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Language, Discourse & Society

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Language & Society
Research Committee 25 of the
International Sociological Association

Message from the editor

The life of an international academic journal needs the support of peer-reviewers, who share their constructive evaluations of an article with the editor. Without them, I couldn't fulfil my duties. Beyond the blind peer-reviews received, I would like to underline how much the constructive feedbacks of the contacted scholars helped me to undertake my role in order to offer strong guidelines, advices, and indications to authors so that the submitted article can be revised in order to be published if accepted. Thus, a specific section of this issue is dedicated to acknowledge all the reviewers who supported *Language, Discourse & Society* for all the reviews realized between October 2015 and December 2016.

This issue counts three original articles. Peter Oeij, Steven Dhondt, Jeff Gaspersz, and Tinka van Vuuren focus on the analysis of the defensive behaviours observed among innovation teams. While such teams are supposed to be able to deal with unexpected results and new paths, they are expressing defensive behaviours, including denial, especially when the innovation at stake presents some difficulties.

Joseph Oṃṃniyi Friday-Òtún and Christopher Ọlátúbòsún Oṃóléwu focus on the analysis of collocations in Yorùbá, including an attention to the bilingual effect of Yorùbá and English on (mis)uses of the language, underlying both the language specific and the general features of collocations.

Hameed Tunde Asiru, Daniel Ochieng Orwenjo, and Emily. A. Ogutu focus on election news reports toward the Nigeria 2011 presidential election. The post-election violence made this election the most violent with regard to the democratic processes history in Nigeria. Instead, the news reports corpus studied presents election as free, fair, and peaceful. The analysis of pragma-semantic silences in presuppositions shed light on the lack of news reports about these violences.

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Finally, this issue of LD&S opens a section dedicated to book reviews, starting with the multilingual *Language and Nation. Crossroads and Connections* (2016), edited by Guri Ellen Barstad, Arnstein Hjelde, Sigmund Kvam, Anastasia Parianou, and John Todd, and published by Waxmann.

This issue of *Language, Discourse & Society* is the last one solely composed of varia articles. Following issues will be thematical, with still a varia section. The June 2017 issue will be dedicated to "Imagined Communities and Motivation in Language Learning", under the leadership of Mark Fifer Seilhamer (National Institute of Education, Singapore), the guest-editor for this call.

Stéphanie Cassilde, Editor in Chief
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Call for guest-editors for e- journal *Language, Discourse and Society*

Language, Discourse & Society is an international peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

All interested guest-editors are invited to submit a proposal (a call for papers) in order to edit a thematic issue. The editor in chief will consider proposed call for papers based on clear commitment to studies of language. *Language, Discourse & Society* cannot publish proceedings. Guest-editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal. *Language, Discourse & Society* accepts electronic submissions year round. Please send your proposals to: journal@language-and-society.org

The role description of *Language, Discourse & Society* guest-editor is as follow:

Each guest-(co-)editor is responsible:

- for writing the call for articles: within the framework of *LD&S* editorial line and tacking into account that *LD&S* cannot publish proceedings, (co-)editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal.
- for all communications with authors
- for the evaluation process of articles, which includes:
- finding additional reviewers so that each article is peer-reviewed.
- taking a decision regarding the final selection of articles in accordance with the editorial line of *LD&S*
- for keeping the deadline to submit the whole issue to the editor in chief of editing. This includes to take care that minimal requirements are met (front, front size, space, margin, accuracy of references)
- for basic editing regarding the form and the style of each article: the (co-)editor should check whether the references within the article are mentioned in the bibliographical part, whether the references listed in the biographical part are all quoted within the article, and whether the template of *LD&S* is respected (letter font , size, etc.)

The guest-(co-)editor cannot publish an article in *LD&S*, neither as principal author, nor as co-author. His/her name is indicated as follow: “this issue of *Language, Discourse and Society* about {here the final title of the thematic issue} is edited by {here the name of the editor(s)}”.

The position of guest-(co-)editor is unpaid.

