное усиление энергетики визуального действия (Там же).

Функционирование в кинофильме позволяет песне выполнять ряд основных функций (Дуняшева, 2015): эмотивную как выражение авторской оценки (в случае с кинодискурсом – «коллективного автора»); конативную, направленную на привлечение внимания адресата к происходящим в кинофильме событиям; референтную – поликодовый текст песни при помощи лексических единиц или музыкального ряда передает настроение героев, значимость определенного момента в сюжете кинофильма. Мы считаем возможным также выделить ассоциативную функцию, выполняемую музыкой и песней в кинофильме. Ассоциативная функция заключается в формировании у зрителя устойчивой ассоциации с конкретным кинофильмом.

Основная тема кинофильма, как правило, являющаяся лейтмотивом всего произведения, а в случае с многосерийными кинофильмами – всей киноистории, сопровождает появление персонажа кинофильма в кадре, определенные поступки героев киноленты и другие

значимые для повествования элементы, например, преодоление персонажами трудностей и др. С середины XX века в англоязычном кинематографе основная тема кинофильма именуется как *soundtrack* («саундтрек») – звуковая дорожка, которая используется в кинофильме, в т. ч. специально созданная для данного кинопроизведения. Отметим, что на данный момент термин «саундтрек» используется и для обозначения песен из кинофильма.

Песня и основная тема кинофильма как полидискурсивные единицы отличаются от ранее рассмотренных: по своей форме они являются элементом музыкального дискурса, но их функционирование как составной части кинофильма происходит непосредственно в кинодискурсе. В свою очередь, прецедентное содержание песни и основной темы может быть двояким: в случае создания песни или музыкального произведения под конкретный кинофильм, их прецедентное содержание принадлежит кинодискурсу. Примером подобного произведения во французской киноиндустрии может служить песня *Là-bàs* исполнителя *Noir Désir,* созданная для кинофильма *Bernie* («Берни», 1996). Однако, если в кинофильме используются уже существующие до его создания песни или музыка, их прецедентное содержание можно отнести к песенному дискурсу. Прием использования уже существующих песен для кинофильма является более частотным. Так, песни культового для французской культуры исполнителя Джо Дассена, использовались в ряде кинофильмов последних 20 лет: *Si on chantait* (2021), *Mystère à Saint-Tropez* (2021), *Le Daim* (2019), *La Stratégie de la poussette* (2013), *Disco* (2008), *Enfin veuve* (2008).

Отметим также специфику взаимодействия кинодискурса и музыкального дискурса. В отличие от взаимодействия с другими дискурсами, кинодискурс взаимодействует с музыкальным дискурсом непосредственно в процессе создания самого кинопродукта (кинофильма), в случае, когда музыкальное сопровождение кинофильма (песни, основная тема) пишется в параллельно со съемками кинофильма.

Таким образом, песня и основная тема из кинофильма имеют форму текста музыкального дискурса и функционируют в семиотическом пространстве кинодискурса, а их прецедентное содержание может принадлежать как кинодискурсу (песня и музыка создаются под конкретный кинофильм), так и музыкальному дискурсу («заимствованные» в кинофильм уже существующие песни и музыка). В случае создания элементов музыкального дискурса для кинофильма можно говорить о более высоком положении кинодискурса по отношению к музыкальному дискурсу, поскольку невозможным является существование данных элементов без самого кинофильма. В то же время, при использовании уже существующей музыкальной композиции или песни в кинофильме, представляется возможным говорить о равных отношениях кинодискурса и музыкального дискурса, что может быть обусловлено развитием и функционированием кинематографа и музыки как синтетических видов искусства.

4.2.4. Взаимодействие кинодискурса и интернет-дискурса

Далее проследим взаимодействие кинодискурса и интернет-дискурса, основу которого также составляет использование элементов кинотекста в интернет-пространстве. В данной работе интернет-дискурс понимается нами как гиперонимическое структурное образование, включающее в себя другие типы дискурсов, в том числе дискурс социальных сетей.

Функционирование кинотекста в семиотическом пространстве интернет-дискурса осуществляется через размещение информации о кинофильме на различных интернет-платформах, в первую очередь в онлайн базах данных кинофильмов и на относительно

новых площадках – онлайн-кинотеатрах и стриминговых сервисах. Среди крупных онлайн-баз данных кинофильмов во Франции можно назвать Allociné, UniFrance, SensCritique, в России – Кинопоиск (ставший в 2018 году еще и онлайн-кинотеатром) и Кинотеатр. ру, в англоязычном сегменте популярностью пользуются IMDb (Internet Movie Database) и *TMDB* (*The Movie Database*). Среди основных мировых стриминговых сервисов и онлайн-кинотеатров можно отметить *Netflix, AppleTV, AmazonPrime, Disney+, Paramount+*. Французские любители кино предпочитают также сервисы *France.tv, TF1+, SFR* (*Société Française du Radiotéléphone*), *Canal VOD, Orange.* В России ведущие позиции занимают вышеупомянутый Кинопоиск, а также *IVI, More.tv, Okko, Premier, Start.* В большинстве случаев, элементами кинотекста, присутствующими на данных площадках, являются малоформатные тексты кинодискурса, представляющие потенциальному зрителю основную информацию о кинофильме: кинозаголовок, синопсис, слоган (при наличии) и трейлер кинофильма, кинопостер. Обязательной также является информация о режиссере, продюсере и актерах, исполняющих главные роли, а также о жанре кинофильма. Некоторые онлайн-базы данных содержат информацию о сеансах кинофильма, если он в настоящее время идет в прокате. Реже на персональную страницу кинофильма могут быть добавлены интервью с актерами или съемочной группой и иная информация, которая может помочь потенциальному зрителю составить более полное представление о конкретном кинофильме, например, текущий рейтинг киноленты с учетом голосов посетителей сайта.

Рассмотрим пример страницы кинофильма *Les profs* (в русской локализации – «Безумные преподы», 2013) на сайте *Allociné.fr* (рис. 3). В самом начале страницы находятся кинозаголовок, постер и синопсис кинофильма, информация о режиссерах, продюсере и актерах, выходе кинофильма в прокат, жанре кинопроизведения, оценках пользователей сайта. Следом потенциальному зрителю предлагается посмотреть данный фильм на различных стриминговых сервисах и ознакомиться с трейлером, интервью и репортажем о съемках кинофильма.

Рис. 3. Пример страницы кинофильма на интернет-сайте Allociné.fr (Allociné, 2013)

В данном случае малоформатные тексты кинодискурса, а также вся информация о кинофильме выступают в качестве полидискурсивных единиц, функционирующих в пространстве интернет-дискурса, но обладающих прецедентным содержанием кинодискурса. Сам кинофильм, предлагающийся к просмотру в онлайн-кинотеатрах и на стриминговых сервисах, также выступает в качестве полидискурсивной единицы.

Кинотекст также присутствует в интернет-пространстве в рамках обсуждения кинофильма и всей связанной с ним информации на форумах, в рецензиях кинокритиков на сайтах интернет-издательств. В данном случае элементами кинотекста могут являться кинозаголовок, имя персонажа кинопроизведения или иное прецедентное имя (название города, планеты и др.), имена актеров и режиссера, упоминаемые в тексте комментариев на форумах.

Отметим, что посредством сети интернет в прокат выходят короткометражные кинофильмы, которые зритель не может посмотреть в кинотеатрах. Большинство современных сериалов также распространяются только в сети Интернет, в основном на стриминговых сервисах и в онлайн-кинотеатрах. Функционируя в интернет-пространстве, подобные кинофильмы представляют собой объект кинодискурса, распространяющийся исключительно в сети интернет, что позволяет сделать вывод об их принадлежности как кинодискурсу (по форме и прецедентному содержанию), так интернет-дискурсу (по функционированию в семиотическом пространстве) и определить такие объекты как *сетевую кинопродукцию.*

Важными полидискурсивными единицами, функционирующими в интернет-дискурсе и имеющими прецедентное содержание кинодискурса, являются субвидемы шортс, рилс и клип (см. подробнее о введении в научный оборот термина «субвидема» Анисимов, Анисимова, 2024). Субвидема шортс является структурным элементом (малоформатным текстом) кинодискурса и функционирует на прокатном или на послепрокатном этапе и демонстрирует зрителю отрывок из кинофильма, сопровождающийся комментарием или заголовком. Рилс и клип также содержат в себе элементы кинотекста, но не являются структурными элементами кинодискурса. Рилс, посвященные конкретному кинофильму, содержат отрывки из кинопроизведения, которые используются их авторами в качестве опорного элемента для сюжета видеоролика, визуализации прецедентной ситуации и ее последующего комментирования или имитации (Анисимов, Анисимова, 2024). В свою очередь, в клипе автор кратко описывает сюжет кинофильма с его последующим комментированием. Элементы кинотекста в клипе выполняют функцию иллюстративного материала, который составляет визуальный фон субвидемы и используется автором в качестве объекта для описания и комментирования.

Последней полидискурсивной единицей, объединяющей кинодискурс и интернет-дискурс, является интернет-мем, представляющий собой «хранилище культурных кодов сетевого сообщества» (Марченко, 2013, с. 113). Исследователи рассматривают мем в рамках медиадискурса (Канашина, 2019), политического дискурса (Милованова, Терентьева, 2022) и выделяют следующие характеристики интернет-мема: вирусность, реплицируемость, эмоциональность, серийность, мимикрия, минимализм формы, полимодальность, актуальность, юмористическая направленность, медийность, фантазийный характер (Канашина, 2017). Делаются первые попытки осмысления т. н. «киномема», иконическую составляющую которого составляет один или несколько кадров из кинофильма. В частности, мемное подпространство анализируется в условиях постинтерпретативного осмысления кинофильма и дискурса его режиссера (Цинь, 2023). Вывод исследователя заключается в том, что мемное подпространство позволяет расширить кинодискурс до уровня фанфикшена, т. е. текста по мотивам кинопроизведения, что показывает взаимодействие кинодискурса и интернет-дискурса при помощи интернет-мемов (Там же). Киномем как полидискурсивная единица по форме и функционированию относится к интернет-дискурсу, в то время как его иконическое прецедентное содержание обусловлено кинодискурсом. В свою очередь, вербальное прецедентное содержание может частично или полностью не совпадать с содержанием и идеями, заложенными в кинофильме. Иными словами, авторы интернет-мемов заимствуют кадр из кинофильма для визуальной иллюстрации своей мысли или создания комического эффекта. При этом, согласно проведенному нами количественному подсчету, во франкоязычном интернет-пространстве более частотными являются интернет-мемы с кадрами из кинофильмов и киногероями американского кинематографа (86%), что может быть

связано с популярностью американских кинофильмов у французского зрителя. В качестве примера рассмотрим интернет-мем, иллюстрирующий юмористическое отношение французов к режиму самоизоляции во время пандемии COVID-19 (рис. 4).

Рис. 4. Франкоязычный Интернет-мем с использованием кинотекста
(Au Confinement, 2020).

Иконическая составляющая интернет-мема передает его основное содержание: в левой части мема располагается изображение супергероя Аквамена из одноименного кинофильма (актер Джейсон Момоа) – первый день самоизоляции (Jour #1); в правой части – персонаж из кинофраншизы «Гарри Поттер» Хагрид (актер Робби Колтрейн) – тридцатый день самоизоляции (Jour #30). В данном случае комический эффект построен на сопоставлении конституции и фигуры двух персонажей. Частое использование кадров из кинофильмов обусловлено их узнаваемостью во французской лингвокультуре.

Подведем итог взаимодействию кинодискурса и интернет-дискурса: многочисленные полидискурсивные единицы (страницы сайтов, посвященных кинематографу, субвидемы «шортс», «рилс», «клип», интернет-мем) имеют форму элементов интернет-дискурса и прецедентное содержание кинодискурса, функционируя в рамках интернет-дискурса. Анализируя представленные дискурсы в рамках иерархии, подчеркнем, что кинодискурс иерархически находится выше интернет-дискурса, поскольку именно прецедентное содержание кинотекста формирует смысловое и визуальное наполнения перечисленных выше единиц. В отсутствие кинофильма как прецедентного феномена манифестация данных единиц становится невозможной.

4.2.5. Взаимодействие кинодискурса и дискурса сетевой литературы

Последнее выявленное нами взаимодействие дискурсов происходит между кинодискурсом и дискурсом сетевой литературы, представляющим собой совокупность литературных произведений единоличного, коллективного или машинного авторства, публикуемых и существующих в сети интернет (Денисова, 2012). В отличие от объектов художественного дискурса, порождающих кинодискурс и кинофильм, элементы дискурса сетевой литературы возникают из других произведений, в частности, кинофильмов, т.е. являются вторичными по отношению к ним. Примером такого рода произведений могут служить т. н. «фанфик» – произведение сетевой литературы, «основанное на каком-либо оригинальном произведении (как правило, литературном или кинематографическом), использующее его

идеи сюжета и (или) персонажей» (Там же, с. 141). Фанфик может быть продолжением, предысторией, пародией, альтернативной версией происходящих в оригинальном произведении событий или «кроссовером» – «переплетением нескольких произведений» (Там же, с. 141). Кинотекст выступает в качестве источника заимствования сюжета и персонажей для другого произведения, о чем пишет Ю.В. Сургай: «кинотекст может расширять свои интердискурсивные связи, становясь источником заимствования для текстов массовой культуры, функционирующих в разных дискурсах» (Сургай, 2008, с. 5). Фанфик, основанный на сюжете кинофильма, функционирует и имеет форму объекта дискурса сетевой литературы, одновременно обладая прецедентным содержанием кинодискурса. Опираясь на подобную трактовку данной полидискурсивной единицы, отметим, что кинодискурс находится иерархически выше дискурса сетевой литературы, поскольку объекты сетевой литературы основаны на объектах кинодискурса – кинофильмах. Подчеркнем, что художественный дискурс также будет иерархически выше дискурса сетевой литературы, в случае использования авторами фанфиков литературных произведений в качестве основы.

В семиотическое пространство французского кинодискурса нами включаются фанфики, основанные на сюжете или персонажах французских кинофильмов на французском и других языках, а также фанфики, написанные на французском языке по мотивам иностранных кинофильмов, вышедших в прокат во Франции на французском языке. Примером фанфика, написанного на французском языке по мотивам французского кинофильма, может служить произведение пользователя "adieue" *Léon et Mathilde* (2013-2018), основанное на персонажах и истории кинофильма Léon (1994) (Adieue, n.d.). По мотивам данного кинофильма написан и ряд фанфиков на других языка, в т. ч. русском языке (FicBook, n.d.). Более популярными для создания фанфиков у французских пользователей интернета являются американские кинофильмы: например, по таким популярным многосерийным кинофильмам, как «Гарри Поттер» (*Harry Potter*) и «Звёздные войны» (*Star Wars*), по данным портала Fanfictions.fr, написано 111 и 162 фанфика соответственно (Fanfiction, n.d.).

4.2.6. Модель внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса

Подведем итог анализа внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса. Внешняя иерархия французского кинодискурса состоит из его порождающих (генеративных) элементов (литература, фольклор, история, философия, биография/жизненный путь человека) и его взаимодействия с другими видами дискурса при помощи полидискурсивных единиц. Важное влияние на создание кинофильма оказывает социо-политический контекст.

В общем виде внешнюю иерархию французского кинодискурса можно представить в виде следующей модели (рис. 5):

Рис. 5. Модель внешней иерархии французского кинодискурса

5. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ И ВЫВОДЫ

Проведенный анализ позволил определить модель внешней иерархии кинодискурса на примере французского дискурса. Структурными элементами внешней иерархии кинодискурса выступают его порождающие элементы, к числу которых относятся художественные произведения, фольклорные элементы, исторические события, биографические данные, философские тексты и идеи. Перечисленные элементы выше кинодискурса по иерархии, поскольку именно они служат основой для сюжета объекта кинодискурса – кинофильма и, собственно, кинотекста.

Важное влияние на создание кинофильма оказывает социополитический контекст, предписывающий использование различных элементов культуры в процессе создания кинофильма. Социополитический контекст выдвигает на первый план значимые для конкретной страны и общества элементы культуры и устраняет табуированные и нежелательные для общества культурные явления.

Для выявления иерархии кинодискурса по отношению к другим дискурсам нами были проанализированы полидискурсивные единицы, относящиеся по форме к дискурсу, в котором они функционируют, но имеющие прецедентное содержание другого дискурса (в данном случае – кинодискурса). Прецедентное содержание полидискурсивных единиц позволяет определить иерархически более высоко расположенный дискурс, поскольку при отсутствии прецедентного содержания в данных единицах их существование и функционирование становятся невозможными.

Кинодискурс является иерархически более высоко расположенным дискурсом по отношению к рекламному дискурсу, интернет-дискурсу, медиадискурсу и дискурсу сетевой литературы. В случае взаимодействия кинодискурса и музыкального дискурса, можно говорить о двойственности их относительного положения: при наличии в данных полидискурсивных единицах прецедентного содержания кинотекста, кинодискурс будет иерархически более высоким видом дискурса. В остальных случаях кинодискурс и музыкальный дискурс находятся в равных отношениях.

Полученные результаты могут быть применены в исследованиях, затрагивающих иерархию и, в частности, внешнюю иерархию различных типов дискурса, а также при создании учебных материалов по дискурс-анализу для студентов филологических специальностей.

Конфликт интересов:
Автор заявляет об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

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THE EXTERNAL HIERARCHY OF FRENCH FILM DISCOURSE

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Abstract: This study explores the external hierarchy of French film discourse, proposing a model that accounts for the elements generating this discourse and its interactions with other discourses within a hierarchical framework. The empirical material includes French films from 1990 to 2024 and elements of film text embedded in advertising, music, media, internet, and online literature discourses. Addressing the limited research on discourse hierarchy in modern linguistics, the study aims to identify and systematize the external hierarchy of French film discourse. The relevance of this research stems from the growing academic interest in film discourse and the lack of dedicated studies on its hierarchical organization. The author introduces a novel model that not only explains the generative elements of French film discourse but also situates it in a broader matrix of interacting discourses. The study employs discourse analysis, alongside theoretical methods such as generalization, synthesis, induction, and deduction. The findings reveal that the external hierarchy is shaped by generative elements – works of art, folklore, historical events, biographical details, and philosophical ideas – which occupy higher hierarchical levels relative to the discourse itself. Film production is also influenced by the socio-cultural context, emphasizing culturally significant elements and suppressing taboo topics. The research further demonstrates that the hierarchy of French film discourse relative to other discourses is mediated by poly-discursive units. These units function within one discourse while bearing content from another, positioning film discourse hierarchically above advertising, internet, media, online literature, and partially music discourses. This study enhances our understanding of the structural and functional properties of French film discourse and its broader cultural implications.

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LEXICALISATION IN MEDIA REPORTS OF RECURRENT DIPHTHERIA OUTBREAK IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: Linguistic studies on media coverage of pandemics and outbreaks in Nigeria, including the COVID-19 pandemic, Ebola, and Lassa fever, have been extensive. However, the linguistic analysis of media reports on the diphtheria outbreak remains underexplored. This study addresses this gap by examining the lexical choices employed in framing the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria. Twenty articles from four popular Nigerian newspapers – *The Punch, The Guardian, The Vanguard, and The Premium Times* – were examined to discover the prevalent frames and associated lexical choices. The articles were collected between January and August 2023, a significant period marked by the resurgence of the disease and extensive reporting on its impact on victims. Using frame theory and lexical priming theory as analytical frameworks, the study identified frames such as *health crisis, victim, government response, global aid and response, vaccination shortfall/hesitancy, public health awareness, past antecedent, and collaborative effort.* Common lexical choices included terms like "deadly," "surge," and "critical situation," which emphasize fear and urgency. This emotive tone is used purposefully to attract readers' attention and prime them to interpret the outbreak as an urgent public health issue. Frames like *Public Health Awareness* and *Government Response* are concerned with informing the public. Several other frames, most notably *Vaccination Shortfall/Hesitancy* and *Collaborative Effort,* serve as a rallying cry. They highlight the need for increased vaccination coverage, collaboration among stakeholders, and public participation in health measures. Through framing and lexical choices, the media shapes public opinion, influences perceptions, and guides individual and collective responses to health issues like the diphtheria outbreak. The relevance of this study lies in its contribution to understanding how media framing and lexical choices impact public health communication, ultimately aiding in more effective health crisis management and public engagement strategies.

Keywords: diphtheria outbreak, media framing, health communication, lexicalization, media reports, lexical priming.

1. INTRODUCTION

The media, comprising various platforms, such as television, radio, newspapers, online news portals, and social media, plays a pivotal role in disseminating health information to the public. Its significance lies in its ability to reach a wide and diverse audience, making it a powerful tool for public health communication (Arinze-Umobi & Chiweta-Oduah, 2021). Media outlets often serve as intermediaries between health authorities, experts, and the general population, conveying vital information about diseases, preventive measures, treatment options, and vaccination campaigns (Oyama & Okpara, 2017). Through their extensive reach, media platforms have the capacity to educate the public about health risks and promote awareness of ongoing and emerging health issues. By providing timely and accurate information, the media can influence public attitudes and behaviours towards health, encouraging preventive measures and fostering community resilience.

In recent years, Nigeria has witnessed a resurgence of diphtheria cases, leading to significant public health concerns. Diphtheria, a bacterial infectious disease primarily affecting the respiratory system, has been a recurring issue in Nigeria. The Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) confirmed suspected diphtheria outbreaks in Lagos and Kano in January 2023, and since then, the outbreak has spread to other states (Adegboye et al., 2023). Epidemiological data reveal an increase in diphtheria cases across various states, with certain areas experiencing higher incidence rates, including Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Rivers, and others ("Battling the diphtheria outbreak," 2023; Ayeni, 2023). As of September 24, 2023, approximately 12,000 infections have been reported, with over 7,202 confirmed cases and significant deaths exceeding 453 (The National Primary Health Care Development Agency, 2023).

Despite vaccination programs aimed at controlling diphtheria, challenges in vaccine coverage and healthcare infrastructure have influenced the recurring nature of outbreaks (Abubakar et al., 2020). Reports indicate that diphtheria cases in Nigeria often affect children and adolescents, particularly those in the age group of two to 14 years, adults who have not received adequate vaccination, people living in crowded environments, and healthcare workers exposed to suspected or confirmed cases (Aborode et al., 2023; Gulumbe et al., 2023). The disease spreads easily through direct contact with infected droplets from coughing or sneezing and through contact with contaminated objects. Upon infection, diphtheria targets the throat and nose, forming a thick greyish membrane that can obstruct breathing and cause asphyxia. The toxin released by the bacterium also damages vital organs, such as the heart and nerves, leading to severe complications and potentially death if not promptly treated (Medugu et al., 2023).

Given the recurring nature of diphtheria outbreaks and their impact on public health, it is crucial to understand how media reports frame these events. The media serves as a crucial channel for alerting communities to the presence of the disease, its symptoms, and available healthcare resources. Media platforms also contribute to shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards health issues, impacting individual and collective behaviour. The media has the potential to educate, persuade, and mobilize individuals and communities to adopt health-promoting behaviours. Furthermore, the media can help combat misinformation and rumours that often circulate during health crises. It provides a platform for health experts and authorities to clarify misconceptions and address public concerns, contributing to informed decision-making among the population. Thus, Erubami (2022) opines that while the media has the power to inform and influence behaviour positively, it also faces challenges related to accuracy and responsibility. Striking a balance between

delivering news that captures attention and maintaining public trust is essential for successful health communication. Therefore, the objective of this study is to analyze the lexical choices in media reports of the recurrent diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria, exploring how different frames influence public perception of the outbreak's severity and the necessity for preventive actions.