Acknowledgement to peer-reviewers

Language, Discourse & Society expresses its gratitude to the peer-reviewers who accepted to undertake this important and mandatory task upon which relies the academic publishing process, and the quality of the articles offered by *Language, Discourse & Society* to the scientific discussion. The following alphabetical list is related to all the scholars who acted as peer-reviewers for *LD&S* between October 2015 and December 2016.

Thank you to:

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Original Articles

Defensive behaviours in innovation teams – how project teams discuss defensiveness and its relationship with innovation resilience behaviour and project success

Peter Oeij¹, Steven Dhondt², Jeff Gaspersz³ & Tinka van Vuuren⁴

Abstract

Project team members and project leaders of innovation projects were interviewed about the possible presence of defensive behaviours within the team. While investigating defensive behaviour can be done validly by observation techniques, to talk about defensiveness within a team often leads to socially desirable and therefore biased information. However, applying discourse analysis reveals how intentions to discuss defensiveness in itself leads to defensive behaviour. The study demonstrates how individuals use pauses, apply humour, make external attributions and devalue the importance of defensiveness. This suggests that even meta-discussing defensiveness is quite hard.

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The study also found indications that defensiveness is associated with lower team innovation resilience behaviour and reported project success. Resting on the assumption that defensiveness may lead to risk avoidance, the study argues that defensive behaviours in teams working on innovation projects might be detrimental to the innovation goals. This implies the need to develop socially safe team climates that encourage open and ongoing dialogue on defensiveness in order to avoid defensive behaviours.

Keywords

Innovation, project, defensiveness, team, discourse

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Introduction

Innovation matters. The logic is simple. If organisations do not change what they offer the world, products and services, and how they create and deliver this, they risk to be overtaken by others who do, and fail to survive (Bessant & Tidd, 2007). Innovation projects can contribute to competitiveness. However, innovation projects can be rather complex and failure of such projects is more common than not. In many instances, innovation is subject to strong technical and commercial uncertainties and failure rates are high; judging from the work of the late Edwin Mansfield, economist, about half of all US private business R&D is dedicated to projects that ultimately fail (cited in Tidd & Bessant, 2009). Other sources report that projects have a success rate of approximately 30% in the past twenty years (Mulder, 2012). However, based on scrutinizing empirical data Castellion and Markham (2012) report that the failure rate of product innovations is between 35 and 50%. Yet, still substantial. Teams responsible for innovations should avoid defensive routines as this may threaten to reach the goal of the innovation process. Organisational defensive routines are ‘any action, policy, or practice that prevents organisational participants from experiencing embarrassment or threat and, at the same time, prevents them from discovering the causes of the embarrassment or threat’ (Argyris, 2002: 214). The key research question is: as innovation team members are supposed to know how to deal with complex projects effectively, are defensive behaviours still to be observed? This article reports on a study among innovation teams in the Netherlands that are selected from different sectors (private and non-private; industrial sectors and services).

The immediate inducement to study defensive behaviour was the unexpected defensiveness of teams that were being interviewed by the interviewer (the first author). During the interview with the project leader the critical incidents of the innovation projects were identified. At a later stage the researcher asked whether any defensive behaviours had occurred during the project. To the researcher’s surprise, several teams responded with organisational defence mechanisms, such as remaining silent for a relatively long time before answering the question, making jokes, and straightaway denial. Without having a clearly defined problem in advance, and encountering this situation more than once across the studied cases, the need gradually emerged to confront the data with the question: ‘what is going on here?’ (Silverman, 2011: xiv). What seemed to be the case was that teams, confronted with making defensiveness discussable, responded in ways trying to make defensiveness undiscussable (Noonan, 2008) as if some kind of ‘meta-defensiveness’ was taking place. Argyris (1999) has observed this paradox on many occasions that persons, confronted with their defensive reasoning, tend to become defensive and downplay or deny its presence, which he sees as a clear example of the ‘skilled incompetence’ of those persons, namely that they are not aware of their own defensiveness and tend to make it undiscussable. This is important in the context of innovation teams, because defensiveness can lead to risk avoidance which is detrimental to the controlled risk taking that is required to innovate successfully. Innovation projects are likely to be non-routine during which situations emerge that threatens the feelings of competence, confidence, comfortability and certainty of team members to engage these situations. When team members, even those selected to perform innovation tasks, subconsciously become risk averse, the real risk, namely limiting the chance of innovation success, gets easily overlooked. Moreover, when corporate cultures discourage risk taking, such issues will not be made discussable at all (Ashkenas & Bodell, 2014). We argue that

innovation team members are no less likely to develop defensive behaviour as do non-innovation team members. Innovation team members face non-routine issues due to the complexity of their projects. However, they are selected to perform complex jobs. So, while one might argue that innovation team members are less inclined to behave defensively, one may overlook that complex projects and non-routine issues could contain relatively more ambiguity, uncertainty and conflicting interest than routine issues. Mixed messages like these are among the best feeding grounds for defensive behaviours (Argyris, 1999). There is thus reason to believe that innovation team members are also inclined to defensiveness in such occurrences, leading to risk avoidance. But in the case of innovation it is exactly opposite to the desired behaviour: creativity and controlled risk taking are paramount to innovation success (García-Granero, Llopis, Fernández-Mesa & Alegre, 2015).

We believe that teams with defensive behaviour will prevent to lose face and control. Furthermore, we assume that defensive behaviour is associated with less innovation resilient behaviour and with lower project success.

We will first explain the mechanism of organisational defensiveness. We will then discuss a new measure for defensiveness that we needed to develop, together with the presentation of the research methodology. Subsequently, we will present the research findings and end with the conclusion and discussion section.

1. The mechanism of organisational defensiveness

What triggers organisational defensive routines is the theory-in-use that all humans apply, argues Argyris (1990). Regardless of gender, race, culture, education, wealth, and type of organisation, he says, people apply a 'Model I theory-in-use' that is composed of four governing variables; (a) be in unilateral control; (b) strive to win and not lose; (c) suppress negative feelings; and (d) act rationally (Argyris, 2002). As humans we learn these theories early in life, and the actions they produce are highly skilled. Model I teaches individuals to craft their positions, evaluations and attributions in ways that inhibit inquiries into them and test of them with the use of independent logic. In other words, to prevent to lose face (Goffman, 1967). The consequences of Model I strategies to advocate one's position and unilaterally face saving behaviour, are, apart from misunderstandings, to a large extent defensiveness and defensive reasoning. When everyone is skilled at face saving behaviour of oneself and others, people avoid confrontations unnoticed, and learn to distance themselves from risk taking and feelings associated with embarrassment, threat and incompetence.

Organisational defence routines have certain logic, because defensiveness always follows the same pattern. Sending mixed messages are among the best examples. For innovation teams the clearest of such mixed messages are perhaps: "be innovative, but watch the budget", or "be the fastest, but also the most thorough one". The logic is (Argyris, 2002): (1) send a message that is inconsistent; (2) act as if it is not inconsistent; (3) make steps 1 and 2 undiscussable; (4) make the undiscussability undiscussable. In other words, people make face saving remarks, but often they are ambiguous. However, they are not aware of it. As a consequence nobody checks if it is fact-based. And in the next step it becomes self-sealing, a self-fulfilling prophecy, or an escalating error. Argyris calls this a cover-up (do not upset another), that needs to be covered-up itself

(made undiscussable) through bypasses (deny or ignore one is inconsistent) and cover-ups of the cover-ups (neglect the denial and act as if nothing happened at all).

Strangely, many people have an ‘espoused’ model that is rather in contrast with their theory-in-use, namely Model II. The values governing Model II are to (a) acquire valid information, (b) make informed choices, and (c) vigilant monitoring of the implementation of the choice to detect and correct error (Argyris, 2002). Advocating one’s position is, as in Model I, still a central action strategy, but not solely directed at control. It is transparent and based on inquiry and public testing to validate the information on which choices are grounded. Minimizing unilateral face-saving is another action strategy, because transparency demands confrontations if needed, albeit respectful and constructive. The consequences of Model II theory-in-use behaviour is a reduction of defensive behaviours: less self-fulfilling, self-sealing and error-escalations, less misunderstandings, and more effective problem-solving. For innovation teams it would mean less risk avoidance.