Studies have been carried out on media reports of pandemics and outbreaks in Nigeria, especially the COVID-19 pandemic (Anwar et al., 2020; Arafat et al., 2020; Mutua & Oloo, 2020; Nwakpu et al., 2020; Obi-Ani et al., 2020; Osisanwo, 2022; Smith et al., 2020), Ebola (Smith & Smith, 2016; Mayrhuber et al., 2017; Roy et al., 2020), Lassa fever (Msughter & Phillips, 2020; Okeya, 2019; Erubami, 2022; Guanah, 2022; Ikwueze, 2023) and other health-related issues, such as cancer (Torwel, & Rodney, 2010; Abubakar et al., 2014; Ezugwu, & Nzekwe, 2015; Oyama, & Okpara, 2017; Uzochukwu, & Ikegbunam, 2022), mental health issues (Arinze-Umobi & Chiweta-Oduah, 2021; Olibamoyo et al., 2021), HIV/AIDS (Ren et al., 2010; Kiwanuka-Tondo et al., 2012; Stevens & Hull, 2013) among others. Linguistic studies (Oyeleye & Osisanwo, 2013; Ekhteyar et al., 2021; Jibril et al., 2021) have also explored lexicalization in media reports. Studies on Diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria (Sadoh & Sadoh, 2011; Adegboye et al., 2023; Aborode et al., 2023; Abubakar et al., 2020; Gulumbe et al., 2023; Medugu et al., 2023, etc.) have mainly been from the non-linguistic perspectives. Adequate scholarly attention from the linguistic perspective has not been paid to diphtheria studies, especially media reports of the outbreak. Such studies are capable of revealing how media can shape public understanding and responses to health crises. Therefore, this study intends to find the gap by examining lexicalization in media reports of the recurrent diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria as well as implications for Health Communication. By examining the lexical choices and framing techniques used in media reports, this study aims to contribute to more effective health communication strategies. It highlights the role of media in shaping public perceptions and behaviours, emphasizing the need for accurate and responsible reporting during health crises.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study employs qualitative content analysis as the primary research method. Qualitative content analysis is a systematic approach to examining the content of text data to identify patterns, themes, and meanings. It is particularly suitable for analyzing media reports and textual data in a qualitative manner. The study samples twenty (20) news articles related to diphtheria outbreaks in four popular Nigerian newspapers. These news media are *The Punch, The Guardian, The Vanguard,* and *The Premium Times.* Online archives and search engines were used to retrieve the relevant media reports. The selected news reports cover an extended period of January to August 2023. This period was a time when the outbreak of the disease reemerged and its effects on victims widely circulated. Thematic analysis of the data collected focuses on identifying recurring themes and frames in media reporting. Thematic analysis helps uncover the underlying narratives and messages conveyed through media coverage. On the other hand, lexical analysis involves the examination of key terms, phrases, and vocabulary used in the selected media reports. This analysis identifies the prevalent terminology associated with diphtheria reporting and its implications on health communications. The breakdown of the sampled news items as well as their sources is given in the appendix (see appendix below). Only limited samples are reproduced in the examples given in the analysis in order to save space in this paper.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two theories are adopted for the analysis of data in this study. These are frame theory and lexical priming theory. The media's framing of the diphtheria outbreak is reinforced through the consistent use of specific lexical elements that prime the audience to perceive the severity of the situation. The theoretical triangulation considers how frames and lexical choices work together.

3.1. Frame Theory

Frame theory is a strong idea used to examine and understand how individuals and society interpret and make sense of information and events. It is typically connected with the work of Erving Goffman and further developed by scholars such as Erving Bateson and George Lakoff. Entman (1993) defines frames as cognitive structures that shape how people experience reality by allowing them to organize, interpret, and ascribe meaning to numerous phenomena. They include crucial aspects such as concepts, values, symbols, and metaphors that aid in the comprehension of complex topics or events. Frames are common in everyday life and are not limited to academic or theoretical situations (Tuchman, 1973). When people hear about a disease outbreak, they may perceive it differently depending on the frames they employ, such as "public health crisis" or "manageable situation." Social conceptions and cultural norms are intricately related to frames, which can be highly contextual. A frame that resonates in one culture may not resonate in another. Frames are more than just cognitive constructs; they can elicit emotions like anxiety, empathy, or anger, influencing how people react to an issue. Communicators can shape perceptions by using specific frames, thus encouraging support for their perspective (Scheufele, 1999).

Through framing, media plays a critical role in shaping public opinion. Journalists use frames, deliberately or unknowingly, to influence the audience's understanding of events. For instance, describing the spread of diphtheria as a "rapidly escalating outbreak" or a "controlled health issue" can elicit different attitudes. The media's use of frames influences which topics receive importance and attention, potentially elevating or diminishing certain issues. Therefore, frame theory is a valuable tool for understanding how individuals and society interpret their surroundings and the information they encounter. Frame theory helps to understand how media reports frame the diphtheria outbreak. Different frames may influence how the audience perceives the intensity and impact of the outbreak. Journalists use specific words and phrases (lexical choices) to convey their framing. For example, referring to the outbreak as an "outbreak," "epidemic," "affected individuals," and "suffering" shapes perceptions of its severity. The application of specific linguistic features is critical in framing media narratives. Journalists might use terms like "rapidly spreading disease" or "life-threatening infection" to evoke urgency and concern, whereas phrases like "manageable situation" or "contained outbreak" can downplay the severity. These lexical choices influence public perceptions of the crisis and the necessity for preventive actions.

3.2. Lexical Priming Theory

Lexical priming theory is a psychological and linguistic theory that explores how previously encountered words or linguistic elements influence the processing and interpretation of subsequent words or elements (Hoey, 2005). This theory posits that the context in which words are

encountered affects their meaning and interpretation. Words in our mental lexicon are interconnected by associative links, meaning that encountering a word can trigger related words or concepts, influencing our understanding and language production (Pickering & Ferreira, 2008).

Dr. Michael Hoey, the primary developer of lexical priming theory, observed that traditional linguistic theories often failed to explain real-world language use. He argued that language processing is largely shaped by the patterns and associations formed through regular language use, rather than merely adhering to abstract rules and structures. The concept of frequency is an important part of lexical priming. Common words, due to their frequent appearance in language, forge strong associations with others, making them prime targets for activation. For example, hearing the word "cat" might immediately bring to mind related words like "dog" or "pet" (Stanovich & West, 1983). This association explains the efficiency of language processing.

Priming is the central concept in this theory. When people encounter related words or linguistic elements, certain words or concepts in memory are activated, making them more accessible and quicker to process. Semantic priming occurs when the meaning of one word influences the meaning of another. For instance, hearing the word "doctor" can prime words like "hospital," "stethoscope," or "patient" due to their related meanings (Neely, 1991). Lexical priming extends beyond individual words to include larger language units such as phrases and sentences. Our mental lexicon stores not just individual words but also collocations and idiomatic expressions. For example, the phrase "break a leg" primes the concept of good luck in the context of theatre, even though the individual words do not convey that meaning on their own (Ellis & Ferreira-Junior, 2009).

This theory provides a framework for understanding how words, phrases, and sentences are interconnected in our mental lexicon, influencing language comprehension, production, acquisition, and change. In this study, lexical priming theory helps explain how specific words and phrases become associated with the diphtheria outbreak and how these language choices influence public understanding and behaviour. For instance, terms like "diphtheria," "outbreak," "vaccination," and "public health crisis" may become primed together due to their frequent co-occurrence in news articles. This means that when the media consistently uses certain terms or frames to describe the outbreak (e.g., "deadly disease," "emergency situation"), it can condition readers or viewers to associate these terms with the severity and urgency of the event.

4. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The analysis of media reports on the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria reveals several prominent frames that contribute to shaping the public's understanding of the situation. These frames, characterized by various lexical choices are crucial in priming public perceptions, attitudes, and responses to the health crisis. The identified frames in relation to the lexical choices are discussed below.

4.1. Health Crisis Frame

The Health Crisis frame is characterized by the depiction of the outbreak as a severe and urgent public health concern. Diphtheria, a recurrent health issue in the country, has become a pressing concern, prompting media outlets to employ language and framing techniques that underscore the gravity of the situation. In examining the media reports collectively, the pervasive frame of "Health Crisis" emerges as a dominant narrative. The extracts below demonstrate this:

1) **Diphtheria outbreak hits Yobe, 289 cases recorded in seven local governments** (Hemba, 2023). There is growing concern in Yobe State over the rapidly spreading cases of diphtheria… Health officials in Yobe State have reported a surge in diphtheria cases over the past few weeks, and they said the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

2) **2,455 cases of diphtheria, 83 deaths recorded in 14 months** (Onyedika-Ugoeze, 2023, August 1): Executive Director of NPHCDA, Dr. Faisal Shuaib, disclosed that as of July 27, 2023, 836 cases of diphtheria had been confirmed in 33 local councils across eight states.

3) **Over 100 positive cases in Isolation as Diphtheria Outbreak spread to 31 Kano LGA's** (Adewale, 2023, July 29): Latest development officially gathered revealed the near deadly disease has now spread widely covering 31 local government areas, of the total 44 even.

4) **Diphtheria outbreak has claimed 122 lives – UNICEF** (Bakam, 2023, August 03): UNICEF Nigeria, in a statement, reported multiple diphtheria outbreaks in different states across the country, mainly Kano, Yobe, Katsina, Lagos, FCT, Sokoto, and Zamfara, putting the case fatality rate (CFR) at 8.7 per cent. Most confirmed cases, approximately 71.5%, have occurred among children aged 2 – 14 years.

5) **Deadly throat ailment kills 61 in Kano** ("Deadly throat ailment kills 61 in Kano," 2023, March 07): An outbreak of highly contagious diphtheria infection has claimed 61 lives in Kano State as of March 2, 2023.

6) **171 local councils in 14 states risk spread of diphtheria, FG warns** (Onyedika-Ugoeze, 2023, August 07).

7) **NCDC confirms 1,534 diphtheria cases, 137 deaths** (Adejoro, 2023, August 09).

The growing number of diphtheria cases, the worrisome death toll, and the outbreak's extensive geographical impact are recurring themes in several news pieces from credible sources such as Premium Times, The Guardian, The Punch, and The Vanguard. The continuous deployment of alarming statistics emphasizes the gravity of the situation. Reports citing figures such as "2,455 cases of diphtheria" and "836 cases... 83 deaths" from credible sites such as The Guardian and Premium Times, for example, help to frame the outbreak as a major health disaster. These data not only define the scope of the outbreak but also serve as linguistic signals, emphasizing the importance of the situation. Furthermore, the geographical expansion of the disease, as stated in reports, "spread to 31 Kano LGA's" and "affected 27 states," strengthens the crisis frame. The naming of specific local government regions and states not only offers a spatial context to the situation but also adds a layer of complexity, underscoring its universal character.

Government warnings and alerts play a crucial role in reinforcing the "Health Crisis" frame. Reports stating "171 local councils in 14 states are at high risk" and "FG warns" contribute to the sense of urgency and underscore the need for immediate and widespread public health interventions. The inclusion of official statements from health authorities strengthens the framing of the outbreak as a crisis requiring pressing attention. The framing is further heightened by the mention of organizations such as UNICEF and the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control and Pre-

vention (NCDC), which play key roles in responding to the outbreak. For instance, the UNICEF representative expressing concern over a "case fatality rate (CFR) at 8.7 per cent" and the NCDC confirming "1,534 cases of diphtheria" contribute to the framing of the outbreak as a health crisis, supported by authoritative voices.

Collectively, the lexical terms in the media reports, including "surge," "deadly," "contagious," "multiple outbreaks," "critical situation," "rapidly spreading," "confirmed," "deaths," "isolation," "risk," "warns," "claimed lives," and "concern," intricately contribute to framing the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria as a significant health crisis. These carefully selected terms carry strong emotional and contextual weight, fostering a sense of urgency, severity, and widespread impact. The language primes readers to perceive the situation as escalating rapidly, with a heightened risk of transmission, confirmed cases, fatalities, and a critical need for intervention. The use of terms such as "warns" and "concern" further implicates official acknowledgement and underscores the gravity of the outbreak. These lexical choices collectively shape a narrative that portrays the diphtheria outbreak not merely as a health issue but as an imminent and significant public health crisis demanding immediate attention and concerted efforts for containment and mitigation.

4.2. Victim Frame

The Victim frame, as evident in media reports on the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria, serves as a poignant narrative lens focusing on the human impact of the disease. This frame intricately weaves a narrative that portrays individuals, particularly children, as the afflicted victims of the disease. Highlighting the tragic toll on human lives, terms such as "dead," "hospitalized," and "killed" feature prominently in these reports, revealing the profound loss and suffering experienced by those directly affected.

1) **Diphtheria: 3 children dead, 7 hospitalised in Kaduna State** ("Diphtheria: 3 dead, 7 hospitalised in Kaduna State," 2023, July 22): Suspected outbreak of Diphtheria in Makarfi Local Government Area of Kaduna State has killed three children leaving seven others hospitalised... Malam Aliyu Alassan, the Health Secretary of the Makarfi Local Government Council, confirmed this and said most of the affected victims were children...

2) **Diphtheria outbreak has claimed 122 lives – UNICEF** (Bakam, 2023, August 03): UNICEF Nigeria, in a statement said the outbreak of diphtheria has tragically claimed 122 lives, with a case fatality rate of 8.7%.

3) **Deadly throat ailment kills 61 in Kano** ("Deadly throat ailment kills 61 in Kano," 2023, March 07): An outbreak of diphtheria infection has claimed 61 lives in Kano State as of March 2, 2023

4) **Kano, Lagos lead as diphtheria infection rises to 389** (Adejoro, 2023, March 17): A report by the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control and Prevention has revealed that at least 389 persons have been infected with diphtheria, killing 62 of them in 2023.

5) **Diphtheria: Osun confirms death of six-year-old, activates emergency centre** (Ileyemi, 2023, July 11): The Osun State Government has ordered the immediate activation of the emergency response centre to curb the spread of Diphtheria following the death of

a six-year-old. Governor Ademola Adeleke said in a statement on Monday by his spokes-person, Olawale Rasheed, after receiving a situation report from the state's Ministry of Health. Mr Rasheed noted in the statement that the six-year-old who died in Osogbo developed symptoms of diphtheria on 25 June and died of the infection on 7 July.

6) **Diphtheria: Nigeria records 102 new infections, 6 deaths** (Ileyemi, 2023, March 21): According to NCDC, Nigeria has recorded a total of 389 confirmed Diphtheria infections and 62 deaths across 24 local government areas in six states…

7) **Diphtheria: Kano worst affected as Nigeria records 836 confirmed cases, 80 deaths** (Ileyemi, 2023, July 22): NCDC added that the majority (71.7 per cent) of the 798 confirmed cases occurred among children aged 2 – 14 years.

8) **Diphtheria disease spreads to six LGAs in Bauchi, kills 2** (Agwam, 2023, July 26): Two people have been killed as a result of an outbreak of Diphtheria disease in six local government areas of Bauchi State.

9) **Diphtheria death toll hits 30 in Yobe, 289 hospitalised** (Musa, 2023, July 21): Yobe State Government has reported 30 deaths from 289 cases of diphtheria from ...

The narrative provided in the preceding excerpts concentrates on specific instances of fatalities, such as the confirmation of three deaths, the UNICEF death toll of 122 lives, and the outbreak taking 61 lives in Kano. The victim narrative is reinforced by the Victim frame, which emphasizes the vulnerable nature of the affected population, particularly children aged 2 to 14 years old, as stated by the NCDC. Furthermore, the reports emphasize the immediacy of responses, with the Osun State Government launching an emergency response centre in the aftermath of the death of a six-year-old. Instances in Yobe and Bauchi, as well as the broader backdrop of 71 deaths reported in 21 states, highlight the ubiquitous nature of victimization, portraying individuals as victims across various regions as susceptible to the lethal impact of diphtheria.

Collectively employing terms such as "deadly," "tragically," "claimed lives," "hospitalized," "death toll," "suspected outbreak," "emergency response," "human toll," "laments," and "complicate," the Victim frame in the media reports paints a vivid and poignant picture. The narrative revolves around the profound human impact of the crisis, emphasizing the severity of the disease and the immediate threat it poses to individuals. The use of emotionally charged terms like "deadly" and "tragically" heightens the emotional resonance, conveying a sense of urgency and highlighting the devastating consequences on human lives. The quantification of the "death toll" underscores the magnitude of the tragedy, framing it not just as a statistic but as a profound loss. The choice of "laments" adds a layer of emotional depth, emphasizing the mourning associated with the outbreak. Together, the Victim frame effectively positions the outbreak as a humanitarian crisis, prompting emotional engagement and potentially influencing public attitudes and responses. The framing suggests a sense of tragedy and loss, invoking empathy and concern for the victims. By stressing the suffering and fatalities, the media aims to generate public sympathy and, potentially, spur collective action to address the impact of the outbreak on individuals and communities.

4.3. Government Response Frame

The Government Response frame in media reports on the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria encapsulates the concerted efforts and strategic actions undertaken by governmental bodies to address the public health crisis. This frame, marked by a distinct set of lexical choices, portrays a proactive and organized response aimed at curbing the spread of diphtheria. Emphasizing collaborative initiatives, comprehensive plans, and immediate activation of emergency measures, the frame seeks to convey a sense of efficiency in the face of the outbreak.

1) **171 local councils in 14 states risk spread of diphtheria, FG warns** (Onyedika-Ugoeze, 2023, August 07): The Federal Ministry of Health, in collaboration with National Primary Healthcare Development Agency (NPHCDA), Nigerian Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) and partners, is mobilising resources to respond effectively to an outbreak in four states… Already, a comprehensive response plan has been activated to ensure early detection, containment of cases, and prevention of further transmission through a multi-phased response strategy.

2) **Kano begins contact tracing as diphtheria spreads to 31 LGs** (Odogwu, 2023, July 31): The Kano State Government, on Sunday, said it had activated contact tracing as the diphtheria outbreak in the state has spread to 31 out of the 44 local government areas of the state…

3) **Diphtheria: Kano requires 6m doses of vaccine to combat outbreak** (Muntari, 2023, August 23): The Kano State Government said it requires six million doses of vaccines for massive immunisation to combat the outbreak of diphtheria across the 44 Local Government Areas of the state.

4) **Diphtheria: Osun confirms death of six-year-old, activates emergency centre** (Ileyemi, 2023, July 11): …Mr Rasheed noted in the statement that the six-year-old who died in Osogbo developed symptoms of diphtheria on 25 June and died of the infection on 7 July.

5) **Nigeria confirms 798 cases of mouth disease in 7 months** (Obinna, 2023, July 07): NCDC said in response to the outbreak in December 2022, it has activated a multi-sectoral national Diphtheria Technical Working Group as a mechanism for coordinating surveillance and response activities across the country.

The linguistic choices in the Government Response frame give a feeling of proactive and coordinated efforts by governmental authorities to handle the diphtheria outbreak. Terms like "mobilising resources," "comprehensive response plan," "activated," and "multi-phased response strategy" lead readers to believe that the authorities will respond forcefully and efficiently. The use of words like "partnership," "intensified mass vaccination," and "identified populations at risk" emphasizes the collaborative aspect of the response and communal action. The activation of "contact tracing" in Kano State indicates a targeted and immediate effort to trace and restrict the disease's spread. The phrase "requires six million doses of vaccines" highlights the magnitude of the immunization effort, portraying it as a major project.

The activation of an "emergency response centre" in Osun State communicates a sense of urgency and immediate action. Phrases like "implemented emergency measures," "mass vaccination campaigns," and "surveillance and contact tracing" underscore the comprehensive and strategic approach taken by Yobe State and Nigerian health authorities. The activation of a "multi-sectoral national Diphtheria Technical Working Group" by the NCDC signifies a coordinated, cross-sectoral approach at the national level. These lexical choices collectively contribute to shaping the narrative of an effective, collaborative, and well-coordinated governmental response to the diphtheria outbreak. This frame serves to prime readers towards perceiving the government as actively engaged, responsive, and committed to mitigating the impact of the diphtheria outbreak. This framing is likely intended to reassure the public, convey a sense of control, and instil confidence in the government's ability to handle the situation.

4.4. Global Aid and Support Frame

The Global Aid and Response Frame in the media coverage of the diphtheria outbreak underscores the collaborative efforts between international health organizations and Nigeria in addressing the public health crisis. The involvement of organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF is framed as a positive contribution to the response efforts.

1) **2,455 cases of diphtheria, 83 deaths recorded in 14 months** (Onyedika-Ugoeze, 2023, August 01): To curb the disease, the World Health Organisation (WHO) has concluded plans to deliver 1,800 vials of Diphtheria Antitoxin (DAT) to the country…. WHO Country Representative, Walter Mulombo said the WHO team is on the ground in Yobe and Kano states to improve surveillance at the health facility and community level, supporting the active case search and supporting the decentralised isolation centres and referral to the state reference treatment centres.

2) **Diphtheria outbreak has claimed 122 lives – UNICEF** (Bello, 2023, August 04): UNICEF Nigeria is amplifying its efforts to counter a growing outbreak of diphtheria that has affected children in 27 states… UNICEF's commitment extends to several key interventions, including Transporting vaccines and related equipment to the affected states and strengthening routine immunization, training health workers and volunteers for service delivery, risk communication, and community engagement as well as supervising outbreak response activities.

3) **Nigeria to receive diphtheria antitoxin in August – WHO** (Odogwu, 2023, July 31): The World Health Organisation on Monday said plans are underway to deliver 1800 vials of Diphtheria Antitoxin to Nigeria on August 2, 2023.

4) **Diphtheria outbreak hits Yobe, 289 cases recorded in seven local governments** (Hemba, 2023, July 21): International health organisations, such as the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), are collaborating with Nigerian health authorities to provide support, expertise, and medical supplies to combat the outbreak effectively.

In the above extracts, the media employs lexical choices that evoke a sense of international collaboration and assistance. These choices are strategically made to influence the framing of the situation, emphasizing global entities like the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) as pivotal players in the response efforts. The use of terms such as "amplifying efforts" and "commitment" by UNICEF underscores a proactive stance, framing their involvement as a dedicated response to a burgeoning crisis. The recurrent mention of the WHO's plans to deliver Diphtheria Antitoxin acts as a lexical primer, shaping perceptions of the global community actively stepping in to bolster the country's capacity to manage and control the outbreak.

The framing within this context aligns with the Lexical Priming Theory, where repeated exposure to terms like "collaborating," "support," and "expertise" primes the audience to associate the diphtheria outbreak with a global health crisis that necessitates collaborative intervention. Phrases like "collaborating with Nigerian health authorities" highlight the synergistic relationship between international organizations and local bodies. The frame not only informs the audience about the external assistance but also serves to frame the outbreak as a challenge that extends beyond national borders. This approach strategically shapes the narrative, emphasizing the interconnectedness of the global health community and the collective responsibility in responding to such health emergencies.

4.5. Vaccination Shortfall and Hesitancy Frame

The Vaccination Shortfall/Hesitancy Frame in media reports on the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria illuminates a crucial aspect of the crisis, emphasizing the challenges associated with immunization. This frame centres on lexical choices that draw attention to issues such as "unvaccinated children," "low vaccination rates," and the daunting reality of a "large scale zero dose of immunization," framing the issue within the broader context of public health. These are demonstrated in the extracts below.

1) **Over 100 positive cases in Isolation as Diphtheria Outbreak spread to 31 Kano LGA's** (Adewale, 2023, July 29): …This is even as Kano state battles large scale zero dose of immunization, as the country is home to the second-largest number of zero-dose children in the world, United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) disclosed.

2) **Diphtheria outbreak has claimed 122 lives – UNICEF** (Bakam, 2023, August 03): The statement quoted UNICEF Representative in Nigeria, Ms. Cristian Munduate, as saying: "It's heartbreaking to note that only 22 % of the confirmed cases received their routine childhood immunisation vaccinations."

3) **Diphtheria outbreak hits Yobe, 289 cases recorded in seven local governments** (Hemba, 2023, July 21): The reasons behind the sudden outbreak are still under investigation, but experts believe that factors such as low vaccination rates, limited access to healthcare facilities, and poor sanitation may be contributing to the disease's rapid spread.

4) **Diphtheria: Despite govt's efforts, many Nigerian children unvaccinated – NPHCDA** (Adebowale-Tambe, 2023, July 31): The National Primary Health Care Development Agency (NPHCDA), on Monday, said a significant number of children are yet to be

vaccinated against diphtheria… hence compromising the country's goal of achieving population immunity. He said the suboptimal vaccination coverage had been the main factor contributing to the diphtheria outbreaks.

5) **Nigeria confirms 798 cases of mouth disease in 7 months** (Obinna, 2023, July 07): He said despite the availability of a safe and cost-effective vaccine in the country, the majority i.e. 654 (82 per cent) of 798 confirmed diphtheria cases in the ongoing outbreak were unvaccinated.

As seen above, the reports employ specific lexical choices that shape the narrative surrounding immunization challenges in the context of the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria. The media emphasizes the impact of low vaccination rates, limited access to healthcare facilities, and poor sanitation as potential contributors to the rapid spread of the disease. The National Primary Health Care Development Agency (NPHCDA) becomes a key actor, expressing worry about the significant number of unvaccinated children compromising the nation's goal of achieving population immunity. Phrases such as "large scale zero dose of immunization," "unvaccinated," "low vaccination rates," "limited access to healthcare facilities," and "poor sanitation" contribute to framing the issue as a deficiency in vaccination coverage and potential barriers to immunization. These terms underscore the critical role of vaccination in preventing the spread of diphtheria and imply that a lack of immunization contributes to the outbreak.

Additionally, the mention of "compromising the country's goal of achieving population immunity" in relation to unvaccinated children emphasizes the broader public health implications of insufficient vaccination coverage. This choice of language suggests that achieving population immunity is a collective goal for the nation's well-being, reinforcing the importance of vaccination. The lexical choices in this frame collectively prime the audience to associate the diphtheria outbreak not only with the immediate health crisis but also with systemic issues related to vaccination gaps and hesitancy. This framing aims to evoke concern about the consequences of low immunization rates and encourages a focus on addressing vaccination challenges as part of the response to the diphtheria outbreak. Through these terms, the frame paints a narrative that goes beyond the immediate health crisis, pointing to underlying factors contributing to the rapid spread of diphtheria. The mention of compromised goals for achieving "population immunity" further underscores the collective responsibility to address vaccination gaps, thereby shaping perceptions about the urgency of immunization efforts. It may serve as a call to action for increased vaccination efforts, addressing hesitancy, and improving coverage to curb the spread of the disease.