Following the Model I theory-in-use by team members would imply that those who perform organisational defensive routines would be crafting the actions of advocating, evaluating and attributing in ways that do not include illustrations of their meanings, will not encourage inquiry into them, and will not encourage robust testing of the claims being made by the actors. Whereas Model II crafting would include the opposite, namely apply illustrations, inquiry and encourage testing (Argyris, 2002: 216).

Our research enters unclaimed territory, due to which additional methodological questions arise in, at least, two ways: 1] how can we investigate defensive behaviour with audio recorded data when we know that this behaviour is indirect and subconscious? 2] if we interpret our findings in terms of observed defensive behaviour, how can we be sure of its validity?

2. Research methodology: combining existing with new methods

This Section discusses the overall study as the context for these analyses, the methodology of analyses embedded in the branch of discursive pragmatism, the operationalised method of analysis, and the data and the data collection. While some quantitative data are presented, the main analysis is based on qualitative data. The first aim was to study team dynamics, especially the team dynamics in the way how teams deal with critical incidents in their projects. To partly understand why projects can fail, the concept of defensive behaviour is introduced in relation to critical incidents. It was expected that defensive behaviour and discourse could emerge during critical incidents. When making defensiveness a topic during the interview we unexpectedly experienced that interviewees became defensive in their responses. Trying to understand what actually happened became another aim of this study.

2.1. Overall study as context for the secondary analyses

The interviews were part of a study into team dynamics during innovation projects. Eighteen teams that are responsible for innovation projects were interviewed. The study addressed the question whether certain organisational facilitations, called a mindful infrastructure (Weick &

Sutcliffe, 2007), enabled those teams to deal in a resilient manner with critical incidents during their project, which is called innovation resilience behaviour. A mindful infrastructure is a combination of team psychological safety, team learning, team voice and leadership that enable teams to act, therefore it is an organisational characteristic. Innovation resilience behaviour is a set of team behaviours by which a team is able to prevent and recover from a critical incident and maintain or regain a course that leads to the goal of the innovation project (Oeij, Dhondt, Gaspersz & De Vroome, 2016). Critical incidents (Flanagan, 1954) are occurrences or conditions that interrupt the normal procedure of the project. Critical incidents are deviations from the project plan resulting in setbacks, delays or terminating of the project, whereas critical recoveries imply getting back on track toward the intended or adjusted goal caused by a ‘speeding up’ activity, such as significant solution, decision or a serendipity. The word ‘critical’ refers to events that are significant for success or failure of a project. These teams were purposively sampled to study what mindful infrastructures look like, if these mindful infrastructures could help teams to prevent and recover from critical incidents by performing innovation resilience behaviour, and, what contribution could be made to the theory of project team dynamics working on innovation projects.

During the interviews the topic of defensiveness within the project teams was addressed. In those cases where respondents confirmed the presence of defensive behaviours, it sometimes occurred that they talked about defensiveness in defensive terms. These striking examples of ‘meta-defensiveness’ triggered our attention. The relevance of such behaviours is foremost of an indirect nature, we argue. Namely, if teams respond defensively when just talking about possible defensive behaviours, would it be plausible to assume that those teams will also behave defensively when defensive behaviour is not being made discussable (Noonan, 2008)? Obviously, when teams are unaware of defensiveness they will not discuss it, which in itself may not be a problem. But in this case we were studying project teams working on innovations. Would it be thinkable that their unresponsiveness towards defensive behaviours could possibly harm the innovation process, for example, by consequential risk avoiding behaviours? While it is not possible to answer this question based on the interviews we took, it is feasible to assess the presence of defensiveness during the interviews. In such instances it is argued that the presence of defensiveness might be an example of ‘mindlessness’, namely ignoring weak signals of mixed messages, miscommunication, self-fulfilling prophecies, self-sealing processes and escalating error with unforeseen negative effects (Argyris, 2002; Weick & Sutcliffe, 2007).