4.6. Public Health Awareness Frame

The Public Health Awareness Frame within media reports on the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria serves as an educational tool, aiming to inform the public about the nature of the disease, its symptoms, and preventive measures. Several lexical choices contribute to this frame, emphasizing the need for public understanding and awareness. The terms used highlight the mode of transmission, available medical interventions, and the vulnerable populations at risk.

1) **Deadly throat ailment kills 61 in Kano** ("Deadly throat ailment kills 61 in Kano," 2023): Diphtheria spreads easily between people through direct contact with infected people's droplets from coughing or sneezing, and contact with contaminated clothing and objects.

2) **Nigeria to receive diphtheria antitoxin in August – WHO** (Odogwu, 2023, July 31): The World Health Organisation on Monday said plans are underway to deliver 1800 vials of Diphtheria Antitoxin to Nigeria on August 2, 2023. Diphtheria antitoxin is a medication made up of antibodies used in the treatment of diphtheria. Erythromycin IV refers to intravenous administration of the antibiotic medication erythromycin. Erythromycin is a macrolide antibiotic that is used to treat various bacterial infections. It works by inhibiting the growth of bacteria, thereby helping the body's immune system to fight off the infection.

3) **Diphtheria: Kano worst affected as Nigeria records 836 confirmed cases, 80 deaths** (Ileyemi, 2023, July 22): It noted that people most at risk of contracting diphtheria are children and adults who have not received any or a single dose of the pentavalent vaccine, people who live in a crowded environment, in areas with poor sanitation and healthcare workers who are exposed to suspected or confirmed cases of diphtheria. The symptoms of diphtheria include fever, runny nose, sore throat, cough, red eyes (conjunctivitis) and neck swelling. In severe cases, NCDC said, a thick grey or white patch appears on the tonsils and/or at the back of the throat, causing difficulty in breathing.

4) **Diphtheria: Nigeria records 123 infections, 38 deaths** (Ileyemi, 2023, January 24): According to NCDC, diphtheria is a serious bacterial infection caused by the bacterium called Corynebacterium species that affects the nose, throat and sometimes, the skin of an individual.

5) **FCTA announces diphtheria outbreak in Abuja as disease kills four-year-old** (Jimoh, 2023, July 04): A diphtheria patient experiences thick, grey matter covering the throat, making breathing hard… The Guardian reports that the disease spreads through airborne respiratory droplets (coughs or sneezes), saliva (kissing or shared drinks).

The above excerpts are intended to spread knowledge about the disease, its transmission, symptoms, and prevention methods. Lexical choices like "spreads easily between people," "antitoxin," "pentavalent vaccine," and "symptoms of diphtheria" all help to raise public awareness. The repeated use of terms like "spreads easily between people" underlines the contagious nature of diphtheria, alerting readers to grasp the risk connected with close contact. This linguistic choice primes the audience to recognize the need for preventive actions and emphasizes the urgency of taking precautions.

The terms "antitoxin" and "pentavalent vaccine" are crucial terms that indicate the available medicinal treatments. By including these terminologies, the stories educate the public on prospective treatments and immunizations, instilling optimism and control over the condition. The phrase "symptoms of diphtheria" is used to convey a detailed explanation of what people should look out for, such as fever, runny nose, sore throat, cough, and neck swelling. This lexical choice helps to provide readers with the knowledge they need to spot probable situations and seek medical

assistance as soon as possible. These terms help readers identify diphtheria with specific ideas such as transmission, prevention, and symptoms. The frame teaches the public strategically, in line with the larger purpose of boosting public health literacy during the pandemic.

4.7. Past Antecedent Frame

The Past Antecedent Frame in media reports on the diphtheria outbreak in Nigeria draws attention to the historical context and links the resurgence of the disease to the impact of past events, particularly the COVID-19 pandemic. As media narratives unfold, the focus extends beyond the immediate outbreak to explore how broader health challenges, lockdown measures, and disruptions in routine immunization during the COVID-19 pandemic may have contributed to the resurgence of Diphtheria. Extracts are shown below.

1) **Nigeria to receive 1,800 vials of Diphtheria Antitoxin – WHO** (Adebowale-Tambe, 2023, July 31): He noted that the COVID-19 pandemic has fuelled a recurrence of diphtheria in the country.

2) **Over 100 positive cases in Isolation as Diphtheria Outbreak spread to 31 Kano LGA's** (Adewale, 2023, July 29): He equally attributed the resurgence of the disease to the high impact and resultant effect of COVID-19, a global health burden that exposed the near collapse of the nation's health system.

3) **Kano begins contact tracing as diphtheria spreads to 31 LGs** (Odogwu, 2023, July 31): The resurgence of diphtheria, according to him, may be linked to the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in a lockdown and disruption of routine immunisation of children.

Lexical choices such as "recurrence," "fuelled a recurrence," "resurgence of the disease," "high impact," "resultant effect of COVID-19," and "lockdown and disruption of routine immunization" help to shape the narrative around the historical and contextual factors. The consistent use of terms like "recurrence" and "resurgence of the disease" establishes a connection between the current diphtheria outbreak and its reappearance in the past. This framing primes readers to perceive diphtheria as a recurring issue, emphasizing the need to address underlying factors that may aid its return.

COVID-19, caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus, has been a global pandemic since early 2020. References to the "impact" and "resultant effect of COVID-19" provide a causal link between the pandemic and the resurgence of diphtheria. This lexical choice suggests that the disruptions caused by COVID-19, such as lockdowns and interruptions in routine immunization, have contributed to the current health crisis, creating a broader narrative that contextualizes the outbreak within a larger global health challenge. The phrase "lockdown and disruption of routine immunization" specifically highlights the consequences of pandemic-related measures, suggesting that these events have created conditions conducive to the reemergence of diphtheria. This choice of language primes readers to associate the diphtheria outbreak with the historical impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the unintended consequences they may have on other health issues.

4.8. Collaborative Effort Frame

The Collaborative Effort Frame in media reports on the Diphtheria outbreak highlights the collective response and cooperation advocated by various stakeholders to combat the public health crisis. This frame underscores the importance of collaborative efforts involving the government, traditional, religious, and community leaders. The emphasis is on fostering partnerships to ensure comprehensive immunization coverage, particularly among children.

1) **Diphtheria: Kano worst affected as Nigeria records 836 confirmed cases, 80 deaths** (Ileyemi, 2023, July 22): To prevent the disease, the NCDC urged parents to ensure that their children are fully vaccinated against diphtheria with three doses of the pentavalent vaccine as recommended in the childhood immunisation schedule. It added that healthcare workers should be vigilant and look out for symptoms of diphtheria, and individuals with signs and symptoms suggestive of diphtheria should isolate themselves and notify their local government area's state disease surveillance officer.

2) **Diphtheria outbreak hits Yobe, 289 cases recorded in seven local governments** (Hemba, 2023, July 21): As the situation unfolds, health officials and the Yobe State government urge residents to remain vigilant and cooperate fully with the emergency response measures. They are advised to maintain good personal hygiene, avoid close contact with infected individuals.

3) **Diphtheria: Despite govt's efforts, many Nigerian children unvaccinated – NPHCDA** (Adebowale-Tambe, 2023, July 31): He urged the government, traditional, religious, and community leaders, to create partnerships to ensure that every child in the country is immunised.

4) **Nigeria confirms 798 cases of mouth disease in 7 months** (Obinna, 2023, July 07): He urged the public to remain vigilant and ensure persons with symptoms of diphtheria present early to health facilities for prompt diagnosis and treatment, adding that early diagnosis and institution of effective treatment are key predictors of a favourable outcome.

The word choices in the preceding sample stress unity, cooperation, and shared responsibility in responding to the diphtheria outbreak. The reports communicate a sense of togetherness among diverse stakeholders, including the government, community leaders, and healthcare personnel, through the deliberate use of phrases such as "urge," "partnerships," and "cooperate." This collective front is seen as critical for a comprehensive and effective response to the pandemic. The language used creates an environment that supports collaborative efforts, emphasizing that success in crisis management is dependent on the collaboration of various groups.

Furthermore, the framework encourages monitoring and proactive engagement from both healthcare staff and the general public. The continuous emphasis on being "vigilant" and the urge for individuals to "maintain good personal hygiene" and "avoid close contact" are consistent with the collaborative narrative, implying that a common commitment to preventive actions is critical.

The language here implies that everyone has a role to play in controlling the outbreak and avoiding additional transmission. This communal obligation is portrayed as an ongoing effort, highlighting the long-term commitment required from individuals and communities to address the public health crisis. The media also emphasizes the excellent outcomes that can be obtained through collaborative efforts. Terms like "favourable outcome" are intentionally used to communicate the impression that unity and cooperation lead to successful responses and improved conditions. This optimism helps to frame joint efforts as not just necessary but also hopeful, generating a sense of hope and shared accomplishment in the face of a health crisis. Specific linguistic choices are used in these reports to establish a narrative of communal responsibility, highlighting the collaborative acts required for an effective response to the diphtheria outbreak.

5. CONCLUSION

The investigation of media framing in the context of the Nigerian diphtheria outbreak reveals critical insights with important implications for health communication efforts. The study identified distinct frames that shaped the narrative, each with its unique lexical choices, influencing how the public perceives and responds to the crisis. The findings show that the Health Issue Frame, which includes words like "surge," "deadly," and "rapidly spreading," primes readers to perceive the outbreak as an urgent public health issue. Using emotional triggers in health communication can effectively express the seriousness of the condition and drive aggressive measures. Furthermore, the Victim Frame, with language like "claimed lives" and "hospitalized," emphasizes the outbreak's human toll, underlining the need for empathy and specific efforts to protect vulnerable populations. As evidenced by the Vaccination Shortfall/Reluctance Frame, the study also emphasizes the significance of tackling vaccine reluctance. Lexical choices like "unvaccinated" and "compromising the country's goal" put attention on the difficulties connected with low vaccination rates. It is critical for effective health communication to craft messages that address misinformation, create trust, and underline the consequences of not vaccinating. Furthermore, frames such as the Government Response Frame and the Collaborative Effort Frame emphasize the importance of coordinated action by emphasizing the roles of authorities, communities, and global partners in managing the outbreak. Future research in this area may explore more into the impact of media reporting on public views and behaviours related to disease prevention and vaccination. In conclusion, this study underscores the importance of media in shaping public perceptions of health issues. Through framing and lexical choices, the media shapes public understanding, influences perceptions, and guides individual and collective responses to health issues like the diphtheria outbreak.

Statement of Conflict of Interest
The author states that there is no conflict of interest.

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BEYOND LANGUAGE BARRIERS: RETHINKING ENGLISH PROFICIENCY REQUIREMENTS FOR NIGERIAN GRADUATES

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Abstract: The debate surrounding whether Nigerians should be exempted from international English proficiency tests to study in English-speaking countries in the West has gained significant media attention. It is argued that English is already the official language, widely used in Nigeria for government, media, and education, making it the everyday language for many Nigerians. Consequently, they find it offensive and demeaning to mandate English proficiency tests, particularly for graduate students seeking to study abroad. As part of an academic inquiry into the issue, this paper aims to investigate the perceptions of Nigerian graduates regarding international English proficiency tests. This study offers insights into Nigerian graduates' views, potentially informing educational policy and addressing fairness in international language testing requirements for English-speaking nations. The authors obtained responses through a six-question structured questionnaire and evaluated the perception of Nigerian graduates concerning these tests. Using a quantitative approach, the participants' responses were analyzed and triangulated by situating them in real-life contexts. The findings indicate that a majority of Nigerian graduates believe Nigerians should be exempted from these proficiency tests due to the prevalence and familiarity of the English language in Nigeria compared to indigenous languages. However, an average of 11% of respondents believe that Nigerians should not be exempted from taking standardised English proficiency tests. This is significantly lower than 89% of respondents who believe that Nigerians should be exempted from these tests. This suggests a reconsideration of English proficiency tests for Nigerians, potentially influencing policy changes in language testing and supporting equitable access to international education. The findings also have broader implications for international educational policies and the recognition of linguistic diversity in a global academic environment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a country in West Africa where English is the national and only official language. English is the language of education in Nigeria. It is also the lingua franca, the language of government, media, business, religion, and almost anything done in Nigeria (Udofot, 2010). With a population of 223.8 million people in 2023, Nigeria boasts of being one of the countries with the largest English-speaking population in the world. As a former colony of Great Britain, Nigeria has more English speakers than its colonisers. The status of the English language in Nigeria is overwhelming, as it is the language used in almost every walk of life within the country (Banjo, 1970).

As the language of educational instructions, the 6-3-3-4 educational system in Nigeria stipulates that a person must have had a minimum of sixteen years of education before they can earn a bachelor's degree, which qualifies the person to be called a "graduate" (Ukpong et al., 2023). The primary language of instruction through these years is English, and as it is the language of social, political, and economic interactions in the country, Nigerian graduates of universities and polytechnics are expected to demonstrate excellent communication skills in English, which cut across the four areas of language acquisition, which are listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Yusuf, 2012).

However, as much as English is widely used by Nigerians and many varieties have been developed and theorised by scholars to represent various echelons of speakers in the country, Nigerian graduates still lag in written expression, as seen in virtual communities on Facebook. They make various kinds of errors, which reflects their proficiency levels in the English language (Danladi, 2014). Hence, this research aims to investigate Nigerian graduates' perceptions of the necessity of international English proficiency tests for studying in English-speaking countries. The objectives are to explore the extent of the English language use in Nigeria, evaluate the perceived fairness of these tests for Nigerians, assess the potential impact on accessibility to international education, and consider how these insights might inform policy on language testing for English-speaking countries. This research seeks to answer two questions: How do Nigerian graduates perceive the necessity and fairness of international English proficiency tests for studying in English-speaking countries, and what impact do these tests have on their access to international education?

2. THE STATUS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN NIGERIA

The status of the English language is very much incontestable, and there are no significant signals that any other language might take over it in the next century (Arik & Arik, 2014; Shyamlee & Phil, 2012; Wang, 2007). The status the English language has achieved today cannot be discussed without referencing the historical precursors to the advent of English in Nigeria (Banjo, 1970;

Nelson, 2012; Yusuf, 2012). Historically, the English language did not come to Nigeria alone. Its incursion into Nigeria was caused by several factors like trading, slavery, colonisation, and missionary activities in Nigeria by the Europeans, which happened in phases.

To begin with, as for trade, which also included the slave trade, the Portuguese were the first to dock on Nigeria's soil, and they traded timber, gold, ore, and other resources with the Nigerians before their monopoly in West Africa was challenged after the allotment of the region to Britain at the Berlin Conference (1885–1886). Afterwards, missionaries settled in Nigeria and began to teach Nigerians the three R's – reading, (w)riting, and (a)rithmetic. To communicate with the missionaries, many people living in the area which later became Nigeria had to learn English, and the establishment of colonial government-operated schools and the spread of education across Nigeria made English popular in Nigeria (Danladi, 2014; Fatiloro, 2015; Tunde-Awe, 2014; Udofia, 2021).

Adegbite & Akindele (1993) add to the points that establish the widespreadness of English in Nigeria. They posit that it was fostered by the multilingual situation of Nigeria, where there are over three hundred and fifty languages. Thereafter, the English language became a communication tool between people who speak different languages in the country. The wide acceptance of the language has resulted in a situation where it has not only become the mother tongue of many Nigerian children (Adeyanju, 2009; Jolayemi, 2014; Ogunsanya, 2009) but is as widespread as the language is. Many Nigerian graduates and corps members do not demonstrate a good command of the language in their written expressions. The irony is that these corps members, who are on a mandatory one-year service to the country, are often posted to secondary schools, where personnel inefficiencies or their acclaimed areas of expertise may warrant them to teach subjects like English or English Studies as the case may be. The fact that these people do not possess good qualities of written expression points to why many Nigerian students do not write good English. This continues in an unending cycle: teachers whose expressions are poor teach the same poor expressions to their students (Asikhia, 2010).

The English language is the language of educational instruction in Nigeria (Aduwa-Ogiegbaen & Iyamu, 2006; Fakeye, 2010; Muhammad et al., 2018). All forms and categories of formal education and meetings are usually held in English. The English Language is taught in schools as a subject from kindergarten to the senior secondary level (Fakeye & Ogunsiji, 2009). Even in higher institutions of learning such as universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education, students, especially in their first year, are mandated to take a course in English and pass it (Muhammad et al., 2018). The Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME), which is the qualifying examination to enrol into tertiary institutions in Nigeria, requires a compulsory inclusion of the Use of English as a subject to be taken by candidates regardless of their prospective courses of study in higher institutions (Bassey et al., 2022).

In business, governance, and media, English is also the language of communication, and Nigeria being a largely heterogeneous nation, has English as not only the official language but the lingua franca too. People from various parts of Nigeria communicate with each other using English (Pinon & Haydon, 2010). The government's business is also conducted in English. The constitution and all other bodies of law in Nigeria are written in English. Section 55 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides that the business of the National Assembly, which is the national legislative arm of the Nigerian federal government, shall be conducted in English and Hausa, Igbo, or Yoruba after all necessary arrangements have been made (See Adegbite, 2003, and Ofo, 2011). The only feasibly possible language in which the business of the National Assembly can be conducted is English. Hence, English establishes its grounds as the language of government. All these factors integrate to make English very strong and influential in Nigeria (Njoku, 2017).

3. INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH TESTING SYSTEMS:
IELTS AND TOEFL IN PERSPECTIVE

As much as the English language is the national language, lingua franca, and the language of educational instruction in Nigeria, some countries where English is the first language still require Nigerians to provide English proficiency test scores in the International English Language Testing System (hereinafter, IELTS) and Test of English as Foreign Language (hereinafter, TOEFL). Since its establishment in 1989, the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) has been collaboratively managed by the British Council, the International Development Programme (IDP) Australia, and the University of Cambridge English Language Assessment. Primarily designed for non-native English speakers, IELTS has gained global recognition and is acknowledged by over 10,000 organizations and governments across more than 140 countries (Adebajo, 2020).

IELTS is required by most universities and colleges in the United Kingdom, Ireland, and other English-speaking European countries for international students coming from countries or regions where English is not the major language. TOEFL is essentially an American standardised English test for non-English speakers or prospective students who are from regions where English is not the official language or the language of instruction in education like China or even French-speaking regions in Canada such as Québec. Some universities in the United States and the United Kingdom require test scores from Nigerian students coming into their school for graduate and postgraduate studies respectively (Hughes, 2008; Jenkins, 2013; Saarinen & Nikula, 2013). Nigerians have been uncomfortable with this idea; for instance, Nova Scotia University in the Broward County of Florida, United States, require Nigerians to provide standardised English proficiency test scores to be qualified for graduate studies. In the United Kingdom, the University of Exeter does not accept a C6 grade in the West African Examinations Council SSCE in English at a first sitting to suffice for programmes requiring a 7.0 IELTS score. Some of the listed programmes are Research degrees (MRes/ MPhil/PhD) in History, Classics and Ancient History, Modern Languages, Liberal Arts, Theology and Religion, MA Creative Writing; MA English Literary Studies, The Exeter MBA, MSc Sociology, MSc Marketing, etc.[1]

These entry requirements are impediments to the realisation of the educational goals of many Nigerians who intend to study for their postgraduate degrees abroad (Adebajo, 2020). This is also a huge reflection of the perception of these universities regarding the status of English in Nigeria and the competence of Nigerians in the English language. For instance, the University of Oklahoma waives English proficiency tests for 33 countries and regions around the world but only lists two African countries which are Mauritius and South Africa. In Mauritius, English and French are used side by side, and other Asian languages such as Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, etc. are also used. The constitution of Mauritius does not even state English or French as the "official languages" of the country, the languages are just often regarded as de-facto languages in the country and the Assembly.[6]

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[1]   The University of Exeter's admission requirements can be found at https://www.exeter.ac.uk/study/englishlanguagerequirements/, and the information found here is subject to change.

[2]   Article 49 of the constitution of Mauritius states that the official language of the National Assembly (parliament) is English, with the provision that members have the option to address the chair in French. This implies that both English and French hold the status of official languages within the legislative body.

Apart from the other problems associated with these proficiency tests, Nigerians have also lamented the high fees of the test. As of 2023, the fees reach up to $200, which is seen as an "insurmountable financial barrier" for many Nigerians, especially given the country's economic challenges (Olujobi, 2024). Critics argue that IELTS, which could be justified as a genuine proficiency requirement, has instead become a "cash cow" for organisations like the British Council, whose revenue from teaching and exams exceeded £447.9 million in 2020/21—more than half of its total income (British Council Annual Report, 2020/21). This reliance on exam fees intensified during the pandemic when revenue from exams fell by nearly 40%, leading the British Council to secure a survival loan that it must now repay, increasing the importance of exam revenue.

The financial strain of these tests compounds the challenges for Nigerians seeking to study abroad, with many students unable to meet the financial requirements for UK student visas. According to AHZ Associates, Nigerian students are "most likely to be refused a student visa for financial reasons," with the high IELTS fees adding a substantial barrier to those already facing significant costs for international education (Ahz Associates, 2021). Thus, the financial demands of these tests not only restrict academic and professional opportunities but also highlight disparities in access to global mobility based on economic means.

4. METHODOLOGY

We adopted a methodical quantitative approach for this study. We published a six-question questionnaire to seek opinions about the perspectives of graduates, corps members, and postgraduate students (Masters, Postgraduate Diploma, and PhD) regarding English proficiency tests. We used the questionnaire to inquire from the respondents if the tests should be required or not. We also gave them a free scale of 1-10 (with 1 being the highest) to rate their English while they considered all four aspects of language acquisition or learning – listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The questionnaire was distributed across student and graduate groups on various social media platforms. The responses were collected between April 11 and July 17, 2022, and 147 respondents attempted the questionnaire. They were developed and pre-tested before a targeted audience distribution among Nigerian graduates in Nigeria. These are people who hold at least a first degree (bachelor's degree) or its equivalent in Nigeria, the Higher National Diploma (HND), which must be achieved after completing a four-year course in the university or polytechnic as applicable.

For data analysis, we considered individual results as a single entity and as a whole. The data interpretation and presentation were computer-assisted using MS Excel and PowerBI to include charts and tables for data visualisation. We obtained a dispersion analysis of the self-identified proficiency levels and the results constituted a significant part of our findings and recommendations. Although the questionnaire was short, we considered ethical judgements and succinctness in drafting and distributing the questionnaire to ensure that the respondents' identities, personal and online, were protected, which is why this kind of data was not collected. The questionnaire was also made compact to ensure the findings were straightforward.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This research employs an integrative approach to presenting results and discussing findings, seamlessly weaving them together into a unified narrative. This integrated approach guarantees that the findings are not just provided independently but simultaneously analysed and placed relevant for improved clarity. This also aids the connection of data and meaning to the research findings, thus enhancing the research's effort and providing more profound insights.

5.1. Educational Levels and Attainments

Starting with the educational level of respondents, our target respondents were graduates, that is, holders of a first degree (bachelor's degree) or its equivalent in Nigeria, the Higher National Diploma. 120 (81.6%) respondents said they hold a bachelor's degree, which means they have had a minimum of four years of university education (which is statutorily combined with a graded research component in Nigeria). 15 (10.2%) claimed to have a master's degree. 5 (3.4%) of them said they hold a Higher National Diploma, which is equivalent to a bachelor's degree but includes an extra year of industrial training.
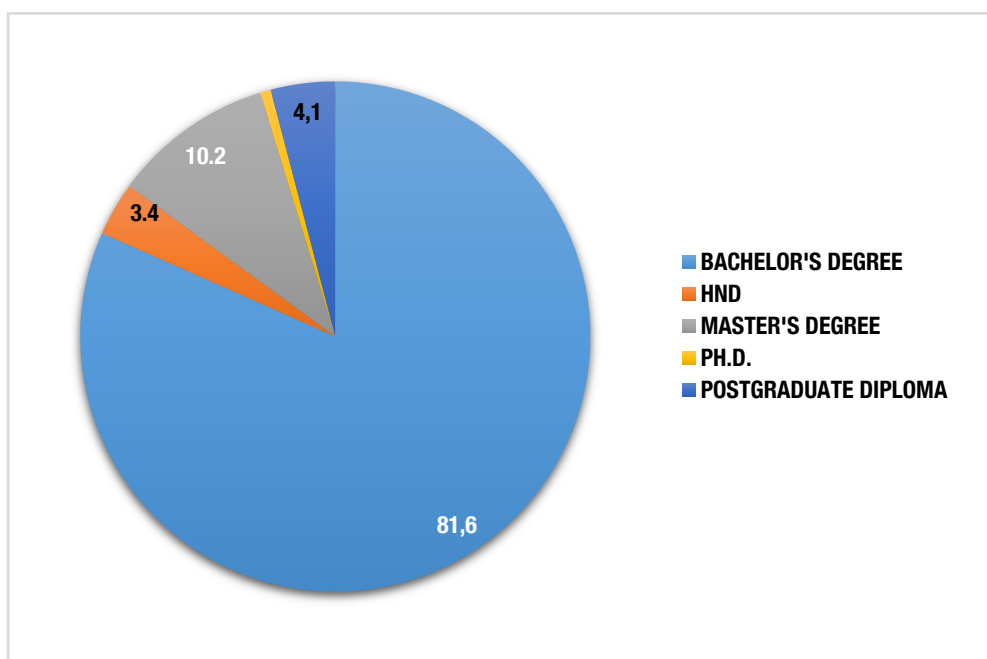
Figure 1. Distribution of educational qualifications of respondents

The Higher National Diploma is awarded by a polytechnic and not a university. 6 (4.1%) respondents said they have a Postgraduate Diploma, which is an extra 12-18 months of further studies usually completed before a master's degree but not necessarily a prerequisite for entering into a master's program. Postgraduate diploma training is often for people who desire to switch to a course they did not study at the undergraduate level for their master's programme or those who did

not achieve a minimum direct entry requirement into the master's programme upon completion of their undergraduate studies. Only 1 (0.7%) respondent claimed to hold a PhD. The doctoral degree is the highest educational qualification in Nigeria and around the world.