The key research hypothesis is that teams without innovation resilience behaviour, when questioned about defensive behaviours, trigger action strategies to advocate being in control, not to lose, and save face. Furthermore, we hypothesize that defensiveness is associated with lower project success.

2.2. Discursive pragmatism as a methodology of analysis

Defensiveness is difficult to assess. Humans are skilled to overlook it, and are socialised to ignore it (Argyris, 2002). Methods to grasp defensiveness are observations by trained investigators or clinical conversations by trained therapists. Interviewing people who are not patients - the team members - is therefore unsuitable as it runs the risk of acquiring social desirable feedback because persons will avoid to openly discuss embarrassing or threatening situations. Argyris and Schön have stressed that it is impossible to derive people’s defensive theory-in-use from

interviews (Argyris & Schön, 1974: 6-7). Therefore, we needed an alternative method to study the interviews and so discursive pragmatism was applied to investigate the teams’ conversations with the interviewer.

Discursive pragmatism is a variant of the study of discourse - i.e., verbal interactions or written accounts – and is a strategy to understanding organizational phenomena informed by ‘the linguistic turn’ (Kärreman, 2014). The linguistic turn indicates a growing acknowledgement that language, communication and linguistics play a significant role in social science in understanding and explaining social phenomena (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). Discourses provide the possibility to study issues close to talk such as “the espoused values of corporate cultures or organizational taboos (as indicated, perhaps, by people being reluctant to make statements about certain issues)” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000: 147). Studying talk about defensive behaviours in teams aligns with discursive pragmatism for two reasons. First because defensiveness is related to mental or cognitive states – i.e. intrapsychic states such as perceptions, motives, thoughts, meanings and emotions – that cannot be observed but demand interpretation to make sense of it. Second, the values on which defensive behaviours are grounded imply that defensiveness also has effects on how team members consequently behave in embarrassing and threatening situations and how that constitutes the organisational culture. Discursive pragmatism incorporates the analysis of information at three levels, namely practice, talk and meaning, or, to acquire observational, conversational and ethnographic evidence (Kärreman, 2014). At the level of practice, attention is paid to what people do to accomplish their tasks, for example, how teams take decisions. In the ideal situation, this level demands participative observation or longitudinal contacts with persons being researched, which was unfortunately not possible. This was however partly compensated by being able to discuss behaviours in retrospect during interviewing those persons. The second level is that of talk, which, for example provides ideas pointing to how organizational members speak in certain situations and what they achieve with these forms of speak. The level of meaning concerns sense making of what people are saying or doing by interpreting what is happening.

2.3. The operationalised method of analysis

An instrument to analyse interview conversations has been developed by Argyris himself (2002: 217). When persons apply Model I behaviour, in order to avoid embarrassment, they will make negative evaluations, advocate their position and make attributions without using convincing illustrations, inquiries to validate information, or perform any robust testing. However, to assess these defensive behaviours requires a certain tension to be present in the conversation: in our case during the interview. This tension is not always likely to happen as the interviewer and the respondents have a relation that lacks conflicts of interest. In addition to Argyris’ instrument, another way to observe defensiveness was conceptualised, namely by trying to consider how humans avoid feelings of embarrassment, shame and incompetence in the presence of relative strangers. Four defensive behaviours are derived from the literature for this purpose. First, in order to organise the narration when being asked a question that may trigger anxiety, people tend to take long pauses at the beginning and ask the interviewer about details (Soroko, 2014). This gives them more time to organise their way of addressing the question and reducing anxiety. Second, to neutralise the tension respondents may react with humour, jokes or laughter that helps

to shift away from an arousing topic (Bovey & Hede, 2001a; Larsen et al, 2010). Third, persons may be inclined to not critically reflect on their own behaviour, which might be too threatening, but prefer blaming the others (psychological projection), often outside the team (Bovey & Hede, 2001b; Larsen et al, 2010; Trevithick, 2011). Fourth, and final, on certain occasions, people minimize the issue raised by denial, trivialisation or devaluation of those issues, which again reduces feelings of anxiety (Larsen et al., 2010). Model I behaviours (negative evaluation, advocacy and attribution without illustration, encouragement of inquiry, or testing) are thus operationalised as pausing, humour, external blaming and devaluation.