These degrees in Nigeria are taught in English, and admissions usually require at least a credit pass in the English language. This means that students who are admitted into Nigerian higher institutions must have developed a considerable level of proficiency in English (Una, 2012). This also implies that English is taught as a subject from elementary school to the university level. Even as first-year undergraduate students, it is required that all undergraduate students must pass a course on the use of English (Una, 2012).

5.2. Country of Study

Studying abroad is desirable in Nigeria, but due to limited financial capabilities, opportunities, and other logistics, the majority of Nigerian students study for their first degree in Nigeria. Nonetheless, some Nigerian students are privileged to study abroad in both English and non-English (majority) speaking countries. To provide context on the educational and current status of the respondents, data were collected on where they completed their first degree and whether they are currently serving in the National Youth Service Corps. A majority, 136 respondents (92.5%), indicated they completed their first-degree education in Nigeria, while 11 (7.5%) reported studying abroad. Additionally, 64 respondents (43.8%) are currently serving as corps members, while 82 (56.2%) are not.

Nigerians and other Africans have a long-standing history of migrating abroad for higher education. African liberal movements like negritude and some other major pro-independence socio-political movements that were common in Africa from the late fifties through the seventies had contributions from African students who had gone abroad to study and returned with educational skills and international exposure (Adi, 1998; Hodgkinson & Melchiorre, 2019). In postcolonial times, studies have shown that Nigerians (and some other African students) often favour studying for higher education in Canada (Adeyanju & Olatunji, 2021; Simmons, 2010).

Adeyanju and Olatunji (2021) highlight Simmons' (2010) prediction which suggested that Nigerian and South African students will emerge as prominent contributors to future immigration in Canada. Also, studies have consistently suggested that Nigerians largely study abroad. According to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics, "Nigeria is the number one country of origin for international students from Africa. It sends the most students overseas of any country on the African continent, and outbound mobility numbers are growing at a rapid pace." (Carpa Education, 2017).

Firstly, Nigeria grapples with a sluggish economy, resulting in a considerable pool of highly educated individuals facing unemployment. Secondly, as the most populous country in Africa, Nigeria boasts an urban population that exhibits a willingness to seek relocation for improved prospects. Lastly, Nigeria's widespread use of English as its lingua franca, coupled with its membership in the Commonwealth, aligns harmoniously with Canada's linguistic and cultural framework, fostering an environment conducive to immigration. With this kind of stability and infrastructure, Adeyanju & Olatunji (2021) say that "they [Nigerian students] are "pulled" by Canada's post-industrial neoliberal immigration policy that targets "self-made" immigrants with resources" (Adeyanju & Olatunji, 2021, p. 106).

Nevertheless, Europe, the United Kingdom, and the United States are not left out. Most Nigerian students in the UK pay for their tuition, which makes them "important contributors to the educational and economic landscapes of Europe" (Ploner & Nada, 2020, p. 374). For the 2022/23 session, international students contributed £11.8 billion in tuition fees to the national economy of the United Kingdom, which was 22.9% of the sector's total income (Bolton et al., 2024).

5.3. International Intelligibility

International intelligibility of English refers to the ability of speakers from different language backgrounds to understand each other when using English as a common medium of communication. It is a crucial aspect of English as an International Language (EIL), as it enables people from diverse cultures and linguistic backgrounds to interact effectively and exchange ideas. The concept of international intelligibility of English encompasses both spoken and written English. In spoken English, intelligibility is influenced by factors such as pronunciation, intonation, and speech rate. In written English, intelligibility is primarily determined by vocabulary, grammar, and syntax. While native English speakers may not always be mutually intelligible, particularly when representing different regional dialects or accents, international intelligibility is generally achieved when non-native speakers of English adapt their speech and writing to accommodate the expectations of a global audience.

Table 1. Reported proficiency levels of respondents

x	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	∑
f	55	55	16	6	9	3	1	2	0	0	**147**
f(x)	55	110	48	24	45	18	7	16	0	0	**323**
SD											**1.14**
Mean Rating											**2.20**

Table 1 captures the summative results of the perceived proficiency levels of respondents on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 coded as 'excellent' and 10 as 'very poor'. We asked them to consider all four areas of language learning (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), and to rate themselves accordingly. The x row shows the available rating (numbers) on the provided rating scale; f shows the frequency, while f(x) shows the product of scale and frequency. SD represents Standard Deviation. Considering the results, on average, Nigerian graduates perceive their English skills to be quite high, as indicated by the mean rating of 2.20 obtained from the data. This suggests a general confidence in English proficiency within the surveyed group. The Standard Deviation (SD) is calculated to measure the spread or variability of the respondents' ratings around the mean. We found a standard deviation of 1.14, which measures the spread of the ratings. The relatively small standard deviation implies that there is limited variation in how individuals rate their English skills. The clustering of most respondents' ratings around the mean indicates a consistent level of confidence across the surveyed population. The high mean rating suggests that the majority of Nigerian graduates in this study view their English skills positively. This may reflect the success of English language education programmes within the Nigerian educational system as well as a general sense of proficiency among the surveyed graduates. The small standard deviation indicates that there is homogeneity in the responses, with most graduates holding similar views about their English language abilities.

Although Nigerian English is modelled after British English, the spoken model is said to be Received Pronunciation (RP), and it is not truly British English due to variations in pronunciation and suprasegmental phonology. However, scholars like Babatunde (2002) and Josiah, Bodunde and Robert (2012) have argued that Standard Nigerian English is also "standard" in its sense as it shows the peculiarities of the environment in which it is spoken.
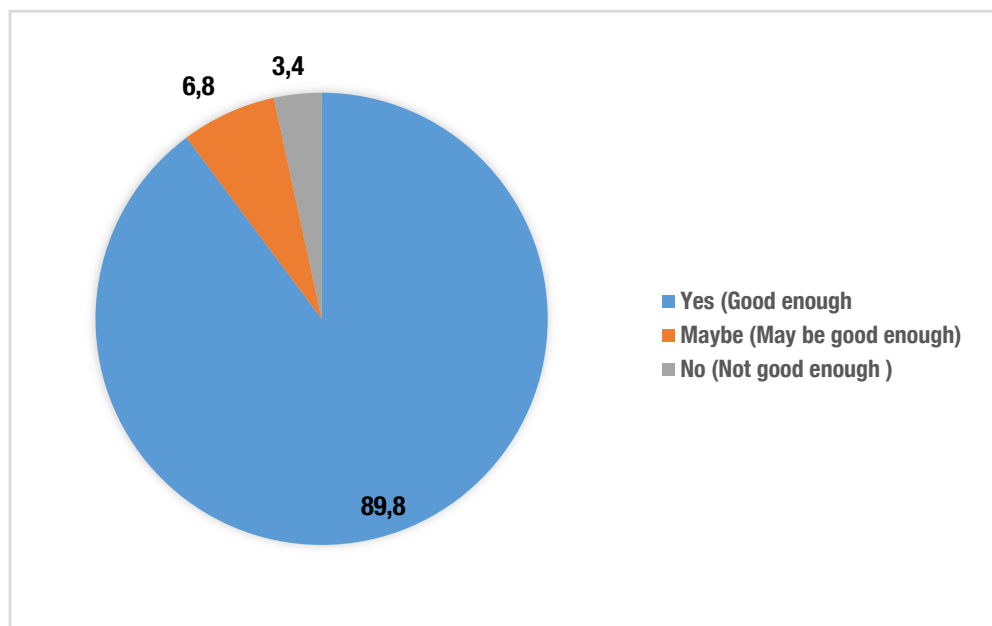
Figure 2. Respondents' self-ratings of English language skills.

132 (89.80%) respondents believe that their English is good enough for international communication. 10 (6.8%) respondents said their English may be good enough for international communication, which means they are not sure, while 5 (3.4%) respondents said their English is not good enough for international communication. On a scale of 1–10, 1 being excellent (highest) and 10 being poor (lowest), the respondents were asked to rate their communication skills in English while considering all four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). 55 (37,4%) respondents chose 1, which is the highest on the scale. 55 (37.4%) respondents chose 2; 16 (10,8%) respondents chose 3; 6 (4.1%) respondents selected 4; 9 (6.1%) respondents selected 5; 3 (2.1%) respondents chose 6; 1 (0.7%) respondent chose 7; and 2 (1.4%) respondents chose 8. None of the respondents chose 9 and 10.

5.4. Confidence Levels

Perceptions of international intelligibility can influence confidence levels in language usage, especially in the English language (Gürler, 2015). Confidence levels, in the context of language proficiency or other abilities, pertain to an individual's self-evaluation or conviction on their capability to successfully execute a task or communicate with effectiveness. This establishes important connection points with the concept of self-efficacy[3], which encompasses an individual's assessment

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[3] Even though Bandura (1986) introduced the concept of self-efficacy, its use in the context has expanded over time and has been adopted into the study of language learning.

of their abilities and has the potential to impact their actions, choices, and achievements (Genc et al., 2016; Getie, 2020; Graham, 2022). Regarding language proficiency, confidence levels cover an individual's certainty in their aptitude to understand, speak, read, and write in a specific language. It also includes their belief in their ability to effectively communicate in many settings, including international contexts. Confidence levels are often measured subjectively through self-reporting, surveys, or rating scales, where individuals express their perceived proficiency and comfort in using a language or executing a specific skill (Gürler, 2015).

Splitting the scale at average (*average* 50% = 5) would mean that students who choose between 6 and 10 report having little or low levels of confidence regarding using their English for international communication. However, more than half of the respondents (73.5%) are confident that their English could be used for international communication. The responses further reveal that most graduates sampled for this study are confident that their English is good enough for international communication, which means that they feel confidently proficient in the use of the English language. This also reflects that on the scale, a combined 78.7% of the respondents chose between 1 and 2, which are the top-tier parts of the provided scale. Various factors influence speakers' perceived levels of confidence in a second language, especially English. This may be the willingness to communicate in English (Lin, 2018), perceived confidence in the second language (which is English in this context) (Dewaele & Dewaele, 2017), real-life opportunities for communication in the second language (MacIntyre et al., 1998), and interlocutor factors and motivation (Danesh & Shahnazari, 2020; Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003).

The final question was asked to get the respondents' opinions regarding standardised English proficiency tests, such as IELTS and TOEFL. 146 instead of 147 responses were obtained as participant 89 (P89) reported blank. 114 respondents (78.1%) said anyone who had studied for a degree in Nigeria should not be required to take such tests. 20 (13.7%) respondents said they may be required to take the tests, while 12 (8.1%) respondents asserted that anyone who studied in Nigeria should be required to take the test. A majority of the respondents suggest that Nigerian graduates should not be required to take any of these tests, which is more than the combined percentage (22.11%) of those who said they may or should be required to take the tests. However, some Nigerians still believe that Nigerians should be required to take the tests.

Table 2: Table showing the opinions of respondents regarding taking standardised English test

Opinion	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Should not be required to take tests	114	78.1%
May be required to take tests	20	13.8%
Should be required to take tests	12	8.3%

Past research into the relationship between English proficiency test (EPT) scores and score profiles, such as IELTS and TOEFL, has shown that there is not always a clear relationship between those scores and students' subsequent academic achievement (Neumann et al., 2018). However, the fact that students considerably pass English language proficiency courses, such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), or Pearson's English Test, does not necessarily mean that their English has been perfected. Murray (2010) reports that many students who have passed these proficiency tests still struggle because they do not meet "the linguistic demands of their courses due to inadequate levels

of English proficiency" (Nasirudeen & Xiao, 2020). Cunningham (2012) draws attention to the Swedish system. She asserts that many Nigerian students studying English in Sweden face challenges in adjusting to Swedish teachers, who often view them as non-native speakers. Therefore, Cunningham (2012) asserts that "they may fail language proficiency courses and find that their English does not work as well as they expect it to in communication with their teachers and with other international students, in particular those who are non-native speakers of English" (p. 143).

However, the high mean rating and low standard deviation of Nigerian graduates' self-perception of their English language skills prompt thought-provoking inquiries regarding the need for standardised language proficiency assessments like IELTS and TOEFL. Given the uniform self-assurance exhibited by most participants on their proficiency in English, it seems that a significant number of Nigerian graduates feel adequately equipped without relying on standardised English tests for external confirmation. The minimal diversity in answers implies a uniform level of skill, either stemming from a standardised syllabus or common educational backgrounds. However, the subset of respondents advocating for mandatory testing (20 individuals) and those expressing neutrality (1 person) introduces a nuanced perspective. This divergence in opinions may stem from individual recognition of the variability in language proficiency or a desire for a more objective measure of one's capabilities.

The rejection of mandatory language proficiency testing by a substantial number of respondents (114) suggests a general belief in the school system's capacity to sufficiently prepare graduates with English language competency. This sentiment may stem from a confidence in the effectiveness of local educational programmes or a conviction in the practical usefulness of their gained language abilities in real-life situations.

Within a wider framework, the different perspectives on compulsory testing highlight the intricate relationship between self-evaluation, standardised assessment, and the perceived usefulness of these evaluations. The findings indicate that although most Nigerian graduates are self-assured in their English language skills, a significant proportion acknowledges the advantages of obtaining external validation through proficiency exams. This illustrates a complex situation where personal views on language proficiency meet with wider concepts of standardised assessment in the quest for educational and career prospects.

6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

While this study has attempted a holistic approach to understanding the perceptions of Nigerian graduates regarding the status of English proficiency tests, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations. Firstly, the sample size of 147 respondents may not fully represent the diversity of Nigerian graduates across different regions, educational backgrounds, and socioeconomic statuses. Secondly, the study relies on self-reported data, which may introduce response bias, as participants' opinions could be influenced by personal experiences or biases toward English proficiency requirements. Finally, the study is limited to quantitative data from a structured questionnaire, which restricts deeper qualitative insights into the personal and contextual nuances of respondents' views. This can have an impact on the generalisability of the findings. It is therefore important to consider these biases and the potential of their influences in addressing the subject matters, especially in formulating policies that may bring change. While we recommend policy review on these tests, we also strongly advise that prospective study-abroad students should be allowed to make their own cases while their educational histories, on a case-by-case basis, be reviewed holistically.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

International English proficiency tests are one of the requirements that hinder Nigerians from pursuing a degree abroad. The findings of this research show that some Nigerians strongly believe that Nigerians should be required to take the foreign English proficiency tests because they think they are not proficient enough in the English language for international communication. Universities in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia are places where people from all over the world come to study and English is not only the native language, but also the official language of instruction, communication, media, and the lingua franca. Hence, being proficient in the English language should not be negotiated especially for someone who is going to study for a master's or doctoral degree.

In addition, Nigerians who are entering the UK, the US, Australia or Canada without a first degree from Nigeria or a credit pass in any national English examination such as the ones organised by the West African Examinations Council (WAEC), or the National Examinations Council (NECO) may be required to take the test. Most importantly, the Nigerian system ensures that research is conducted before obtaining any degree (or diploma, such as the National Diploma, Higher National Diploma, National Certificate of Education, and Postgraduate Diploma); therefore, it is quite problematic to require that someone who has learned and carried out research in English should take a test, which they would sign up for in English, to prove that they understand English.

Nevertheless, things are changing. People like Dr Olumuyiwa Igbajobi are utilizing email and social media to communicate with universities and colleges in North America, the United Kingdom, and Australia about revising their policies to exempt Nigerians from taking foreign English language proficiency tests, and this has so far yielded positive results. We recommend that more Nigerian researchers and professors, both in the country and in the diaspora, also engage in dialogue with their respective universities and colleges to base the requirement for English proficiency tests on individual performance rather than collective country taxonomy. In view of this, further studies on this subject could explore a deeper correlation and draw from a larger population, or even attempt comparative studies of perceptions or outcomes based on diverse factors.

Statement of Conflict of Interest
The authors state that there is no conflict of interest.

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Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE TESTING FOR NIGERIANS

We are seeking the opinion of Nigerian students at post-secondary levels regarding international English proficiency tests such as Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). We have decided to keep the questionnaire as short as possible.

    o I agree to participate in this research
    o I do not agree to participate in this research

1. **What is your highest qualification? (i.e what is the highest degree that you hold?)**
    o HND
    o BACHELOR'S DEGREE
    o POSTGRADUATE DIPLOMA
    o MASTER'S DEGREE
    o PH.D.

2. **Did you study for your HND or bachelor's degree in Nigeria**
    o Yes
    o No

3. **Are you currently a serving corps member? (i.e NYSC member)**
    o Yes
    o No

4. **Do you think your English is good enough for international communication?**
    o Yes
    o No
    o Maybe

5. **On a scale of 1-10, how would you evaluate and rate your English communication skills (including listening, speaking, reading and writing)?**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

6. **Do you think that as someone who has studied in Nigeria, you should be required to take international English tests such as IELTS or TOEFL?**
    o Yes
    o No
    o Maybe

THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF YEMSA ADVERBIAL CLAUSES: EMPIRICAL STUDY

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Abstract: Yemsa, an Omotic language spoken in Ethiopia, has received limited attention in linguistic research, particularly with regard to its adverbial clauses. The lack of a comprehensive description of Yemsa's adverbial clauses hinders our understanding of the language's structure and its place in the Afroasiatic language family. This study aims to provide a detailed analysis of the structure and function of adverbial clauses in Yemsa, exploring their forms, functions, and subordinate markers. The research is based on a corpus of spoken and written Yemsa data, collected through fieldwork and supplemented by existing literature. A descriptive approach is employed to analyze the data, focusing on the morphological and syntactic properties of adverbial clauses. The study reveals that Yemsa adverbial clauses exhibit a range of characteristics, including dependent-person suffixes, temporal markers, and bound morphemes that connect them to main clauses. The analysis identifies five types of adverbial clauses in Yemsa: temporal, locative, manner, reason, and purpose. The findings also show that Yemsa treats aspects in adverbial clauses similarly to main clauses, with the perfective aspect remaining unmarked and the imperfective aspect marked. This research contributes significantly to our knowledge of Yemsa and the Omotic language family, providing new information about the structure and function of adverbial clauses, which is valuable for developing linguistic pedagogical materials for Yemsa. The study's results have implications for linguistic theory, language pedagogy, and language documentation, highlighting the importance of descriptive research on understudied languages. The study's methodology and findings can serve as a model for future research on other languages, promoting a more comprehensive understanding of linguistic diversity and complexity.

Keywords: Yemsa, adverbial clauses, Omotic languages, Afroasiatic languages, linguistic structure, morphosyntax, language documentation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Yem ethnic group prefers to name themselves Yem or Yemma (Aklilu, 1992; Getachew, 2003; Derib, 2004; Zaugg-Correti, 2013). Yemsa is an Omotic language (Bender 2000; Azeb 2017). The description of the Yemsa adverbial clauses has significant implications for linguistics in typological studies within the Afroasiatic language family. It advances our knowledge of the syntactic characteristics specific to Yemsa and the broader Ometo language group. The material in this article is important for teaching Yemsa to journalists and translators and incorporating it into various sorts of professional communication.

This paper is to provide a detailed description of adverbial clauses in Yemsa. The number and depth of studies on Yemsa adverbial clauses are both limited and insufficient. Thus, this study aims to fill the gap in Yemsa's syntax. As a result, the description of the internal structure of adverbial clauses, an Omotic language of southwestern Ethiopia, presents fertile ground for linguistic exploration. A detailed description focusing on the internal structure of the adverbial clauses is scattered. This gap exposes a crucial area of linguistic inquiry regarding the syntax of adverbial clauses in Yemsa.

There is a research gap in the function and form of the adverbial clauses. The existing studies are phonological or morphological and predominantly catalogue the phonological and basic morphosyntactic properties of Yemsa, with limited attention to adverbial clause structure. This oversight leaves a substantial knowledge gap in the study of Yemsa's adverbial clauses. This research aims to enhance our understanding of the structure of Yemsa's adverbial clauses, provide comparative insights with other Afroasiatic languages, and contribute to broader discussions in linguistic typology.

The study addresses the following research questions:
1. What is the function and form of the Yemsa adverbial clause?
2. What adverbial clause types occur in Yemsa?
3. What subordinator markers occur in the adverbial clauses?

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The description of the form and function of the adverbial clauses uses the concepts described by Thompson et al. (2007), Cristofaro (2005a), Diessel (2001; 2005; 2008; 2013), Givón (1990), Kortmann (1997), and Podlesskaya (2001) to describe the semantics of adverbial clauses from a typological perspective. The typologies corresponding to the objectives are applied in the analyses. This consideration demonstrates that a descriptive approach is suitable for the analyses.

The informants were selected based on their language competence. All informants are native speakers of Yemsa. The data for this study have been collected from the Saja and Fofa areas, where native speakers of the language live. The four key informants, Demeke Jenbere (male, age 42), Tekalegn Ayalew (male, age 60), Almaz Tesfaye (female, age 40), and Adanche Kebede (female, age 54) contributed linguistic data and participated in discussion sessions.

The data were collected mainly through informant interviews using the elicitation technique about the form and function of adverbial clauses in Yemsa based on the clauses and sentences. The elicitation process involved presenting the informants with sentences in Amharic. Informants were then asked to provide the Yemsa equivalents for these sentences. The data were supplemented by texts. Following this, discussion sessions were conducted with the informants to clarify the data and minimize potential confusion.

The data were analyzed qualitatively, based on observable facts to illustrate how the language is used. A descriptive approach was employed to reveal the structure of Yemsa adverbial clauses. The analysis was conducted in the context of general definitions and typological classifications of adverbial constructions found in linguistic literature. Some shortcomings are unavoidable due to time limitations. The data were carefully transcribed, annotated, segmented, translated, and interpreted based on the collected linguistic data from elicitation. According to the data, the grammatical facts and regular patterns that occurred in the structures were analyzed. The data were transcribed phonetically and phonemically using IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols. When there was a difference between phonetic and phonemic forms, four-line glossing was applied: (i) phonetic form; (ii) morphological form with morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation; (iii) morphological glossing; (iv) free translation.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Adverbial clauses are dependent clauses that function as modifiers (Häcker, 1999, p. 21). The primary syntactic modifying function extends to all levels of constituents, from individual words to sentences, with the exception of nouns, pronouns, and noun phrases (Häcker, 1998, p. 23).

A subordinate clause cannot be used independently (Cristofaro 2005a; 2014). Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that modify their superordinate counterparts, which can occur at a variety of levels (verb phrase, tense phrase, mood phrase), dimensions (times and worlds), and in diverse ways (Sæbø, 2011, p. 1420). These differences result in a categorization of adverbial clauses (temporal, modal, etc.) and a subcategorization based on a range of relations within these dimensions, depending on the subjunction; within the modal category, it is customary to distinguish between causal, conditional, purpose, result, and concessive clauses (Sæbø, 2011, p. 1420).

There is a list of considerations for subordination (Haiman & Thompson, 1984, p. 511). Those considerations are: identity between the two clauses of subject, tense, or mood; reduction of one of the clauses; a grammatical indication of the incorporation of one of the clauses; intonational linking between the two clauses; one clause being within the scope of the other; absence of tense iconicity between the two clauses; and identity between the two clauses of speech act perspective (Haiman & Thompson, 1984, p. 511).

Subordination is a syntactic property of specific sentence forms, commonly identified as adverbial, complement, and relative clauses in the descriptive tradition of European languages. (Cristofaro, 2016, p. 1). Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses since their occurrence typically depends on the main sentence (Lin, 2015, p. 3). However, not all languages mark the distinction between dependent and independent clauses in the same way. Traditional grammar recognizes adverbial clauses as one of three major subordinate clause categories. They are semantically diverse and structurally complex. Adverbial clauses can improve discourse cohesiveness in addition to modifying the main clauses (Lin, 2015, p. 2-3). Adverbial clauses serve as adjuncts to other clauses (Verstraete, 2008, p. 758). Adverbial clauses operate as modifiers of predicates, predicate phrases, or clauses, just as lexical adverbs (van Lier, 2009, p. 65).

Adverbial clauses can perform different pragmatic tasks, which vary depending on their position relative to the related main clause (Diessel, 2013, p. 346). One or more of the following semantic links typically characterize adverbial clauses: temporal simultaneity (when/while); anteriority (after); posteriority (before); endpoints (until) and beginnings (since); realis, irrealis, and counterfactual conditionality; cause and reason; purpose; result; concession; adversativity (whereas/while); manner (Schmidtke-Bode & Diessel, 2021, p. 24-25).

The adverbial clause adds some information to what is stated in the other clause (Payne, 2006, p. 297). It conveys time, place, manner, and reasoning (Kroeger, 2005). The primary function of adverbial clauses is to offer information (temporal, locative, causal, conditional, etc.) about the circumstances in which the events portrayed in the main phrases occur (Lin, 2015, p. 2). They typically indicate time, place, cause or reason, consequence or result, extent, method, comparison, contrast, situation, or purpose (Das, 2008, p. 271). They operate to convey information on how, where, when, and why the action occurs (van Gelderen, 2012, p. 74). They are clause elements that often allude to circumstances of time, distance, reason, and manner, have a range of meanings, and can be put at the beginning, middle, or end of a sentence (Hasselgård, 2010, p. i).

The complementizer specifies the manner (as), the time (before, after, since, when), the place (where), the condition (if), or the reason (because, why, since, in case, lest) of the embedded sentence in relation to the main clause (van Gelderen, 2012, p. 74-75). Adverbial clauses belong to a class of structures known as complex sentences (Croft, 2012; van Valin, 2004), clause combination (linkage), or subordination (Payne, 1997; Lehmann, 1988; Givón, 2001; Longacre, 2007; Comrie, 2008). Dixon (2009) and Diessel (2001; 2005; 2008) describe the semantics of adverbial clauses from a typological perspective. Adverbial clauses function as modifiers of the main predicate of the matrix clause (Häcker, 1999; van Lier, 2009; Diessel, 2013).

The SOV (subject-object-verb) and SVO word orders are the most frequently used cross-linguistically, while VSO is somewhat less prevalent but still common. VOS is the next most popular word order, whereas the two object-initial orders, OSV and OVS, are rare as fundamental word orders (Munro, 2013, p. 122). Traditional word order typologies include SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS, and OSV (Dryer, 1997, p. 69). There is a determination of precisely which pairs of elements correlate in the order with the verb and object (Dryer, 1992, p. 81). Languages use varied word order; for example, it could be verb beginning (V-initial) or verb-final (V-final), in which V-final languages have subjects and objects before the verb, and V-final languages often position all dependents before their heads (Dryer, 1991).

Adverbial clauses tend to occur in strong OV languages so that the sentence ends with the main clause. VO languages and a small number of OV languages can have both preposed and postposed adverbial clauses (Diessel, 2001; 2013). In strong verb-final languages, all adverbial clauses (ACs) can be in the preverbal position (Diessel, 2019, p. 100).

Complex sentences with start and final adverbial clauses can exhibit distinct syntactic and semantic features in which complex sentences with initial adverbial clauses are generally processed as a single unit; complex sentences with final adverbial clauses can be interpreted as two independent sentences or as a biclausal construction in which the main and adverbial clauses are intonationally combined and semantically dependent on each other (Diessel, 2013, p. 349). Verstraete (2007) states that final adverbial clauses are often understood based on the preceding main clause's epistemic and speech act aspects, while these features typically do not affect initial adverbial phrases (Verstraete, 2004). Adverbial clauses that are compatible with argument fronting have qualities of major clauses and are less integrated with the clauses they modify (Haegeman, 2012, p. 149).

Diessel (2013) describes adverbial clauses appearing before and after the main clause. The following table displays the six AC distributions in the languages (Diessel, 2001):

Table 1. The Ordering of Main and Adverbial Clause

	Language type	Description
1	Rigid ADV-S/VP	adverbial clauses (almost) always precede the main clause/predicate; e.g. Lezgian.
2	Non-rigid ADV-S/SVP	adverbial clauses usually precede the main clause/predicate but also readily occur in sentence-final position; e.g. Turkish.
3	Flexible ADV-S/VP S/VP-ADV	adverbial clauses commonly precede and follow the main clause/predicate; e.g. Modern Hebrew.
4	Mixed ADV-S/VP S/VP-ADV	adverbial clauses as a class occur both before and after the main clause/ predicate, while specific semantic types of adverbial clauses always precede or always follow the main clause/predicate; e.g. Babungo (except for time and restrictive clauses).
5	Nonrigid S/VP-ADV	adverbial clauses usually follow the main clause/ predicate but also readily occur in sentence-initial position; e.g. Arabana Wangkangurru.
6	Rigid S/VP-ADV	languages in which adverbial clauses (almost) always allow the main clause/ predicate: no example.

Languages choose one of five options for positioning adverbial clauses (AC) relative to the main clause: rigidly preceding the main clause; non-rigidly preceding the main clause; flexibly placing the AC on either side of the main clause; rigidly following the main clause; non-rigidly following the main clause (Hetterle, 2015). Initial adverbial clauses are structurally and intonationally incomplete without the following (main) clause. However, they tend to be semantically more independent of the associated clause than adverbial clauses at the end of a complex sentence, where the subordinate clause frequently functions as an integral semantic component of the preceding (main) clause (Diessel, 2013, p. 348).

The position of adverbial subordinators, or morphemes that distinguish adverbial clauses based on their semantic relationship to the main clause, is an important aspect of sentence structure. (Dryer, 2005, p. 382). Adverbial subordinators can appear in various forms and positions within a sentence, including independent words that appear at the beginning of a subordinate phrase; independent words that appear at the end of a subordinate sentence; clause-internal adverbial subordinators; suffixal adverbial subordinators; multiple types of adverbial subordinators, with no single type being dominant (Dryer, 2005, p. 382). Some languages have multiple types of subordinators, with none being dominant. Adverbial subordinators can be found both as independent words in clause-final position and as verbal suffixes (Dryer, 2005).

The subordinate clauses are linked to the main clause by an overt subordinator (Aarts, 2006). Markers of subordination include subordinators, word order, verb forms, scope, intonation, semantic connection and grammatical reliance, main clause phenomena, lack of an overt sign of subordination, and circularity (Aarts, 2006). Indicators of adverbial clauses include the presence of a subordinator, deviation from unmarked word order, non-finiteness, verblessness, absence of an overt subject, and prosodical marking (Häcker, 1999). Kortmann (1997) defines adverbial subordinators as free forms or bound adverbial morphemes that specify some semantic interclausal (or circumstantial adverbial) relationship between the subordinate clause over which they operate and the modified matrix clause.

All languages use the adverbial clauses time, place, manner, cause/reason, purpose, result, condition, concession, contrast, addition, substitution, and similarity (Kortman, 1997; Givón, 2001; Thompson et al., 2007). Not all semantic links are equally essential in different structural forms of adverbial sentences; their relative relevance as coherence relations depends on the type of discourse (Lin, 2015, p. 6).

AC of time is a subordinate clause that serves the same purpose in the sentence as an adverb of time. The adverbial time connects the time of the situation denoted by its dependent clause to the time of the situation described by the matrix clause (Quirk et al., 1985). Adverbial clauses can express a variety of relations, including conditional relations, causal relations, temporal relations, concessive relations, concessive conditional relations, comparative relations, purposive relations, and resultative relations (Podlesskaya, 2001). Diessel (2001) identified the positional patterns of five types of adverbial clauses: conditional clauses, temporal clauses, causal clauses, result clauses, and purpose clauses. The adverbial relations classified by Givón (1990), Kortmann (1997), and Thompson et al. (2007) are purpose, temporal posteriority ('before' relations), temporal anteriority ('after' relations), temporal overlap ('when' relations), reality condition, and reason. Time is one of the most diverse conceptual realms of human thought because the speakers might imagine different events and scenarios that can be temporally connected (Haspelmath, 1997, p. 24).

When the situation described in the 'when' clause occurs before or after the event in the main clause, there may be a brief time interval between the two. However, this time interval is not crucial for the interpretation of the complex sentence (Cristofaro, 2005a). Dixon (2009) says that clauses refer to a point in time rather than a durational event.

Adverbial clauses of simultaneity duration refer to a length of time as opposed to 'when' clauses (Dixon, 2009). They code scenarios of co-occurrence or concomitance (Hetterle, 2015). Givón (2001) makes the following connections: precedence, subsequence, simultaneity, point co-incidence, terminal boundary, initial boundary, and intermediacy.

In 'before' clauses, the period starts at some unspecified time point, whereas in 'after' clauses, the period starts at a time point provided by the 'after' clause and ends at some unspecified time point, or the end of time (Androutsopoulos, 2002, p. 58). 'Before'-point and 'after'-point will be used to refer to the time points provided by the 'before' and 'after' clauses respectively (Androutsopoulos, 2002, p. 58). The discourse-structuring or grounding function is particularly evident with WHEN- and conditional clauses (Haiman, 1978). A 'when' construction encodes a temporal link between two events that overlap; the actual amount of the overlap is unknown and subject to variation (Cristofaro, 2005c, p. 510). For each given language, 'when' clauses can be coded using balanced verb forms solely, deranked verb forms exclusively, or both balanced and deranked verb forms (Cristofaro, 2005c, p. 511). Both balanced and deranked 'when' clauses are common in the world's languages; balanced 'when' clauses appear more common than deranked 'when' clauses, although the difference between the two is not statistically significant (Cristofaro, 2005c, p. 511). Languages with purely balanced 'when' clauses are predominant in Africa, while languages with exclusively deranked 'when' clauses and languages with both deranked and balanced 'when' clauses are also common (Cristofaro, 2005c, p. 511).

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced by relative adverbs functioning as subordinate conjunctions. These adverbs convey the meanings 'where,' 'to where,' and 'from where' (Palmer, 2001). Payne (1997) goes so far as to state that "most languages treat purpose and reason alike".

Causal clauses are less connected to complicated sentences than other semantic categories of adverbial clauses. In contrast to temporal and conditional clauses, causal clauses typically include

the same verb forms and arguments as ordinary main clauses. They are usually placed after the semantically associated clause and are commonly expressed by a separate intonation unit. These features suggest that causal clauses are loosely connected with the associated main clause. They are realized by constructions that exhibit the same morphosyntactic properties as main clauses and thus may be analyzed as coordinate sentences rather than adverbial clauses (Diessel & Hetterle, 2011, p. 24). More exactly, causal clauses are incorporated in a speech pattern that includes three verbal actions (Diessel & Hetterle, 2011, p. 46):

1. A statement or activity that the hearer may not accept or understand;
2. The hearer's reaction to this statement (optional);
3. The speaker's justification or explanation of the controversial statement.

Purpose clauses are specified in functional rather than morphosyntactic terms, as the latter have limited application in cross-linguistic comparison (Cristofaro, 2005b, p. 506). A purpose structure encodes a relation between occurrences; this relationship is such that one of the connected events (coded by the main clause or the main event) is conducted to get the realization of another (coded by the purpose clause or the dependent event). Common examples of purpose relations include motion predicates in the primary event. In this scenario, both the independent and dependent events share a participant. However, non-motion predicates may be present, in which case the primary and dependent events do not need to share a participant. The dependent event's time reference is predetermined in the purpose clause; the main and dependent events do not need to be explicitly stated (Cristofaro, 2005b, pp.506-507).

The verb forms in purpose clauses are classed as balanced or deranked, and the related sentences are named balanced and deranked purpose clauses. A deranked verb form is structurally distinct from those used in independent declarative sentences. Deranking can take many forms, including the absence of categorial distinctions normally relevant to verbs in the language (e.g., tense, aspect, mood, or person agreement distinctions) or the use of special elements not relevant to verbs in independent declarative clauses, such as nominalizers, case marking, or adpositions. Deranked verb forms may include unique tense, aspect, mood, or person indicators not found in standalone declarative clauses (Cristofaro, 2005b, p. 506).

A purpose sentence in any given language can use deranked verb forms only, balanced verb forms only, or both. Languages containing deranked and balanced purpose clauses, or balanced purpose clauses only, are widespread, with the former being more prevalent than the latter. The balanced and deranked purpose clauses happen across the world's languages. Languages having only deranked purpose clauses are also prevalent in Africa (Christofaro, 2005b, p. 507).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. The Structure and Function of Yemsa Adverbial Clauses

4.1.1. The Morphosyntax of Adverbial Clauses

In complex sentence structures, dependent and independent structures appear together. Adverbial clauses precede or follow the main clause, which is preposed (or initial) and postposed (or final) adverbial clauses, respectively. Dependents come before or after the head noun; it depends on the language feature. Yemsa is a subject-object-verb (SOV) in simple clause language; dependents appear before the head.

The adverbial clauses precede the main predicate, and the subordinate adverbial clauses come before the main clause. Diessel's (2001) classification of adverbial clauses (ACs) includes: Rigid ADV-S/VP; Non-rigid ADV-S/SVP; Flexible ADV-S/VP S/VP-ADV; Mixed ADV-S/VP S/VP-ADV; Non-rigid S/VP-ADV and Rigid S/VP-ADV. Yemsa belongs to the first group, which is Rigid ADV-S/VP. The AC precedes the main clause, forming a dependent clause. This dependent clause can be temporal as illustrated in Example 1.

(1)   [fìlmìis kènānnéen Ɂòrìfò sèlèmòn kèebà hàm]

fìlm-s	kè-nā-nnéen	Ɂòrfò	sèlèmòn	kèebà	hàm
film-DEF	end-3MS-TEMP	after	Solomon	house.POSS	go.PFV.3MS

'Solomon went home after the movie ended.'

Adverbials sometimes enjoy substantial freedom concerning syntactic positioning and, at other times, reveal extremely tight syntactic limits. They frequently show a stable order concerning other adverbials in the sentence (Austin et al., 2004, p. 3). As in 1, the AC position is relatively stable in the language word order structure.

Some adverbials allow for many possible placements concerning other parts in the clause that appear in a fixed order, while others exhibit more constrained behaviour (Austin et al., 2004, p. 4). As shown in 1, the adverbial position is fixed, which appears first.

The order of the adverbial and main clauses also correlates with the position of the adverbial subordinators: languages with both pre- and postposed adverbial clauses tend to have clause-initial subordinators, whereas languages with only preposed adverbial clauses tend to have clause-final subordinators (Diessel, 2001; Thompson et al., 2007). As in 1, the adverbial clause is preposed (or initial) and has a clause-final subordinator.

An adverbial clause preceding the main clause can be viewed as a syntactic projector, providing an anticipatory link to subsequent sentences quickly integrated into the unfolding sentence (Diessel, 2013, p. 346). As in 1, the adverbial clause connects with the main clause through a syntactic structure.

The adverbial clause is an initial adverbial; therefore, the adverbial clause is structurally and intonationally incomplete without the following (main) clause. They tend to be semantically more independent of the associated clause than adverbial clauses at the end of a complex sentence, as seen in Example 1. Final adverbial can serve as separate claims. Initial adverbial clauses are always pragmatically presupposed (Diessel, 2013, p. 349). As seen in Example 1, the initial adverbial clause is the presupposed clause.

As seen in Example 1, AC describes the time of the event. The AC is dependent on the main clause. Both subordinate clauses and main clauses make parts of complex sentences. The AC is a subordinate clause. Its function is subordinate to the main clause.

Adverbial clauses may be finite, non-finite, or verbless (Häcker, 1999; Aarts, 2006). The presence of a subject is obligatory in finite clauses but not in non-finite and verbless clauses (Häcker, 1999). As seen in Example 1, the subject structure appears in the AC.

Adverbial subordinators, which morphologically mark adverbial clauses, have two forms: distinct words and verbal suffixes (Lin, 2015, p. 4). As shown in Example 1, the adverbial subordinator appears in verbal suffixes.

The mechanisms that indicate dependent clauses are adverbial subordinators, verbal suffixes, verb forms, and word order (Dryer, 2005; Thompson et al., 2007). In Yemsa, AC has a dependent-person suffix in the verb morphology. The dependent person suffixes are simple, IPFV, and future (Zaguu-Correti, 2013). As shown in Example 2, nominal agreement is observed in the adverbial clause (AC). The temporal adverbial clause is marked by the suffix *-àtà,* which indicates the second-person singular ('2S') person marker.

(2)   [kàamà gìrìfàtànnéen kàbàasìk kàamnìisòn]
        kàamà   gìr-f-àtà-nnéen   kàbàa-s-k   kàamn-s-òn
        promise   make-IPFV-2S-TEMP   time-DEF-LOC   promise.POSS-DEF-ACC
        [ʔòodànìk ʃòlìsìfàt]
        ʔòodàn-k   ʃòls-f-àt
        must-LOC   keep-IPFV-2S
        'Whenever you make a promise, you must keep it.'

The nominal agreement can be singular or plural. As seen in Example 2, the nominal agreement is singular, whereas the nominal agreement indicates plurality.

As seen in Example 3, *-nī* shows the 1P. As a result, the locative adverbial clause suffixes a person marker.

(3)   [sìnànī kàbàasìk mèetà màanā dìmàasìtà dànìdīfàn]
        sìnà-nī   kàbàa-s-k   mèetà   màa-nā   dìmàa-s-tà   dàn-dīf-àn
        become-1P   time-DEF-LOC   dinner   eat-1S   place-DEF-on meet-PROG-1S
        'I am meeting her where we had dinner before.'

As shown in the above examples, different types of ACs have a subordinator. Yemsa chooses a subordinator for AC marking. The subordinators connect the ACs with the main clause. For instance, as in 1 and 2, *-nnéen* 'TEMP' and 3, the purpose marker *kàbàa-s-k* 'time-DEF-LOC' connects the ACs with the main clauses.

Yemsa uses verbal suffixes to indicate ACs, as in the following example. The morpheme sē 'TEMP' is a temporal indicator.

(4)   [ʤìmmàsī kàrìnīsē tàkìsì ʔòp'p'ìnī kèenī]
        ʤìmmà-sī   kàr-nī-sē   tàksì   ʔòp'p'-nī   *kèenì*
        Jimma-in   arrive-1P-TEMP   taxi   take.PFV-1P   *house.POSS*
        'When we arrived in Jimma, we took a taxi to our home.'

Yemsa is classified as a 'present' language in terms of tense/aspect encoding in adverbial clauses. This means that tense and aspect are expressed in adverbial clauses similarly to the main clauses. The perfective aspect is unmarked in both main and adverbial clauses. It has a sequential meaning.

In the 'when' clause, the exact extent of the overlap is unspecified and subject to variation. For instance, in Example 4 the linked events are simultaneous.

(5)   [bàr mìsàràʧʃù ʔòdènā kàbàasìk ʔèetnàasī nàwà gìràk fìllèn]

bàr   msàràʧʃù   ʔòdè-nā   kàbàa-s-k   ʔèetnàa-s-ī   nàwà   gìràk
she   good   hear.PFV-3FS   time-DEF-LOC   niece-DEF-GEN   child   happy
[fìllèn]
fìllèn
jump.PFV.1S
'My niece jumped around happily when she heard the good news.'

As is shown in Example 5, the perfective aspect is unmarked in the ACs and the main clause. The perfective aspect has a sequential meaning. The imperfective aspect is marked with -f, as in Example 6.

(6)   [bár nàò sìnànāk tìʧìkèjàassì ʃòlìsù dìmàasìtà]

bár   nàò   sìnà-nā-k   tìʧìkèjàas-sì   ʃòlsù   dìmàa-s-tà
he   young become-3MS-PURP   firm-in   important   place-DEF-on
[ʔòp'ìfē]
ʔòp'-f-ē
occupy-IPFV-3MS
'Though he is young, he occupies an important position in the firm.'

The main clause can appear in its structure because it has an unmarked perfective aspect and a 1S marker, as in Example 7.

(7)   [tà qàzèt'àasòn ʔīmnā kàbàasìk mùlùgètànìn]

tà   qàzèt'àa-s-òn   ʔīm-nā   kàbàa-s-k   mùlùgètàn-ìn
I   newspaper-DEF-ACC   deliver.PFV-1S   time-DEF-LOC   mulugetan-ACC
[màsìkòtìisìk bìin]
màskòt-s-k   bìin
window-DEF-LOC   see.PFV.1S
'When I delivered the newspaper, I saw Mulugeta at the window.'

The main clause in the subordinate construction includes a person marker. Consider the following examples:

(8)   [ʔàjbàas wòlàssìŋŋìfènà sìnìfēnà kàbàasìk]

ʔàjbàa-s   wòlàssìŋ-f-ēnà   sìn-f-ēnà   kàbàa-s-k
brother.POSS-DEF   introvert-IPFV-3MS   become-IPFV-3MS   time-DEF-LOC
[sèlèmòn ʔàkmànòn wòllìŋŋà]
sèlèmòn   ʔàkmànòn   wòllìŋŋà
solomon   very   social
'Solomon is very social, whereas his brother is an introvert.'

Adverbial clauses play a role in creating coherent discourse and are a major component of texts (Lin, 2015, p. 3). As seen in Example 8, an adverbial clause creates cohesive discourse.

As previously stated, this study tackles a research question: how do adverbial markers show in Yemsa's adverbial clauses? The temporal adverbial clauses are marked by suffixation. This result of adverbial clause marking not only distinguishes linguistic features across the Ometo languages but also provides insights for Afroasiatic typological investigations. Similarly, the research contributes to the understanding of morphological markers of adverbial subordinators. The results offer clear responses, demonstrating that adverbial markers have a role in constructing adverbial clauses. These findings highlight the significance of specific morphological markers in the grammatical framework of the Yemsa adverbial clause.

4.1.2. Types of Adverbial Clause

4.1.2.1. Temporal Clause

Temporal clauses are a subtype of temporal adverbials that, like non-clausal temporal expressions, aid in the temporal placement of events or states (Maienborn & Schäfer, 2011). There is a temporal marker in the adverbial clause in Example 9. The temporal AC suffixes -*nnéen* 'TEMP' in the realis verb stem. The temporal marker connects the main clause with the adverbial clause in time and states the event in terms of time.

(9)   [ʔàabbà nìbnì kàràsìrèzòorà zàgìtènànnéen hànkàlò nìbìnìbì]

ʔàabbà	nìbnì	kàràsìrèzòorà	zàgtè-nā-nnéen	hànkàlò	nìbìnbì
dad	heart	surgery	undergone-3MS-TEMP	after	slowly

[fàrìdīfē]

fàr-dīf-ē
improve-PROG-3MS

'Dad is slowly improving after undergoing heart surgery.'

In addition, the adverbial clause can come with temporal adverbs. There is precedence in the AC. As a result, the main clause event occurs after the dependent clause event. It is indicated by the temporal adverbs *hànkàlò* 'after' or by logical reasoning.

In Yemsa, in addition to the above temporal marker, there is another temporal marker, -sē 'TEMP'. Consider the following example:

(10)   [gòŋòos hàmìnāsē bàr nìbnbì hìjòosìn kèrè]

gòŋòo-s	hàm-nā-sē	bàr	nìbnbì	hìjòo-s-n	kèrè
bear-DEF	disapper-3FS-TEMP	she	slow	tree-DEF-LOC	climb.PFV.3FS

'She slowly climbed down from the tree as soon as the bear had disappeared.'

The simultaneity is expressed in Example 10.

The following figure shows the temporal clause markers of Yemsa. A temporal relationship is expressed by the temporal suffixes -*nnéen* and -*sē*.
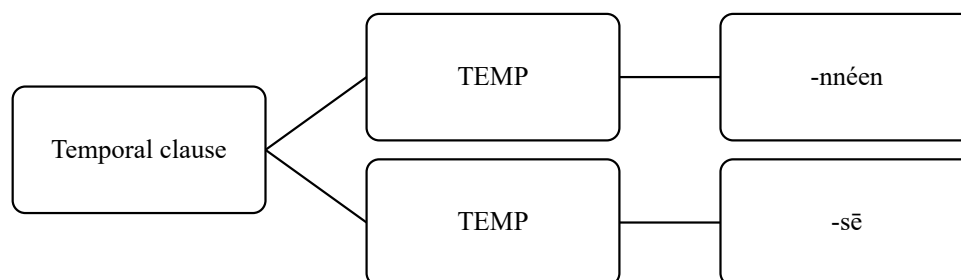
Figure 1. Temporal clause markers in Yemsa

Temporal subordinators express the temporal simultaneity, anteriority, or posteriority of meaning (Kortmann, 1997; Cristofaro, 2005a; Hetterle, 2015; Rönnerdal, 2017). The temporal subordinator in Example 9 expressed anteriority.