These behaviours, like pausing, joking and humour, are of course not always defensive behaviours. We, therefore followed the advice of Silverman (2005) who says that one should not analyse instances but sequences, by which he means that what respondents say can be best understood when a researcher takes the context into account, that is, the situation in which talk is produced. In our analysis it is important to exactly report how the question of the interviewer was formulated to understand the response of the interviewees. Especially concerning the study of situations of embarrassment, threat and incompetence, it makes sense to properly understand the scene. From such enriched contexts it can be validly understood when humour is defensive behaviour and when it is not, because it not only informs the reader on what was being said, but also how the contextualised interaction produced meaning.

2.4. Data and data collection

The teams are recruited from eleven Dutch and multinational organisations. Three of them are non-profit organisations. The remaining eight profit organisations stem from manufacturing, process industry, and commercial services and consultancy (Oeij, Dhondt & Gaspersz, 2016). In each team a first round of interviews were held with the team leader and team members in two separate interviews; and a second round with the team leader and members together (in total 54 interviews, apart from 18 interviews with project managers who supervised those teams). The number of cases (18) is limited from the perspective of applicability of conventional statistics. The purpose of this study, however, was not to acquire findings that can be generalised to populations, but that can be generalised to theory, namely to team dynamics. Purposive sampling was applied to find cases of innovation projects and project teams with the likelihood of critical incidents to emerge during their process. The analyses for this article focussed on defensive behaviours and what these imply for the targeted innovation in terms of possible risk avoidance due to the dominance of Model I values and strategies. Additionally, the 101 team members of the 18 teams also completed a survey and these data are applied for statistical analyses. The average team size is 5.9 persons, ranging from 3 to 16 persons.

The teams and projects were selected on the basis of the following characteristics: teams had to be working project-based; they had to be working on an innovation project; and the project they were working on should have progressed to have enough 'history' (i.e., chances for incidents to have emerged) and not being concluded to long ago (to avoid retention effects). Moreover, the projects had to be complex instead of routine, otherwise not much new could be learned. An innovation project is an assignment to develop new or improved products, services or processes within a limited scope of time, money and resources.

The teams were responsible for carrying out an innovation project. During the interviews critical incidents were identified and discussed. Critical incidents for delay and critical recoveries for speed-up situations and getting back on track were assessed with the project team leader, and later checked with the team. Subsequently teams and team leaders were asked about the presence of defensive behaviours in the team. Thereupon it was investigated how the teams dealt with critical incidents and whether or not innovation resilient behaviour was performed.

Each team represents an innovation project and with regard to each project a set of face-to-face interviews took place, namely with the project- or team leader, thereupon with the team members, and with the manager to whom the team leader was accountable; at a later stage a second interview was held with the team leader and the team members together. The selection of interviews for the analysis excluded the manager interviews. While each interview lasted about 90 minutes, the part in which defensiveness was discussed covered on average roughly 20 minutes. All interviews are audio recorded. We had the verbatim speech at our disposal. In addition, survey data was collected among these respondents, added with respondents from the same organisations but working in different teams and projects.

The analysis is made on the basis of self-reports, interpretations and observations and follows three steps: 1] based on a list of 14 examples of organisational defensive behaviours, teams were asked to mention which of those occurred in their project. A total of 96 instances were named by the 18 teams as self-reported examples; 2] critical incidents, critical recoveries, and self-reported project success were discussed to assess the presence and role of innovation resilience behaviour. From the interview data the researchers made interpretations on the presence of manifest or latent defensive behaviours in relation to IRB performance of the teams in dealing with critical incidents; 3] while 2 and 3 concern reported defensive behaviours, here focus is on observed defensive behaviour. During the interviews a number of teams showed defensiveness in their response to the question whether any of the 14 examples had occurred in their team. For these observed defensive behaviours the discursive pragmatism methodology was applied.