Temporal clauses supplement the proposition of the main sentence with additional temporal information, encoding a temporal, fine-grained local semantic relationship such as precedence, subsequence, simultaneity, and point of coincidence (Cristofaro, 2005a). Consider the following examples:

(11) a. [ʔàrùnì kèer hàmìnāsé sìnàk kèerì]

      ʔàrùnì   kèerì   hàm-nā-sé   sìnàk

      school   house   go.PFV-1S-TEMP   before

      [wosìtònàasòn wòsìtènā]

      wostò-nàa-s-òn   wòstò-nā

      work-POSS-DEF-ACC work-1S.FUT

      'I'll do my homework before I go back to school.'

   b. [bár ʔìjòstàn gòndònènānnéen sìnàk ʃòfèrìis]

      bár   ʔìjòstà-n   gòndònè-nā-nnéen   sìnà-k   ʃòfèrìis

      he   tree-ACC   crash-3MS-TEMP   become-LOC driver-DEF

      [bìràtèrètàp'è]

      bìràtèrètàp'è

      sharp turn.PFV.3MS

      'The driver had made a sharp turn before he crashed into a tree.'

The temporal relation is marked in the adverbial clause in 11 (a and b). The events that happened *ʔàrùnì kèer hàmìnāsē sìnàk* 'Before I go back to school' and bár *ʔìjòsìtàn gòndònènānnéen sìnàk* 'before he crashed into a tree' are encoded by *kèerì wostò-nàa-s-òn wòstè-nà* 'I will do my homework' and *ʃòfèrìis* bìràtèrètàp'è 'The driver had made a sharp turn'.

Anteriority clauses (after) refer to actions before the main clause. Temporal anteriority relations involve two SoAs occurring in time. The dependent SoA is anterior to the main one, as in 12.

(12) [fìlmìis kènānnéen ʔòrìfò sèlèmòn kèebà hàm]

      fìlm-s   kè-nā-nnéen   ʔòrfò   sèlèmòn   kèebà   hàm

      film-DEF   end-3MS-TEMP   after   Solomon   house.POSS go.PFV.3MS

      'Solomon went home after the movie ended.'

In Example 12, the clause expresses anteriority. They are two SoAs. The dependent clauses occur before the main clause. The particle, which is *ʔòrfò* 'after', describes anteriority.

The temporal AC appears with locative phrases. Consider the following example:

(13)   [bár kèjàas gìrìfènānnéen sèlèmònnò hàarè tènnè]
        bár   kèjàa-s   gìrfè-nā-nnéen   sèlèmònnò   hàarè   tènnè
        he   house-DEF   enter-3MS-TEMP   Solomon   angry   look.PFV.3MS
        'Solomon looked angry when he entered the classroom.'

According to Kortmann (1997), the connection (*until*) specifies a circumstance posterior to the situation in the main clause and marks its endpoint (or end-period). Consider the following example:

(14)   [mèetàù hòoròtānnéen kàbà ʔòrìgònì kàtìfàt zàgìfàt]
        mèetàù   hòorò-tā-nnéen   ʔòrgònì   kàt-f-àt   zàg-f-àt
        dinner   ready--2S-TEMP   foot   walk-IPFV-2S   take-IPFV-2S
        'Take a walk until dinner is ready.'

As illustrated in Example 14, the adverbial clauses (ACs) specify the time or endpoint of the main clause, and similarly, the starting time of the ACs. Temporal clauses are a feature of the Yemsa language, as demonstrated above.

As previously discussed, Yemsa's temporal clause marker appears in adverbial verb suffixes. This element of Yemsa's grammar demonstrates the more general typological properties of Afroasiatic languages, emphasizing its importance for comparative linguistic studies within this language family.

4.1.2.2. Locative Clause

In many languages, including English, the subordinator having the meaning of 'where' introduces locational clauses (Thompson et al., 2007). Consider the following examples:

(15)   [hàmnī dīmāastā zàatìrà màa ʔàsànìn dànfènì]
        hàm-nī   dīmāa-s-tā   zàatrà   màa   ʔàsànìn   dàn-f-ènì
        go-1P   place-DEF-on   every   kind   people   meet.PFV-1P
        'We meet kind people everywhere we went.'

The word *dīmāa-s-tā* 'place' indicates the meaning of place. In Example 16, adverbials of the location are indicated through relative clauses headed by the noun *dīmāa-s-tā* 'place,' followed by definite *-s*. Consider the following example:

(16)   [kàbàk mèetàù mèenī dīmāa-s-tā dànìdīfàn]
        kàbà-k   mèetàù   mèe-nī   dīmāa-s-tā   dàn-dīf-àn
        time-LOC   dinner   eat.PFV-1P   place-DEF-on   meet-PROG-1S
        'I am meeting her where we had dinner before.'

Nouns overlap in the locative and temporal adverbs (Hangeveled, 2020). Most temporal and locative sentences can be rephrased as relative clauses with heads like "time" or "place" (Thompson et al., 2007; Hellenthal, 2009). The locational phrase is rephrased, as is seen in Example 17.

(17)   [ʔàjnà hàmìfànà ʔàagènà sàabànì kèjàasòn bìinìfànà]

ʔàjnà	hàm-f-ànà	ʔàagènà	sàabànì	kèjàa-s-òn	bìin-f-àn
wherever	go-IPFV-1S	always	saba.POSS	house-DEF-ACC	see-IPFV-1S

'Wherever I go, I always see Saba's restaurant.'

It is easy to find languages of adverbial clauses of time, place, and manner that resemble and share features with relative clauses (Kortmann, 1997; Diessel, 2001; Thompson et al., 2007). The locational AC is rephrased by a relative clause, as is shown in Example 17. This kind of case happens in Kambatta: the locative clauses are RCs by the dependent morpheme (Tries, 2008).

The discovery of adverbial subordinators in the locative AC within Yemsa's grammar delineates a distinguishing feature among the Ometo languages. This allows for comparative typological analyses, particularly in connection to the Bench language, through the lens of an adverbial subordinator.

4.1.2.3. Manner Clause

Manner adverbs in languages occur as inner specifiers of small verbs, and their usual role is to introduce agents (Adger & Tsoulas, 2004, p. 45). The ACs can show manners. The following example shows how the AC handled the event.

(18)   [bàrìn kàrèfinnāsē hàarè tènnè]

bàr-ìn	kàrèfin-nā-sē	hàarè	tènnè
he-ACC	interrupt-1S-TEMP	angry	look.PFV.3MS

'He looked at me angrily when I interrupted him.'

Mostly, adjunct distribution has a semantic role; linked to any structures to obtain a well-formed interpretation (Ernst, 2004, p. 103). As in Example 18, the clause is interpreted as a manner adverbial because it provides additional information.

4.1.2.4. Causal Clause

Causative links consist of sentences with a main clause and a subordinate clause (Diessel et al., 2011). Diessel (2001) explains that causal clauses describe the cause of the connected statement. The cause is typically linked to external motivation, whereas the reason is usually associated with internal motivation (Givón, 2001). Consider the following examples:

(19)   [màar sìnà-nā ʔòdìsūnā bòorà kìlàsìkàlìnì mùzìqàasòn]

màar	sìnà-nā	ʔòdsū-nā	bòorà	kìlàskàlìnì	mùzqàa-s-òn
good	become-1S	sound-3MS	reason	classical	music-DEF-ACC

[ʔòdèfàn]

ʔòdè-f-àn
listen-IPFV-1S
'I listen to classical music because it sounds beautiful.'

A reason clause is a subordinate adverbial clause that conveys the rationale for the action of the main sentence (Blake, 1988, p. 139). The reason is *màar màar sìnà-nā ʔòdìsūnā bòorà* 'because it sounds beautiful', and this causes the main clause *kìlàsìkàlìnì mùzìqàasòn* 'I listen to classical music'.

The causal clauses express a cause or reason for the situation explained in the main clause (Cristofaro, 2005; Hetterle, 2015). Payne (1997) claims most languages treat cause and reason similarly. In Yemsa, the reason clause is indicated by *bòorà* 'reason'. As illustrated in Example 19, the cause is often associated with external motivation, but the reason is typically related to inward motivation.

In North Mao (Ahland, 2012), Sheko (Hellenthal, 2010), and Maale (Azeb, 2001), which are related to Yemsa, a reason clause is manifested through relative clauses and affixes. As shown in Example 20, Yemsa also indicates the reason clause by particle.

(20)   [pròjèktìs màlònò wòsàsìtènā bòorà ʔàbèrà ʔòoddètà wòsìtè]
        pròjèktì-s   màlònò   wòsàstè-nā   bòorà   ʔàbèrà   ʔòoddètà   wòstè
        project-DEF   correctly   do-3MS   reason   abera   carefully   work.PFV.3MS
        'Abera worked carefully so that the project would be done correctly.'

The element *bòorà* 'reason' occurs between the AC and the main clause. Consider the following example:

(21)   [zàggìrà màmìsìfnā bòorà keennàsìrò màkònā]
        zàggìrà   màms-f-nā   bòorà   keennàsrò   màkò-nā
        strongly   insist-IPFV-1S   reason   secret.POSS   tell-1P.FUT
        'Since you insist, I will tell you my secret.'

4.1.2.5. Purpose Clause

Schmidtke-Bode (2009) notes that purpose clauses have no time reference concerning the main sentence. The purpose and reason sentences are not the object of the predicate but rather an explanation of its conditions (Verstraete, 2008, p. 757). As in the following example, the purpose clause elaborates on the issues described in the main clause:

(22)   [bàr fòonāk bàr mèefà]
        bàr   fòo-nā-k   bàr   mèe-f-à
        she   live-3FS-PURP   she   eat-IPFV-3FS
        'She eats so that she may live.'

In Example 22, the dependent clause is the purpose clause because the main clause, *bàr mèe-f-à* 'she eats' describes the intention or the goal of the dependent clause.

Many subordinators are formally equivalent to components with different syntactic purposes (Häcker, 1999). The subordinator and the instrumental or dative case marker have relations in Yemsa. The purpose clause is subordinated by -*k*.

Purpose relations connect two SoAs, one of which (the main one) is done to achieve the realization of the other (the dependent one) (Cristofaro, 2005). Consider the following example:

(23)   [bár mìlìjònìnìr sìnànāk zàgìrè wòsìtèfē̃]

bár	mìlìjònìnìr	sìnà-nā-k	zàgrè	wòstè-f-ē̃
he	millionaire	become-3MS-PURP	hard	work-IPFV-3MS

'He works hard so he will become a millionaire.'

The main clause occurred to achieve the AC, as seen in Example 23. The purpose clause encodes a verbal situation, which is conducted to realize another verbal situation (Hetterle, 2015). The purpose clause encodes the verbal situation, as seen in Example 24.

(24)   [ʔàrùbàasìk māa bùàk ʔèebìsìtònāk ʔàkàmànòn]

ʔàrùbàa-s-k	māa	bùàk	ʔèebstò-nā-k	ʔàkàmànòn
class.POSS-DEF-LOC	top	result	graduate-3MS-PURP	very

[zàgìrè fèrèfē̃]

zàgrè	fèrè-f-ē̃
hard	read-IPFV-3MS

'   He reads so hard that he can graduate at the top of his class.'

As in 24, the realization of the purpose clause depends on the main clause's occurrence.

The subtype of the purpose clause encodes the performance of one action to prevent an undesirable event from occurring (Hetterle, 2015). Consider the following example:

(25)

kòtʃò	kòotʃò-nòj-tā	gùmùnì	màamàa-s-ī-kìtò-nòn	fàʃòt
chill	catch-NEG-2S	warm	cloth-DEF-GEN-PL-ACC	put.2S

'Put on your warm clothes at least you should catch a chill.'

As in 25, the main clause occurrence helps to avoid the unpleasant feeling of the circumstance in the purpose clause.

Purpose clauses have considerable structural parallels with causal and result clauses (Thompson et al., 2007; Dixon, 2009; Schmidtke-Bode, 2009). As seen in Example 26, the clause describes the cause of the action:

(26)   [bàr ʔàkàmànòn ʔòpìjà sìnnā bòorà ràkkòk jèrò ʔàanè tʃìmà]

bàr	ʔàkàmànòn	ʔòpjà	sìn-nā	bòorà	ràkkòk	jèrò	ʔàanè	tʃìmà
she	very	weak	become-3FS	reason	hardly	stand	NEG	can

'She was so weak that she could hardly stand.'

This study on Yemsa adverbial clauses contributes to our understanding of the language's syntactic properties and fills a gap in the description of adverbial clauses in the Ometo language group. These data are valuable for Afroasiatic language typology studies and theoretical frameworks, perhaps paving the way for future comparative linguistics research.

5. CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this study was to demonstrate the structure and function of adverbial clauses in Yemsa based on identifying and analyzing morphological markers, adverbial subordinators, and syntactic positions of adverbial clauses. The study sought to fill a significant gap in linguistic literature by analyzing Yemsa's adverbial clause, thus improving our understanding of its grammar. This contribution aims to enhance linguistic typology by facilitating comparisons with other Afroasiatic languages and fostering a more thorough discussion.

This study has provided a detailed description of adverbial clauses in Yemsa, an Omotic language spoken in southwestern Ethiopia. Existing studies on Yemsa's syntax, particularly with regard to adverbial clauses, are limited and in need of further exploration. Therefore, this research has filled this gap by presenting a comprehensive description of the internal structure of Yemsa's adverbial clauses. Currently, in-depth analyses focusing on the structure of Yemsa's adverbial clauses are lacking. This oversight highlights a crucial area for future linguistic research into the syntax of adverbial clauses in Yemsa.

The data were described and analyzed using generic definitions and typological classifications of adverbial constructions from the linguistic literature. The data have been meticulously transcribed, annotated, segmented, translated, and analyzed using the language data gathered from elicitation.

Dependents appear before the head. Subordinate adverbial clauses come before the main clause. The adverbial clauses precede the main predicate. Adverbial clauses express time, place, purpose, manner, and reason. Adverbial clauses use a dependent-person suffix in their verb morphology. The dependent person suffixes are simple, IPFV, and future. Adverbial subordinators and verbal suffixes are dependent clause indicators. Yemsa uses verbal suffixes to denote ACs. Aspect is expressed in the same way that main clauses are. Adverbial and major clauses do not have a perfective marker but have an imperfective marker. The temporal marker connects the main clause and the adverbial clause in time. There are two temporal markers: -nnéen ('TEMP') and -sē ('TEMP') in Yemsa.

The adverbial clause can come with temporal adverbs. There is precedence in the ACs. As a result, the main clause event occurs after the dependent clause event. It is indicated by the temporal adverbs ʔòrfò 'after' and hànkàlò 'after' or by logical reasoning. Temporal subordinators express the temporal relationships of simultaneity or posteriority. The word dīmāa-s-tā 'place' indicates the meaning of place. Adverbials of the location are indicated through relative clauses headed by the noun dīmāa-s-tā 'place,' followed by a definite -s. The locational phrase is rephrased. The adverbial clauses (ACs) can indicate manners. The term bòorà 'reason' refers to the reason clause in Yemsa. The cause is related to external incentives, while the reason pertains to internal motivation. The particle bòorà 'reason' appears between the AC and the main clause. The dependent clause is the purpose clause because the main clause expresses the objective or goal of the dependent clause. The occurrence of the independent clause helps to avoid negative feelings.

The study of Yemsa adverbial clauses has significant implications for developing the general features of Omotic and Afroasiatic languages. It will contribute to preparing grammatical resources and educational materials for Yemsa, facilitate language teaching and learning at various grade levels, and provide data for computational linguistics, applied linguistics, and further comparative studies within the Omotic languages and beyond. In addition, it will provide syntactic data to researchers in the comparative syntactic study of the Omoto languages.

The usage of adverbial clauses in Yemsa may have implications for professional communication within the Yemsa-speaking population, particularly in education and cultural studies. The material in this article is significant for teaching Yemsa to journalists, translators, cultural studies scholars, and various sorts of professional communication. More research is recommended on the typological comparison of adverbial clause indicators among Omotic languages.

Conflict of interest
The authors state that there is no conflict of interest.

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Appendix. List of symbols and abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	**PFV**	Perfective
-	Morpheme boundary	**P**	Plural
[ ]	Phonetic representation	**POSS**	Possessive
AC	Adverbial clause	**PROG**	Progressive
ACC	Accusative	**PURP**	Purposive
ADV	Adverbial	**S**	Singular
DEF	Definite marker	**SoA**	State of Affairs
F	Feminine	**SOV**	Subject-object-verb
FUT	Future	**SVO**	Subject-verb-object
GEN	Genitive	**TEMP**	Temporal
IPFV	Imperfective	**VP**	Verb phrase
LOC	Locative	**VOS**	Verb-object-subject
M	Masculine	**VSO**	Verb-subject-object
NEG	Negative		
OSV	Object-subject-verb		
OVS	Object-verb-subject		

METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SADNESS IN WOLAITA

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Abstract: This study investigates the metaphorical conceptualization of sadness in Wolaita, a language spoken by over 1.6 million people in Ethiopia, from a cognitive-linguistic perspective. Grounded in Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the research explores how the Wolaita people express sadness through linguistic metaphors and compares these with findings from well-studied languages such as English, Amharic, and Agnwa. The study aims to identify linguistic metaphors for sadness in Wolaita, describe their universal and culturally specific bases, and contribute to the debate on the universality versus culture-specificity of emotion conceptualization. Using qualitative methods, including data elicitation, introspection, and analysis of written and spoken texts, the study examines metaphorical expressions of sadness in Wolaita. Data sources include Wolaita-language textbooks, a bilingual dictionary, idioms, audio-visual materials, and native-speaker intuitions. The analysis identifies conceptual mappings between source domains (e.g., pain, fluid, journey) and the target domain of sadness. The findings reveal that sadness in Wolaita is conceptualized through metaphors such as "sadness is pain," "sadness is fluid," "sadness is down," "sadness is enemy," "sadness is burden," "sadness is journey," "sadness is food," and "sadness is gift." These metaphors reflect the Wolaita people's perception of sadness as an undesirable emotion, with cultural peculiarities such as the use of spoiled foods and impure fluids to represent its intensity. The study demonstrates that although sadness is universal at a basic level, its complex conceptualizations exhibit cultural specificity. This research contributes to cognitive linguistics and emotion studies by providing empirical evidence from an understudied language. It highlights the interconnection between universal human experiences and culturally shaped metaphors, enriching our understanding of the universality versus culture-specificity debate and underscoring the importance of linguistic diversity in emotion research.

1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the metaphor of sadness in the Wolaita language. The name Wolaita is the self-name of the people and their native language. A study by Dalke (2012) showed that Wolayta and Wolaittattuwa denote the name of the language, and Elias (2017) and Wakassa (2008) extend the use of *Wolaita qala* 'words of Wolaita' as the alternative name of the language.

Wolaita is one of the dominant languages spoken in Ethiopia. According to the 2007 Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia, the native speakers of the Wolaita language reached 1,627,955 in the country, the Wolaita language is a medium of education (Wakassa, 2014, p. 31), as well as the language of broadcast media. The immediate neighbouring languages of Wolaita are the Omotic languages, namely Dawuro in the west and Gamo in the south whereas Timbaro, Kambata, and Sidama are the Cushitic languages which share borders with Wolaita in the north and east respectively (Amha, 2009, p. 1088).

According to a linguistic classification by Fleming (1976), the Wolaita language belongs to the Omotic language family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Together with its sister languages, namely Korote, Male, Dawuro, Dache, Gamo, Dorze, and Oyda, the Wolaita language was grouped into the North Ometo cluster of the Omotic language family (Fleming, l969, p. 3). These languages hold equal status within the Ometo sub-group. Wolaita is mutually intelligible with these languages; it exhibits no internal dialectal variations on its own.

Wolaita is one of the widely studied Ethiopian languages. However, the previous works emphasized lexicogrammatical and phonological features, namely phonology, morphology, and syntax (e.g., Adams, 1983; Amha, 1996, 2002, 2006; Dalke, 2012; Elias, 2017; Hayward & Richard, 2000; Marcello & Sottile, 1997; Wakasa, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008) were few previous works to mention. As can be observed from the complete list of bibliographies given in Wakasa (2008, p. 22-25) none of the previous works addressed the research problems of metaphor, especially sadness in the language.

Metaphor is a figurative language usage in which the conceptual mapping of events and objects describes abstract concepts such as emotions (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kovecses, 1995). The world of concepts is not accessible to direct study, but language assists our understanding of conceptual meaning (Wierzbicka, 1995, p. 19). This premise evokes that the study of emotional concepts becomes possible because emotional behaviour is innate as it is a reaction of the whole organism to an internal or external event (Dissanayake et al., 2020, p. 44). The languages that humans speak allow people to 'engage in talk about the emotions' (Bamberg, 1997, p. 309) and become sources of data.

A large body of empirical research findings suggests that the focus of previous studies on emotion was on its universal nature. Eid and Diener (2001) challenged the ignorance of variation because universality played insufficient roles in the full understanding of the experience and ex-

pression of emotions. The study of emotions from the viewpoints of universal and culture-specific patterns (Dissanayake et al., 2020, p. 44; Kovecses, 2015, p. 93) takes the balanced initiative. The emotional metaphors represented in the vocabularies of all languages do not imply the same ways of conceptualization (Alsadi, 2017; Galati et al., 2005; Retova, 2008). The languages of the world are independent of one another, so the metaphor in a language is certainly the metaphor of that language because its understanding is 'folk' (Wierzbicka, 1986).

Cross-cultural emotion research intends to explore idiosyncratic aspects of emotion conceptualization (Wierzbicka, 1995, p. 18). However, previous research works have not yet explored a satisfying collection of findings that resolve the controversy about the metaphors of emotions that are commonly recognized in all cultures (Alonso-Arbiol et al., 2006, p. 837). The present research aims to investigate the conceptual metaphors for sadness in Wolaita from a cognitive-linguistic perspective and compare them with previous research findings on well-studied languages, which predominantly focus on English and other languages such as Amharic, Agnwa, and others. The concept of sadness is defined as a feeling of unhappiness or not being in a good mood (Sagista et al., 2023, p. 240). In the context of Wolaita, sadness encompasses despair, melancholy, distress, and grief.

It is of interest in the present research to establish how the Wolaita people conceptualize sadness in their linguistic and cultural contexts. Its specific objectives are: (a) to identify linguistic metaphors used to express metaphors of sadness in Wolaita; (b) to describe the experiential and cultural bases of conceptualizing sadness in Wolaita.

This research will contribute to filling the knowledge gap on the controversies over the cognitive-linguistic analysis of emotion concepts as universal and culture-specific by providing data from Wolaita. Its particular significance will be a rich source of information for the researchers who aim to investigate sadness from a conceptual metaphor theoretical framework (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Conceptual metaphor is a theory that works at the level of general mapping from typically concrete source domains onto abstract concepts as the target domains. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) claimed that conceptual metaphor is an understanding and expression of one kind of thing (e.g., SADNESS) in terms of another (e.g., DOWN) as in SADNESS IS DOWN. The major claim of the theory that has drawn the attention of scholars is that metaphor structures much of the nonphysical reality in which we think and act. Lakoff and his colleagues asserted metaphor as an essential element in categorizing the world and our thinking process (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987).

There are two layers of metaphor. The first one is metaphorical expression which manifests conceptual metaphor. The other is a conceptual metaphor, which brings two domains or concepts into correspondence. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claimed that the source domain (concrete) entity is a borrowed concept to explain the context of a sentence or word. On the other hand, the target domain (intangible experience) is the content context that would like to be reached by the source domain (Sagista et al., 2023, p. 241) and further on. Metaphor is considered a very crucial aspect of such human cognition and communication because metaphorical expression links mind and language and even more. For example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) viewed that metaphor functions to mirror conceptual systems.

Similarly, Khajeh and Abdullah (2012) elaborated that conceptual metaphors are bestowed in language, and at the same time language serves as a basic indicator of these conceptualizations. Liu (2002) as cited in Khajeh and Abdullah (2012) also posits that metaphor is universal in all languages and cultures, which means that its use is not "culture-exclusive" rather its choice to carry the realities seems to be "culture-specific", or folk. Lakoff and his colleagues argued that the figurative usage of language is crucial in expressing the daily realities of people irrespective of language speakers' lack of conscious awareness of these systems. As a result, Khajeh & Abdullah (2012) evoked that careful study of metaphorical linguistic expressions can reveal the phenomena of people's shared ideas, beliefs, and dispositions within a specific culture.

It has been claimed that the conceptualization of emotion in many languages of the world is universal due to the similarity of human nature, the physiological and behavioural responses of the body in reaction to emotions, which in turn leads to similar experiences of abstract concepts, i.e. emotion (Kovecses, 2000, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Nevertheless, empirical results on sadness only partially aligned with this assertion. The results of comparative studies among English and other languages such as Minangkabau (Yanti, 2016), Chinese (Liu & Zhao, 2013), and Persian (Moradi & Mashak, 2013) showed that most conceptual metaphors of sadness are not universal. For instance, SADNESS IS COLOUR is understood as 'Blue' in English and 'Black' in Persian (Imran et al., 2021, p. 86).

3. METHODS AND MATERIAL

The present study investigates conceptual metaphors of sadness in Wolaita and employs the Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), according to which much of our ordinary language is figurative and fairly systematic (Soriano, 2015, p. 206). CMT relies on linguistic metaphors to make generalizations about conceptual metaphors and accessible data sources (Ansah, 2010; Knowles & Moon, 2006, p. 7; Moser, 2000; The Pragglejaz Group, 2007). The study adapts a general CMT framework to address the verbal justification of systematicity in the metaphorical uses of everyday discourse about sadness in Wolaita.

This paper employed qualitative research methods to analyze the metaphors obtained through recording, elicitation, introspection, and the written and spoken texts in Wolaita. The elicitation was conducted with the participants of group discussions who reflected on the audio-visual materials that the researchers provided them with as the stimulus to generate as many metaphors as possible. Introspection was also utilized here since the principal investigator is a native speaker of the Wolaita language. These methods were adopted because no electronic corpora are available for the Wolaita language.

3.1. Tools of data collection

In the present study, the researchers read and listened to text materials and employed elicitation and introspection to extract textual data from the data sources. In addition to the native speakers of the Wolaita language, the data for written texts comes from reading the Wolaita language students' textbooks for junior and senior level grades. The reason is that academic texts are thought to involve a rich collection of metaphors (Schmitt, 2005, p. 370; Wojciechowska & Juszczyk, 2014, p. 6). Another source is the online Wolaita-English bilingual dictionary, retrieved as a mobile app from the Google Play Store. The Wolaita language idioms book was used as a source of data.

Moreover, the researcher utilized the recorded audio and song lyrics, as well as video of television programs, which are naturally occurring data sources and were full of emotional expressions (Nugraheny & Yuwita, 2023, p. 258).

3.2. Data collection

The collection of linguistic expressions as the data for the study adopted Kovecses's (2008) bottom-up approach to metaphor extraction and the Pragglejaz Group's (2007) metaphor identification procedure. Through manual extraction, more technically termed 'searching' (Stefanowitsch, 2007), the principal researcher and his assistants were able to separate metaphorically used words, phrases, and sentences conceptualizing sadness in Wolaita. To identify linguistic metaphors in the text materials, the researchers analyzed lexical units within their surrounding context. They marked these units as metaphors when the preceding and following context indicated an indirect or figurative usage.

In determining the basic and contextual meanings of the lexical units, the research team looked up the meanings of some lexical units in the online Wolaita-English Dictionary, and sometimes the principal researcher resorted to native speaker intuitions, as he is a native Wolaita speaker, before making any decision. The researchers employed inter-coder agreement reliability to resolve disagreement in defining the lexical unit as a metaphor (Steen et al., 2010). Because the inter-coder agreement rate of 75% is the minimum requirement to determine a lexical unit as a metaphor (Cameron, 2003), each of the three inter-coders' decisions in the present study was allocated 25%, or 0.25, to hit the target, where 3 multiplied by 0.25 is equal to 0.75.

 After the identification of linguistic metaphors, Steen's (1999) five-step procedure (MIPVU) was employed to assist in the identification of conceptual metaphors and establishing metaphorical inferences gained from linguistic expressions: (1) Identifying metaphorical focus; (2) Identifying metaphorical idea; (3) Identifying metaphorical comparison; (4) Identifying metaphorical analogy; (5) Identifying metaphorical mapping.

To infer conceptual metaphors, the researchers closely examined conceptual mappings that included either explicit words for sadness or references to it. This scrutiny was aimed at understanding the underlying conceptual metaphors. Using the linguistic expression "gen-anʧa kofa" ('a bullying idea') as an example, the metaphorical nature of each lexical unit was determined by conceptually transferring the knowledge structure of "gen-anʧa kofa" ('a bully') to understand sadness as an enemy in the Wolaita language.

3.3. Analysis of conceptual mappings

This study, as a piece of qualitative metaphor research, aimed to describe the conceptualization of sadness by examining the conceptual mappings between their source and target domains. The verbal interpretations of specific metaphors, accompanied by literal glosses and their English equivalent translations, were conducted sequentially across the conceptual mappings. Finally, the implications of the results were discussed in light of previous cross-cultural emotion research findings.

4. RESULTS OF THE STUDY

4.1. Sadness is pain

The metaphors of sadness map a disease of the body or mind (Irma et al., 2021, p. 89), which is a cause of suffering from the pain of injury or wound to conceptualize psychological suffering.

1   bari   hajk'k'-ida   naʔa   miʃ-uwa   mule   agg-ukku.
    her   died-that   son   pain-ABS   never   forget-3sg.f.IMPFV
    Lit. 'She never got over grief of her son's death.' 'She has grieved.'

In example (1), the metaphorically used word that describes the bad feelings of sadness is *miʃ-uwa* 'hot' or 'fever' in Wolaita. It implies that a saddened person is hot in the same way as the degrees of the heat of the entity that lies between *doʃo* 'warm' and *séela* 'burn.' Its metaphorical equivalence shows the emotional states that cause damage during its control. Its usage in the context of *hajk'k'-ida naʔa miʃ-uwa* 'the pain for the dead son', (in 1), describes the remembrance of loss by death but not the actual moment of grief.

2   a.   kuttia   haik'-í-n   I   tam-a-n   geli   kij-íis.
         hen   dead-REL-for   he   fire-OBL-in   enter   be remove-3sg.m.PFV
    Lit. 'He entered into the fire with sadness for his hen dead.' 'He sorrowed seriously.'
    b.   tá-ssi   ta   mar-atu   séel-ai   wopp-ibéenna   g-áasu.
         me –for   my   chicken-3pl.ABS pain-3sg.m.NOM   calm-3sg.m.NEG   say-3sg.f.PFV
    Lit. 'I still feel pain about my dead chickens.' 'I could not stop grieving'

These metaphors describe the pain of sadness as the pain caused by the burn of fire to the human body. The metaphor *tam-a-n geli kij-íis* 'He entered into fire' (in 2a) describes someone who was sad and could not control his sadness. Another metaphor *séel-ai wopp-ibéenna* 'My pain has not been calm' (in 2b) describes someone as extremely sad despite the attempts made to control it.

3   a   ta   háasaj-á-n   masunt't'-áasu.
      she   my   speech-ABS.3sg.m-in   be wound-3sg.f.PFV
    Lit. 'She was injured with my speech.' 'She became sad because of my speech.'

The bodily impact of illness caused by injury to the body is mapped to describe sadness. So, *háasaj-á* 'speech' (in 3) is taken as something that causes the accident of *masuntt -* 'injury' and conceptualizes someone's serious psychological distress. This metaphor illustrates how the negative emotional experience of sadness can impair rationality, much like an illness poses a threat to the body.

4   a   dabúbé   ne   aʃ-uwa-n   háattáa   tig-o
         place name.ACC   your   flesh-ABS-on   water   pour-3sg.m.OPT
    Lit. 'Let water be poured on your pain.' 'Wish you a quick recovery from the grief.'

b	tana	mo;	ta	aʃ-uwa	mo
	me.ACC	burn.OPT	my	flesh.ABS	burn.OPT

Lit. 'Let it burn me and my flesh.' 'Grieving hurt me.'

These metaphors imply that the saddened person is already a victim of the heat of sadness and its effects are painful to oneself and others. The metaphor *ne aʃ-uwa-n háattáa tig-o* 'Let the water be poured into your pain' (in 4a) assumes the intensity of grief is a heat that hurts the mourners so that the observers wish them a quick recovery from it. Another metaphor *tana mo* 'Let it give me pain' or *ta aʃ-uwa mo* 'Let it give me pain to my flesh' (in 4b) assumes that the mourners are in the heat that gives them and the observers a pain.

The examples provided illustrate scenarios where people express wishes for a swift recovery from sadness, similar to how they wish for a quick recovery from injuries or other physical ailments. Additionally, the effects of sadness as pain are likened to experiencing unpleasant sensations akin to physiological pain, though not caused by heat.

5 a.
a-ssí	naʔa	hajk-uwa	sij-í-n	wozzan-ai	meʔ-íis.
his-to	son	death-ABS	hear-SUBOR-for	heart-3sg.m.NOM	be break-3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'His heart was broken with sadness for hearing the loss of his son.'
'He lacked control of his grief.'

b.
íita	háasaj-ai	asá-ssi	giddo	asa-tettaa
bad	speech-3sg.m.NOM	person-for	internal	body-NMNL.3sg.m
tolku	óott-idi			mentt-ées.
piece	do-CONV			break-3sg.m.IMPFV.

Lit. 'Bad news breaks the internal body.' 'It causes the loss of control sadness.'

c.
ʧˤaʃʃ-ai	sot-uwa-n	seéll-ées.
insult-3sg.m.NOM	diaphragm-ABS-in	burns-3sg.m.IMPFV

Lit. 'Insult gives pain to the diaphragm.' 'I become out of control with sadness.'

In (5), the metaphors equated the unpleasantness of sadness to the feelings of sickness around the internal organs. While *wozan-ai meʔ-íis* 'heartbroken'(in 5a) describes someone's low-spirited feelings with the loss of sadness control, *giddo asa-tetta* 'the internal body parts' (in 5b), and *sot-uwa* 'the diaphragm' (in 5c), show the loss of controlling sadness, which gives bad feelings around these organs. The reason is that someone's loss of controlling extreme feelings of sadness is his or her loss of controlling the bodily sufferings caused by the damage to these internal organs.

4.2. Sadness is a Fluid

In Wolaita, the causes and effects of sadness are metaphorically compared to a fluid that has its mass and depth and is unclean, like rainwater. This metaphor takes into account both the contained and moving fluid.

6 a. ta   ajfia-n   afutt-ai   ʧʼagg-enna.
       my   eye-3sg.m.-in   tear-3sg.m.NOM   be rain-NEG-3sg.m.IMPFV

   Lit. 'The rain of tears is nonstop.' 'I could not stop weeping with the grief.'

   b. afutta   sóos-íis.
       tears   fall heavy rain-3sg.m.PFV

   Lit. 'He wept a storm of tears.' 'He mourned hopelessly.'

   c. mult'tʼá   t'óoh-íis.
       snowy   storm-3sg.m.PFV

   Lit. 'He dropped the tears of snow.' 'He could not control his sorrow.'

   d. ojiddusáa-ra   t'igg-íis.
       four sides-from   torrential-3sg.m.PFV

   Lit. 'He wept the tears of torrential rain.' 'His sorrow was out of control.'

These metaphors describe the expression of sadness through weeping similar to raining in Wolaita. The intensities of sadness are the intensities of the rain that ranged from less powerful up to the most frightening situations of torrential rains. Thus, *afutta* 'weeping' in sorrow or grief equates to the rain that *ʧʼagg-enna* 'falls continuously' (in 6a), *sóos-íis* 'is stormed' (in 6b), leads to the situation when *mult'tʼa t'óoh-íis* 'He dropped the tears of snow' (in 6c), and *ojiddusáa-ra t'igg-íis* 'is torrential' (in 6d). The intensity and amount of the fluid that moves correspond to the release of tears with the loss of control over sadness. Besides, unexpected sadness causing someone to weep is the rain that falls unexpectedly in Wolaita.

7 afutta   hotot-u   óott-áasu.
   tear   to drop-ABS   does-3sg.f.PFV

   Lit. 'She dropped sudden tears of rain.' 'She became sad and lacked control of it.'

Often, dropping tears in this way reflects the level of shock wherein someone's sadness has become out of control with sadness or worry. In Wolaita, the expression *hotot-u* 'it rained suddenly' shows not the situation of actual rain but rather describes the situation where someone drops tears unexpectedly or in massive amounts. The reason is that sadness caused the shock and tears of sadness as the real-world phenomena of rain produced the mass of running water.

8 afutta   tek'kʼ-ana-wu   dandaj-abéekku
   tear   to protect-OBL-3sg.m-to   is able-3sg.f.NEG.PFV

   Lit. 'She couldn't stop the flooding of her tears.' 'She lost the control of her sorrow.'

This metaphor maps both the contents and intensity of fluid, which jointly implies the severity of grief that hurts a person. The use of *afuutta 'the tear'* gained the conceptual equivalence to the concept of flooding because *tek'kʼ-ana-wu danddaj-abéekku* 'She couldn't stop the flooding of her tears'(in 8) conceptualizes someone's hopeless cries with a loss of controlling sadness.

9   a.   asa   dúussá   balbuk'k'-ées
           person   life   impure -3sg.m.IMPFV
    Lit. 'It makes personal social life impure.' 'It makes the people feel sad.'
     b.   asa   dúuss-ai   bulk'ot-ana   dandaj-ées.
           person   life-3sg.m.NOM   be muddy-FUT   possible-3sg.m.IMPFV
    Lit. 'Social life will possibly be impure.' 'Saddening things may happen in relations.'

These metaphors mapped the features of an impure liquid that becomes unsuitable for personal use to describe the causes and effects of sadness. Such misbehaviours cause *dúussá* 'interpersonal life' *balbuk'-ées* 'it forms wave' (in 9a), and makes the relationship *bulk'k'otana danaddaj-ées* 'it mud' (in 9b). This metaphor equates personal abuse, which poses a threat to interpersonal relationships, to an external force that contaminates the liquid.

10   met-uwa-n   múuhett-i-nne   atti   agg-óosona.
     difficulty-ABS-in   sink SUBOR.3sg.m-and   left   stay-3pl.IMPFV
    Lit. 'They sink in difficulty.' 'They are failing to fulfill their needs.

In Wolaita, the metaphors that describe the experiences of sadness in terms of fluid also map its content with depth to imply extreme emotional states. The depth of fluid is metaphorically significant because extreme sadness is the person's sinking into it, as in *múuhett-* 'to sink' as mapped in *met-uwa* 'difficulty' (in 10) describes someone's expression of sympathy.

4.3. Sadness is Down

This metaphor maps emotionally dejected bodily behaviours such as slouching, drooped shoulders, and turning down corners of the mouth to show their direct relation to the loss of controlling one's sadness. The intensity of sadness acts as a force that weighs heavily on a person's physical being and the emotional state of their rational mind, making them feel closer to or beneath the ground.

11   deʔo   gufant-ia   imatta   moh-oi   íita.
     life   upside-down-NOM   guest   invitation   be bad.OPT
    Lit. 'Wasting money downed the economy.' 'Extravagancy threatened life.'

The metaphorical use of *imatta moh-o*i ('inviting guest') as a symbol of extravagance is conceptualized as *deʔo gufant-ia* ('making the economy upside down'), which puts people in danger of hunger. This metaphor reflects the economic failure caused by wasteful spending, which in turn leads to sadness as a force that crushes people's spirits. It serves as an expression of both criticism and sympathy for someone's inability to lead a healthy and sustainable life.

12	a.	m-io-bi	t'aj-í-n	namis-a-n	kund-íis.
		to eat-3sg.m.NOM-what	disappear-SUBOR-for	hunger-ABS-in	fall-3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'He fell in hunger and lacked what to eat.' 'I was economically poor.'

	b.	met-oi	duge	náak'k'i	oik'k'-íis.
		difficulty-3sg.m.NOM	down	to push	catch-3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'I was pressed down by the difficulty.' 'I have a low economy.'

In Wolaita, the expression *duge* 'downward' implies something situated nearer to or under the ground physically, and its meaning relates to something that is about *kund-* 'to fall' or *náak'k'i oik'-* 'to press down'. Its metaphorical extension describes an expression of sadness because of *namisa* 'hunger' (in 12a) and *met-oi* 'difficulty' (12b). This describes the bad life situations of economically disadvantaged people who are assumed to face the accident of *kund* ('to fall') which implies their physical and emotional failures.

13	a.	a	gúuttio	gamʔaj-ida	á a ɗa - w o ɗ- a -nne…
		she	a while	stay away-that	turn upside-down-OBL-and

Lit. 'After a while, she overturns...' 'She holds unpredictable emotional feeling.'

	b.	naʃʃ-io-g-aa-ppe	tóotʃ-io-g-ée	dar-idi	béett-ées.
		repute-REL-NMNLZ-ABS-from	shame-REL-NMNLZ-ABS	exceed-CONV	see -3sg.m.IMP-FV

Lit. 'Humiliation is greater than respect.' 'Someone has shown disrespect.'

These metaphors describe the interpersonal relationship problem that caused a decrease in the intimacy with friends, family members, and colleagues are a downward orientation. In (13a), for example, *aaɗa woɗ-a-nne* 'and she overturns' describes an expression of sadness towards the bad temper of one's friend as a complaint whereas *naʃʃ-io-g-aa-ppe* 'instead of being respectful' they prefer *tóotʃ-io-g-ée* 'to humiliate' (in 13b) describes the situation of sadness that the observers can express towards the people's lack of respect each other. That is, this metaphor describes the high degree of disrespect against each other as the saddened people ignore their friendship relationships, which as a result gets lowered.

4.4. Sadness is Enemy

This metaphor portrays that sadness is a powerful struggle and a person who attempts to control sadness defends himself or herself by defeating sadness as the enemy.

14	a.	eti	issi	mala	gid-enna	téela	ojk'-idosona.
		they	one	kind	be-3sg.m.NEG	attitude	hold-3pl.PFV

Lit. 'They held dissimilar views.' 'They became enemies.'

	b.	éen-enna-nne	ak-ett-enna	t'éela
		be fine-NEG.3sg.m-and	accept-PASS-NEG	attitude

Lit. 'It is a rebellious attitude.' 'Someone held the hatred attitude.'

The metaphor *oik'-idosona* 'they held' (in 14a) describes sadness for the dispute that caused them to hold *issi mala gid-enna t'éela* 'dissimilar way of seeing' and to become enemies. Similarly, *éen-enna* 'rebellious' (in 14b) also describes a bad attitude or *t'éela* 'the way of seeing' towards the enemy who held divergent attitudes towards each other. In this regard, the rational self and sadness are the enemies.

15 a. asa   máat-ai   jeret-io   wode…
        human   right-3sg.m.NOM   walk over-ABS   when

Lit. 'Human rights are walked over.' 'The gender equality is tortured.'

    b. móor-o   k'of-ati   ná-atu
        wrong-ABS   thought-3pl.NOM   child-3pl.m.GEN

        máata   jeḓ-ia   t'éel-atu-n   mood-ett-óosona
        right   step over-ABS   perception-3pl-in   category-3pl.PFV

Lit. 'Wrong sayings step over the children's right.' 'Children are deprived of their rights.'

In (15), the person's misbehaviour is the enemy because it arouses sadness, which is often the winner of the struggle and threatens the person. Therefore, *jerett-* 'to step over' as in *asa máat-ai* 'human right' (in 15a) and *t'éela* 'way of seeing' (in 15b) describes the person's loss of controlling sadness towards the attitudes and practices that violate human rights.

16 gen-anʧa   kofa.
    ill behaving-NMNLZ   idea

Lit. 'It is a bullying idea.' 'That is saddening misbehaviour.'

The metaphorical use of *gen-anʧa* 'hurtful' maps *qofa* 'idea' to conceptualize sadness towards misbehavior that hinders interpersonal relationships as the enemy.

17 a. ná-ati   ʃátetan-ada-n   óott-ia   hantáa-ra
        child-3pl.NOM   no intimacy- CONV-to does-ABS   dangerous-with
        gúuss-ati-kka   deʔ-óosona.
        saying-3pl-too   exist-3pl.PFV

Lit. 'Dangerous sayings isolate children.' 'The children develop inferiority.'

    b. báattis-óo-ra   palamett-ido-bai   húup´ia-n   sim-erett-idi
        [person name]-OBL-with   argue-that-thing   mind-in   come-3sg.m.REFL.CONV
        ʃemp-uwa   digg-iís
        rest-3sg.m.ABS   refuse.3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'Mr. Batiso's abuse urged me.' 'Mr. Batiso saddened me.'

The literal usages of *hantáara* 'life-threatening' and *ʃemp-uwa digg-ís* 'was urged' correspond one's enmity with the unacceptable behaviors of persons, things, or animals that are dangerous. Thus, *hantáa-ra gúussa* 'dangerous speech' (in 17a) and *palamett-ido* 'for the argument' (in 17b) described the loss of control over sadness because sadness was powerful to control.

18 a. óos-uwa   lag-ia   as-ai   hijéesa-tetta-n   ʧ'add-ettées.
        work-ABS   hate-ABS   person-NOM   hunger-NMLZ-by   hit-3sg.m.IMPFV

Lit. 'Lazy persons hit by hunger.' 'They are vulnerable to the hunger.'

   b. hakko   I   óos-uwa   birʃ-idi   góolatt-idi   júuj-ées.
       sadly   he   work-ABS   be lazy-CONV   be swing-   walk-
                                                                   CONV   3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'He swings everywhere for no affair.' 'I feel sad that he is a lazy person.'

   c. banta   wolk'-aá-ppe daro   dúussa   dáan-awu   pork'att-óosona.
       their   energy-   beyond   life   lead.ABS   torture-
                   OBL-from   3pl.IMPFV

Lit. 'They struggle to improve their life.' 'They are poor people.'

These metaphors align the real-life conflict between individuals with the struggle between life's challenges and the principles of positive psychology. The metaphor *hijées-atetta* 'backwardness' (in 18a) is the enemy by which the economically poor person *ʧ'add-ettées* 'is hit' and becomes sad because of the lack of success.

In addition, the term *góolatt-idi,* meaning "is swung," illustrates the misbehaviour of individuals whose lack of privilege leads to sadness for both themselves and those who observe them. The root of this sadness lies in the life circumstances that leave the idle person feeling adrift. Similarly, *banta wolk'k'-a-ppe* ('beyond their energy') in (18c) expresses sadness towards those who *pork'att-óosona* ('are being tortured') by life's challenges.

4.5. Sadness is Journey

The metaphors of the journey describe the existence and intensity of sadness in Wolaita. It mainly equates the obstacle aspects that impede the success of a journey to provide its negative evaluation.

19 a. hage   halaʧ-oi   bana   kess-ées
        this   [person name]-NOM   him   succeed-3sg.m.IMPFV
        g-íidi   ojk'-ido   og-ia.
        say-CONV   begin-that   journey-3sg.m.NOM

Lit. 'Mr. Halacho thought to travel this way.' 'It is sad that he was misled.'

   b. ha   joh-uwa   og-ia   ane   ojtt-óos
       this   affair-3sg.m.NOM   road-3sg.m.ABS   let   begin-3pl.IMPFV

Lit. 'Let this dispute begin its journey.' 'Let's reconcile the disputers.'

These metaphors showed the observers' reaction towards something that they realized was wrong and that saddened them. The metaphorical use of *ogia* 'the road' (in 19a) implies someone's observation regarding the wrong strategies that were followed in the arguments which are thought to be *kess-ées* 'the route that takes to the destination.' Another expression *og-ia ojtt-óos* 'let its journey begin' (in 19b) describes sadness towards the affairs that were in a mess and become a cause of sadness. The conceptual equivalence of these metaphors lies in the notion that a person's failure in an argument is akin to embarking on a journey in the wrong direction.

20 a.   t'éell-enna-ba-n   wot't'-ada   gel-oppa.
         concern-thing-that-in   run-CONV   take part-3sg.m.NEG.IMPFV

    Lit. 'Do not run to argue for nothing.' 'It gives me sadness.'

    b.   od-ada   b-íiʃ-n   og-ia-n   dogett-i-n   azzan-áas
         talk-CONV   go-when-in   road-3sg.m.-in   forget-ABS.for   sad-3sg.m.PFV

    Lit. 'I forgot my talk on the road and felt sad.' 'I was sad about the failure.'

An offending person is a traveller whose misbehaviour is the obstacle that the actual traveller encounters. The metaphor *wot'*- 'to run' (in 20a) describes the intentional offensive behaviour that shows someone's lack of respect for the personal interest of other people. The cause of sadness is that someone attempts to be involved in affairs that do not concern him or her. Similarly, the expression *bíiʃ-* 'while travelling' (in 20b) describes someone's sadness about the failure while delivering a speech because the idea *dog-ettíis* 'was forgotten' and became an obstacle.

21 a.   gatt-enna-ba-n   gel-oppa.
         range-thing-3sg.m.NEG-in   take part-3sg.m.NEG.IMPFV

    Lit. 'Stay out from issues not in your range.' 'Your interference saddens me.'

    b.   tʃ'ima   asa   k'anggett-ai   gakk-ées.
         elderly   person   curse-3sg.m.NOM   reach-3sg.m.IMPFV

    Lit. 'The adult's curse reaches you.' 'Do not make adult persons sad the.'

These metaphors describe an expression of sadness towards someone's offensive behaviour that spoils the pleasure of the victim traveller. In Wolaita, the offenders are travellers whose unnecessary involvement in someone else's *gatt-enna-ba* 'affairs' (in 21a) is a cause for sadness for the victim person. The metaphor *k'angg-ettai gakk-ées* 'the curse travels to reach' (in 21b) conceptualizes the act of cursing to condemn misconduct as a journey that is not enjoyable for the traveler.