2.5. Measures

Defensiveness was measured in three ways, specifically as self-reports, as interpretations and as observations (talk-conversational, meaning-ethnographic and practice-observational, Kärreman, 2014). The context was the interviewer-interviewee interaction during the interview. When studying discourse it is important to describe the context in order to be able to understand interactions between the interviewees and the interviewer, called sequencing (Silverman, 2005; 2013: 63). During the interview the topic of critical incidents was discussed first and then followed by talking about defensive behaviour. The respondents thus were ‘primed’ with reflecting on their own project regarding possible critical incidents. The question about defensive behaviour was phrased in the following way.

“Next I am going to show you a card with forms of behaviour when people are communicating with each other. These are called defensive strategies, and there are 14 of them on the card. I would like you to take a look at them. My question is: do you recognise any of these behaviours

to have appeared in your project, either within the team or in interaction with persons outside of the team?”

The card was a paper hand-out that interviewees could read and contained 14 defensive strategies. The list is developed by Ardon (2009), who studied the behaviour of managers during organisational changes processes, and is based on the theory of organisational defence mechanisms of Argyris (see notably, Argyris, 1990). We used the list for the purpose of self-reports by the teams, as a first descriptive measurement on the prevalence of defensiveness. The second measurement was to interpret how teams dealt with critical incidents and critical recoveries, and whether or not this was associated with defensive behaviours. The researchers interpreted the responses and information of the interviewees in terms of manifest or latent defensiveness. Manifest defensive behaviours referred to self-sealing behaviour, cover-ups, and risk-avoiding instead of confronting ambiguities and mixed messaging to achieve transparency and valid information. The researchers interpreted how the teams responded to critical incidents, and whether or not this had negative effects on the innovation project. The third measurement concerned the analysis of observed talk with the mentioned defensive behaviours of pausing, humour, external blaming and devaluation.

The place of the interviewer-interviewee interactions is as follows. The interviewer⁵ asks questions to which the interviewees respond. Interviews were one-to-one interactions and group interactions. In both situations the researcher observed and interpreted the responses and reactions of the interviewee. In the group interactions the interviewees also reacted to one another. The researcher’s role was to observe what happened. It is stressed that sequencing in this context means to analyse the sequence of utterings (here question and answer) and not the interaction between interviewer and interviewees. The focus is on content.

Two other measures were taken from survey-data retained from respondents of the teams and reported in Oeij, Van Vuuren, Dhondt & Gaspersz (2016). Innovation resilience behaviour (IRB) was measured with survey-items based on the Audits of Resilience Performance of Weick and Sutcliffe (2007) and measuring 1] the preoccupation with failure, 2] reluctance to simplify, 3] sensitivity to operations, 4] commitment to resilience and 5] deference to expertise at team level. The threshold for being a high of low IRB-case is the mean score of 4.8 on this 7-point scale, called Team innovation resilience behaviour (TIRB), and was calculated on the basis of the collected survey data. Project success was measured with ten items, such as satisfaction of end-users, suppliers and stakeholders, meeting project goals of functionality, budget and timing, and the project team’s self-defined success factor, and developed by Müller and Turner (2010).

Figure 1 offers a process diagram of the research and presents the main results. How the methodological parts are connected to the analysis is visualised to support the reasoning in this article.

⁵ The interviewer is a researcher; there is no other researcher present during these interactions.