22 a.   I   aji   wode-kka gosa-n   ek'k'i   er-enna.
         he   any   time-too   where-at   stand   be able-NEG.3sg.m.IMPFV

    Lit. 'He keeps not standing at what he says.' 'He does not keep promises.'

    b.   ha-gée   tanáa-ra bia   óos-o   gid-enna.
         this-ABS   me with   go   work-ABS   be-NEG-3sg.m.PFV

    Lit. 'This work does not go with me.' 'My job gives me sadness.'

The metaphorical use of *gosa-n* 'at the place' (in 22a) personifies sadness for promising something that a person *ek'k'i er-enna* 'never stops' or does not keep the promise. The expression *tanáa-ra bia* 'that accompany me' (in 22b) shows the speaker is sad towards óoso 'profession' that satisfied him or her no more.

23   dabb-o-tettaa-ssi   t'ub-eti   deʔ-ana   dandaj-óosona.
     friend-ABS-NMNL-in   obstacle-3pl.NOM   exist-FUT   be able-3pl.IMPFV

     Lit. 'Obstacles may occur in the journey of friendship.' 'Friends can quarrel.'

This metaphor implies that the disagreement that occurs between friends is the obstacle to the journey of their friendship. That is, *dabb-o-tettáa* 'friendship' as a route of the journey in the friendship can be hindered by misbehavior which is *t'ube* 'the obstacle' that saddens the friend.

24   a.   azzan-ida-g-awu   b-io-ssi   it'ior-í-n
          sad- that-NMNLZ-3sg.m.ABS   where-ABS-to   refuse-SUBOR-3sg.f-to
     Lit. 'With sadness, he wandered.' 'He lost control of his sadness.'

     b.   ná-ati   lut'etta-n   sint-awu   b-énna
          child-3pl.NOM   education-in   forward-ABS   go-NEG.3sg.m.IMPFV
     Lit. 'The children do not travel in their education.' 'They lacked success in it.'

     c.   eʧaivia metoi   ná-atu-ppe   ʧ'ima   gakk-ana-wu   b-ées.
          HIV   problem   child-3pl-from   elderly   reach-3sg.m.FUT-ABS   go-3sg.m.IMPFV
     Lit. 'HIV victimizes children up to the adults.' 'It is a deadly disease.'

These metaphors describe the situations of wandering to escape from dreadful emotional feelings as obstacles. The metaphor *bio-ssi it't'ior-í-n* 'When she does not know where to go' (in 24a) describes the emotional wandering of someone *azan-ida-g-au* who feels sad and attempts to escape from the expected danger. The academic failure of students is described as a journey that *náati sintt-awu b-éenna mala óott-ées* 'makes the children not travel further in their education' (in 24b). The metaphor *eʧaivia metoi* 'the problems of HIV' that spreads *náatu-ppe ʧ'ima* 'from children to adults' is assumed to *gakanau b-ées* 'travel to arrive'.

25   azzan-ia-g-a-ssi   ellell-idi   ane   gakk-óos.
     sad-ABS-NMNLZ-3sg.m-for   be fast-CONV   let   reach- 3pl.IMPFV
     Lit. 'Let's arrive quickly for sad persons.' 'Provide them with support.'

In (25), the metaphorical use of *gak-óos* 'let us travel to arrive' describes finding a means to support *azzan-ia-g-a-ssi* 'the saddened person' to gain calmness in the same way as helping the injured or exhausted traveller.

4.6. Sadness is Food

In Wolaita, the conceptual mappings with bad taste, smell, texture, and others conceptualize the unpleasantness of sadness.

26   woni   malʔ-ia   t'al-ia-n   búut'i   gel-íje
     ever   tasty-ABS   medicine-3sg.m.NOM-in   straw   enter-3sg.m. IMPV
     Lit. 'Put unclean straw in a sourer medicine.' 'Cause a sadness to intensify.'

The concept *of t'al-ia* 'medicine' implies the attributes of traditional medicinal foods and drinks that are prepared from the leaves, stems, or roots of plants and often taste sourer. Its metaphorical extension in woni *malʔ-ia* 'never taste sweet!' describes the sadness that occurred between people, and *búut'i gel-íje!* 'Enters a straw' describes its expected escalation.

27	jel-enna	ná-ata	ditʃia	áaj-eti
	give birth-NEG	chil-3pl.ACC	take care	mother-3pl.f.NOM
	daroto	ná-atu –ssi	azzan-okkona	k'aj-óosona
	many time	child-3pl-for	sad.3pl.NEG.IMPFV	be uncook-3pl.IMPFV

Lit. 'Stepmothers become raw for stepchildren.' 'They abuse the children.'

The metaphorical use of *k'aj-óosona* 'they become raw' in (27) describes the misbehaviors of stepmothers who become bad to their stepchildren. Therefore, the situation that is not suitable for the stepchildren equates to the person's attempt to consume food that is not well cooked or the immature fruit. It is also interesting to note from the following examples that low amounts of food that the person consumes are mapped to describe sadness in Wolaita.

28	a.	hegée	kal-iss-enna			k'ofá.
		that	be satisfy-CAUS.NEG.3sg.m.PFV			Idea

Lit. 'That idea is not satisfying.' 'It gives me sadness.'

	b.	I	háasaja	I		kall-enna.
		her.GEN	speech	he.MOM		be satisfy-NEG.3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'Her speech dissatisfies him.' 'He is unhappy with her speech.'

	c.	he	k'ofa-ssi	kal-iss-ia	záar-uwa	imm-ibéenna.
		that	idea-for	satisfy-CAUS.3sg.m	response-ABS	give-NEG.3sg.m.PFV

Lit. 'He provided not a satisfying response.' 'I feel sad for his weak counter-argument.'

In Wolaita, the literal use of the expression *kal-* 'to satisfy' shows the feelings of satisfaction after eating foods, though the negative suffix *–enna* 'is not' portrays the lack of such feelings. Its metaphorical usage reflects the person's lack of satisfaction with someone's behaviours or actions, as in *k'ofa* 'idea' (in 28a), *háasaja* 'speech' (in 298b), and *záar-uwa* 'response' (in 28c).

4.7. Sadness is Load

A person who feels sad towards someone who misbehaves carries someone else's misbehaviour and faces a burden of load to his or her body.

29	bajina-ba	tʃ'áanoi	íita
	none exist-thing	to load	be bad

Lit. 'Do not load disinformation.' 'Do not abuse innocent persons.'

In (29), the metaphor *tʃ'áanoi* 'to put a load' describes *baina-ba* 'disinformation' that gives a person sadness. It usually causes a person to lose control over sadness when he or she faces intentionally abusive behaviours.

30 a. I   tá-ssi   ajissa-kko   det't'-ées
        he   me-to   what reason-too be heavy.
    Lit. 'He has become heavy to me.' 'He feels sad at me.'
    b. a   ta   bolli   deet't'ia   k'áala   háasaj-áasu
        she   my   body   heavy   expression   talk-3sg.F.PFV
    Lit. 'She talked a heavy word at me.' 'She abused me verbally.'

In Wolaita, the literal use of *déet'o* 'is heavy' implies the heavy weight of something that is carried. Its metaphorical usage describes the existence and intensity of sadness. The metaphor *ʔaissa-kko* 'for no reason' (in 30a) describes its existence and *háasaj-áasu* 'verbal abuse' (in 30b) as a heavy load describes the intensity of sadness.

4.8. Sadness is Gift

The metaphors of gift evaluate sadness negatively because they map the attributes of declined offers as well as the gift that gives no pleasure to the receivers.

31 a. ná-ati   dunggúut'a ekki   j-óosona.
        child-3pl.ABS   isolation   hold   bring-3pl.IMPFV
    Lit. 'The children bring fearful behaviour.' 'They become fearful.'
    b. tájilo   néni   ne   k'áad-io   ekk-adasa.
        my mother-3sg.f.GEN   you   your   fate-3sg.f.NOM   receive-3sg.m.PFV
    Lit. 'Oh! Mom, you received your fate.' 'You were disadvantaged.'

In (31), the expression *ek-* 'to receive' equates sadness to the gift from the saddening behaviours of the offenders. The resulting feelings as in *dunggúut'a* 'isolation' (in 31a) and *k'áad-io* 'fate' (in 31b) are seen as the gifts that are given but not received happily. The gifts that are being given produce pleasurable feelings to the givers, though the receivers suffer from it.

32 a. ná-ati   háasa-ido-bai   ek-ett-enna-ba   g-óosona.
        child-3pl.ABS   talk-that-thing.3sg.NOM   accept-PASS-   say-3pl.IMPFV
                                                          3sg.m.NEG-thing
    Lit. 'The children's talk is unacceptable.' 'They are inferior.'
    b. a-bá   as-ai   ekk-enna
        his thing-OBL   person-3sg.m.NOM   take-3sg.m.NEG
    Lit. 'People ignore his speech.' 'He is being viewed as a silly person.'

Sadness is also the effect of a rejected gift, even though the receivers seek it to be offered. The metaphors *náa-ti háasa-ido-bai ekk-ettenna-ba* 'what children speak is not acceptable' (in 33a) and *a-ba as-ai ekk-enna-n* 'people ignore his speech' (in 33b) conceptualize the person's feelings to practice their freedom of speech and social equality.

5. DISCUSSION

This section presents the results of the study on the metaphorical conceptualization of sadness in Wolaita to highlight its culture-specific and universal aspects from the perspective of previous cross-cultural findings. Our findings showed that the conceptual metaphors of sadness in Wolaita mapped the domains of PAIN, FLUID, DOWN, ENEMY, BURDEN, GIFT, JOURNEY, and FOOD to describe its existence, intensity, and control. A large portion of these source domains and their corresponding conceptual metaphors were identified in the previous cognitive-linguistic research works by Csillag (2017); Essenova (2011); Tran (2018); Wen &Chen (2023) and others. The representation of sadness as an emotional feeling towards loss, loneliness and disadvantage (Retová, 2008) was a central message communicated in the metaphors. The discussion that follows reflects how the metaphors of emotion portray the cultural sadness in Wolaita.

The metaphors of sadness in Wolaita dominantly mapped unpleasant aspects of food, such as smells of spoiled local foods and bitter tastes of traditional medicines. The metaphorical use of *k'aj-* 'to become uncooked', and *kall-iss-enna* 'not satisfying' associate the saddening behaviour with the food that tastes bad during its consumption. According to Khajeh, Ho-Abdullah and Hua (2013), the specific features of foods that are tasteless, bitter, and sour correspond to negative emotions. In Japanese, the bitter lemon conceptualizes sadness (Irma et al., 2021, p. 91).

Moradi and Mashak (2013) studied metaphors of burden and generalized that the causes and existence of sadness are a heavy burden imposed on the sad person. Bas and Büyükkantarcıoğlu (2019, p. 283–284) confirmed that the psychological burden of controlling sadness is an external burden imposed on the body. Sagista et al. (2023), for example, support the idea that the intensity of heartbreak is experienced as a burden that causes physical pain. In the Wolaita language, misbehaviour that saddens a person is conceptualized as a heavy load carried around the shoulder, whereas in Turkish, the burden is associated with the heart and liver.

The Wolaita metaphors of burden also diverge from the situation in Korean, which showed the existence of endurance with sadness, as in *seulpeum/ uureul gyeondida 'X bear*/put up with sadness' (Türker, 2013, p. 108). When the intensity of sadness gives burden to their shoulder, the Wolaita people put it down or throw away with a loss of control.

Regarding the metaphors of load, the person's struggle to control sadness as the struggle with the opponent or enemy was studied by Csillag (2017), Moradi and Mashak (2013), and Rull (2001), which jointly portrayed sadness as both a powerful challenger and a loser as in Wolaita. However, Csillag (2017), for instance, reported that 'SADNESS IS A POWER STONGER THAN THE SELF' elsewhere across languages though sadness can be a loser to the rational self in Wolaita. Csillag's findings support SADNESS IS ENEMY wherein the attacker is emotion and the victim is a sad person, which is still not a characteristic in the Wolaita metaphors.

The findings on the container metaphors of sadness across languages showed that the human body is a container and sadness is a fluid or substance that is placed inside the container (Irma et al., 2021, p. 90; Türker, 2013, p. 106; Moradi & Mashak, 2013, p. 109). The conceptual mappings apply either to its MOVEMENT, CONTENT or both to equate the intensity of sadness. The intensity of sadness in Wolaita maps both high contents and intensity of movements, as reflected in the tears of grief and equates the tears to the powerful rain. Because of this, sadness as an impure fluid in Wolaita contrasts with the absence of mixture metaphors of sadness in Korean (Türker, 2013, p. 110).

As to Kovecses (2005), the metaphor of the journey is part of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL and equates PURPOSES with DESTINATIONS, ACTION (CHANGE) with MOTION, and DIFFI-CULTIES with IMPEDIMENTS. In Wolaita, the obstacles related to the locations of destinations characterize the travellers' uncertainty about the preferred roads to take and the intended destination of the journey. In addition, SADNESS IS OBSTACLE maps interpersonal relationship problems as obstacles and extends the metaphorical understanding of LIFE IS JOURNEY.

Finally, the metaphor SADNESS IS A GIFT illustrates the presence of sadness by likening it to the act of giving a gift that the recipient has no interest in receiving, thereby conceptualizing misbehaviour that causes distress to others. As a result, a harmful traditional cultural practice is a gift which offends the people who are living in the globalized twenty-first century. Thus, these practices, passed down from our forefathers, are like gifts that people today often show little interest in. However, they continue to be observed in rural areas. Contrary to this, some other metaphors equate sadness to the gift rejected by the receivers, as when the children's attempt to become sociable with the adults is a gift, but the adults rejected the children's offer.

6. CONCLUSION

Based on the results and findings of the study, sadness is a negative emotion that is conceptually structured in terms of PAIN, FLUID, DOWN, ENEMY, BURDEN, GIFT, JOURNEY, and FOOD source domains. Conceptual mappings characterizing sadness in Wolaita are SADNESS IS PAIN, SADNESS IS FLUID, SADNESS IS DOWN, SADNESS IS ENEMY, SADNESS IS LOAD, SADNESS IS JOURNEY, SADNESS IS FOOD, and SADNESS IS GIFT. Concerning cultural salience, however, the metaphors that describe the intensity and control aspects of the emotion mapped these domains to conceptualize sadness in the language. This situation maintains sadness as universal at the basic level, though its complex level conceptualization revealed an idiosyncratic feature.

The fundamental peculiarities established in the Wolaita perspective elaborated the common source domains of PAIN, BURDEN, JOURNEY, and FOOD beyond the newly incorporated one, the domain of GIFT. As an example, SADNESS IS PAIN commonly elaborated on the use of heart and belly; however, it is special to the Wolaita language that the pain of sadness damages the diaphragm. The most noticeable peculiarity was the use of spoiled local foods to show the existence of sadness and unpurified states of the liquid conceptualized the intensity. These conceptual mappings offer valuable insights into the emotional conceptualization of sadness in the universal and distinctive ways in Wolaita. With these metaphors, the Wolaita people evaluated sadness negatively.

The present research maintains that sadness is universal at the basic level. This study contributes to the ongoing debate on the universality versus culture-specificity of emotion conceptualization by providing evidence from the Wolaita language.

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The authors state that there is no conflict of interest.

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СОВРЕМЕННАЯ АНГЛИСТИКА: НОВЫЕ ТЕНДЕНЦИИ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ ЯЗЫКА

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Аннотация: Статья предлагает краткий обзор работы Международной научной конференции «Англистика в третьем тысячелетии: Новые подходы и пути развития», которая была проведена в Белорусском государственном университете 3-5 октября 2024 года (г. Минск, Республика Беларусь). В мероприятии приняли участие представители университетов разных стран: Белоруссии, России и Омана. Цель конференции заключалась в том, чтобы представить и обсудить результаты проведенных исследований в ракурсе теоретической и прикладной лингвистики с использованием современных научных методов. Поднятые в ходе дискуссий вопросы весьма актуальны как для филологов, так и для всех интересующихся проблемами современной англистики.

Ключевые слова: международная научная конференция, англистика, теоретическая и прикладная лингвистика, междисциплинарные исследования.

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

С 3 по 5 октября в Минске на базе филологического факультета Белорусского государственного университета состоялась Международная научная конференция «Англистика в третьем тысячелетии: Новые подходы и пути развития». Организаторами конференции выступили Белорусский государственный университет, Институт языкознания Российской академии наук и Московский государственный лингвистический университет. Проведение мероприятия было приурочено к 85-летию филологического факультета БГУ. Конференция прошла в гибридном формате с использованием современных технологических инструментов. Обсудить проблемы современной англистики собрались более 100 ученых, преподавателей и аспирантов из Белоруссии, России и Омана.

В интересных пленарных и секционных докладах, а также в ходе плодотворных дискуссий ученые обменялись результатами исследований английского языка с использованием современных методов с позиции актуальных теоретических и прикладных проблем лингвистики, активно разрабатываемых рядом междисциплинарных направлений: когнитивной лингвистикой, цифровой лингвистикой, лингвокультурологией, межкультурной коммуникацией, мультимодальной лингвистикой, лингвистикой текста, лингводидактикой.

Конференцию открыл проректор по научной работе БГУ доктор химических наук, профессор Андрей Викторович Блохин, отметивший широкий интерес к мероприятию лучших англистов. С приветственным словом выступили доктор филологических наук, профессор Кибрик Андрей Александрович, директор Института языкознания Российской академии наук; кандидат филологических наук, профессор Краева Ирина Аркадьевна, ректор Московского государственного лингвистического университета, также представившая доклад на пленарном заседании; доктор филологических наук, профессор Ирисханова Ольга Камалудиновна, проректор по науке Московского государственного лингвистического университета; кандидат филологических наук, доцент Важник Сергей Александрович, декан филологического факультета БГУ.

В рамках мероприятия прошла работа пленарных и секционных заседаний, на которых были представлены результаты исследований.

Среди наиболее известных в лингвистических кругах исследователей свои пленарные доклады представили такие ученые, как Демьянков Валерий Закиевич, доктор филологических наук, профессор, заведующий отделом теории и практики коммуникации имени Ю.С. Степанова Института языкознания Российской академии наук; Болдырев Николай Николаевич, доктор филологических наук, профессор, директор Сетевого научно-образовательного центра когнитивных исследований Тамбовского государственного университета имени Г.Р. Державина; Беляевская Елена Георгиевна, доктор филологических наук, профессор, профессор кафедры лексикологии английского языка Московского государственного лингвистического университета и другие.

В.З. Демьянков представил результаты своего исследования на тему «Дискурс и нарратив лингвистического исследования», в котором на материале больших корпусов английских и русских текстов по языкознанию проанализировал употребление показателей «эпистемических гарантий». Автор пришел к заключению о том, что в эпоху «глобализации» постепенно вырабатываются интернациональные, «цивилизационные» стандарты научного текста, со своими явными и подразумеваемыми конвенциями и правилами относительно соотношения дискурсных и нарративных частей.

Свое исследование «Лингвокультурологическое исследование концепта Britishness (Британство)» И.А. Краева посвятила выявлению роли английских относительных прилагательных, обозначающих национальную принадлежность (British, French, German и др.), в имплицитном выражении культурных ценностей определенного народа. Главным выводом ученого является взаимосвязь развития культуры народа и его языка.

Анализ языкового аспекта возникновения речевых конфликтов представил в своем докладе «Бесконфликтная коммуникация в свете теории языковой интерпретации» Н.Н. Болдырев. Причину возникновения подобного конфликта автор связывает с несовпадением индивидуальных интерпретаций коллективных знаний о мире участниками коммуникации

и нарушением норм концептуального и языкового взаимодействия. Николай Николаевич подчеркнул необходимость использования определенных языковых средств, способствующих нейтрализации возможных противоречий.

Исследуя когнитивную модель, задающую единую внутреннюю смысловую структуру всех значений многозначной лексемы, Е.Г. Беляевская предпринимает попытку ответить на вопрос, звучащий в теме ее доклада «Полисемия или лексическая неопределенность?». Автор приходит к выводу о том, что термин «семантическая неопределенность» или «семантическая диффузность» более точно описывает особенности полисемии, характерной для современного английского языка.

На конференции был рассмотрен широкий ряд вопросов, представленных в тематических секциях:

- англистика и теоретическая лингвистика;
- англистика и прикладная лингвистика;
- англистика и когнитивные исследования языка;
- англистика и переводоведение;
- англистика и межкультурная коммуникация;
- англистика и лингвокультурология;
- англистика и лингвистика текста;
- англистика и психолингвистика;
- англистика и социолингвистика;
- англистика и полимодальные исследования.

Выступления ученых на сессионных заседаниях затронули такие аспекты, как жанрово-стилевые модели современной литературы Великобритании; средства интертекстуальности в детективном дискурсе; категория (не)вежливости в американском сатирическом дискурсе киносериала; структурно-семантическая характеристика фразеологизмов с элементом «погодные явления» в английском языке и многие другие. Предложенные участниками конференции подходы и концепции отличаются эвристической ценностью и способствуют углублению знаний об английском языке и его подсистемах. Продемонстрированный эмпирический материал служит источником новых фактографических данных о специфике функционирования и развития различных классов и категорий английских языковых единиц под влиянием социальных изменений и культурных событий.

В конференции приняли участие преподаватели МГИМО МИД России. Результаты своих исследований представили доктор филологических наук, профессор Е.С. Гриценко «Английский язык в дискурсе российской поп-музыки (на материале музыкальных рецензий)»; доктор филологических наук, доцент Е.В. Пономаренко «Функциональный синергизм адвербиальных глаголов в современном английском языке»; доктор филологических наук, доцент В.Л. Малахова "Functional relations and their role in discourse systemity formation"; доктор филологических наук, доцент А.С. Дружинин «Категория вежливости в полимодальном дискурсе сатиры: диалогический подход»; кандидат филологических наук, профессор С.Н. Леденёва «Фонетические и смысловые аналогии как прием перевода рекламных слоганов»; кандидат филологических наук С.В. Канашина «Англоязычный интернет-мем: вирус, конструкция или серия?»; кандидат филологических наук Т.А. Фомина «Контекстуальная амбивалентность узуальных эвфемизмов и дисфемизмов». Кроме того, кандидат филологических наук, доцент Д.Н. Новиков выступил в качестве сопредседателя секции «Англистика и когнитивные исследования языка», а также предложил вниманию участников

конференции подготовленный совместно с атташе Департамента лингвистического обеспечения МИД России М.С. Кургановой доклад «Метафорическая концептуализация положений международных договоров (на примере английского варианта текста парижского соглашения по климату от 2015 г.)».

По итогам конференции опубликован сборник научных материалов, в который включены тезисы докладов, представленных на конференции.

Участникам конференции также была предложена обширная культурная программа: обзорная экскурсия по г. Минску и экскурсия «Дворцы и замки: Мир и Несвиж».

Организаторы Международной научной конференции «Англистика в третьем тысячелетии: Новые подходы и пути развития» предоставили прекрасную возможность для обсуждения теоретических и практических вопросов лингвистики. Мероприятие объединило ученых из разных стран и раскрыло перспективность взаимодействия представителей разных научных школ и научных направлений в объединении научного опыта для решения актуальных проблем современной англистики. Конференция была организована на высоком профессиональном уровне. Атмосфера располагала как к работе, так и к общению. Проведение мероприятий подобного уровня в очередной раз показало, что именно в процессе таких очных встреч закладываются основы успешного культурного, образовательного и научного взаимодействия, и раскрываются возможные перспективы научного сотрудничества.

СПИСОК ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

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MODERN ENGLISH STUDIES:
NEW TRENDS IN LANGUAGE RESEARCH

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Abstract: The article provides a concise overview of the International Scientific Conference "English Studies in the Third Millennium: New Approaches and Development Trends," held at the Belarusian State University on October 3–5, 2024 in Minsk, Belarus. The conference brought together over 100 scholars, educators, and researchers from Belarus, Russia, and Oman, representing a wide range of academic institutions. The event, organized by the Belarusian State University, the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Moscow State Linguistic University, aimed to explore contemporary trends in theoretical and applied linguistics through the lens of interdisciplinary approaches such as cognitive linguistics, digital linguistics, intercultural communication, and multimodal studies. The conference featured plenary and sectional sessions, with presentations by leading experts in the field who discussed topics ranging from discourse analysis and linguistic narratives to the role of language in cultural identity and conflict resolution. Researchers also addressed emerging issues in English studies, such as the impact of globalization on linguistic norms, the functional dynamics of English language units, and the interconnection of language and culture. Beyond academic exchange, the conference facilitated cultural and professional networking, emphasizing the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration in addressing the challenges of modern linguistics.

Keywords: international scientific conference, English studies, theoretical linguistics, applied linguistics, interdisciplinary research..

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