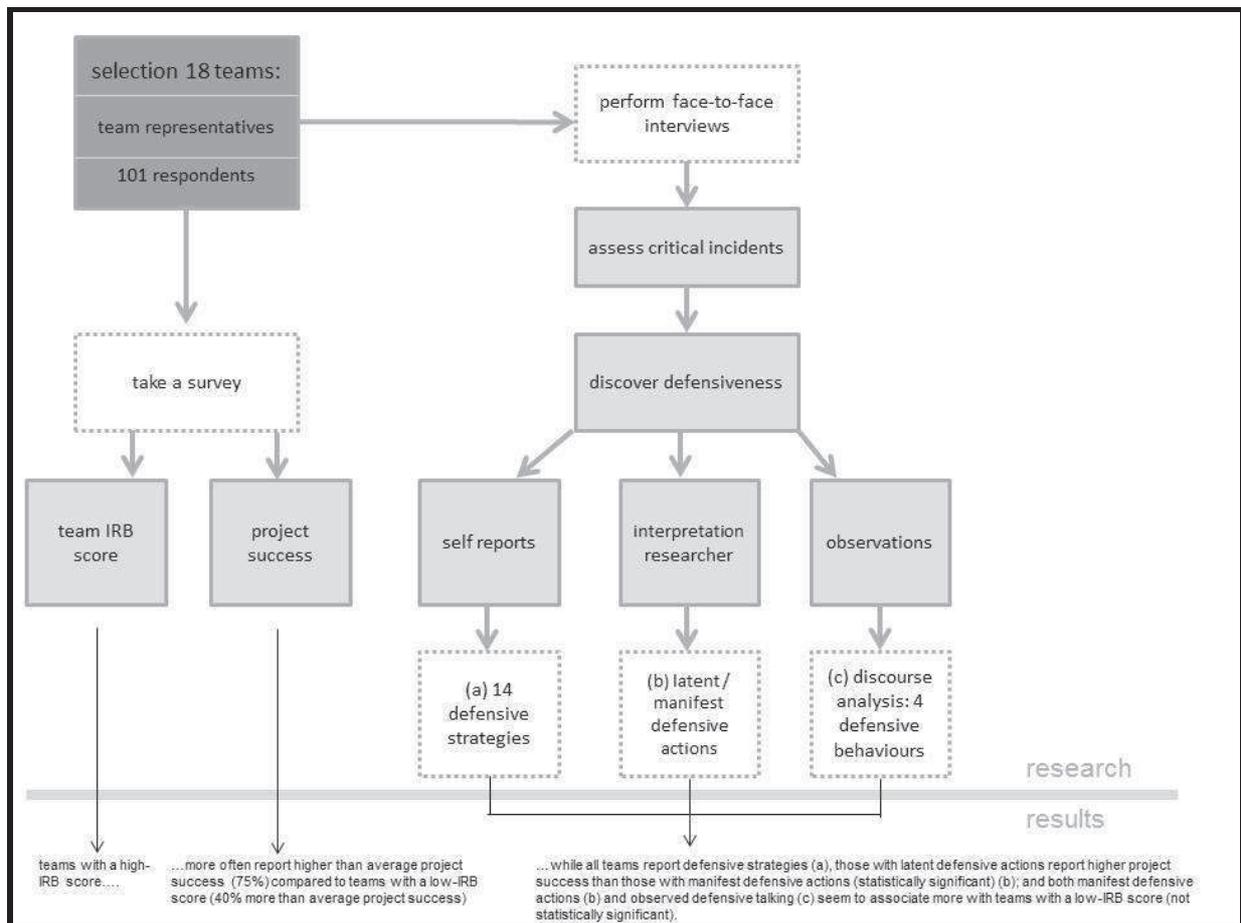


Figure 1: Process diagram of the research and outline of results

3. Results: self-reported, interpreted and observed defensive behaviours

3.1. Self-reported defensiveness

Table 1 is based on the first step of the analysis, which shows that the 18 teams together self-reported 97 times that defensive strategies occurred, distributed across the 14 examples of defensive strategies (N=number of times that defensive strategies were present). The three defences most often mentioned were compliance strategy (#1), undergo strategy (#2) and shirk strategy (#14). The plan, distance and joke strategies (#3, #10, #13) were mentioned least. The average number of applied strategies is 5.39 (97/18 teams or cases). On asking teams whether they would think that making defensiveness discussible would be supportive for team cooperation most answered affirmative. One team reported that a stakeholder had a hidden agenda which hampered transparent communication and caused irritation. “If she had told us what the problem was, then we could have helped her to look for a solution”, a respondent told (Team01). Many teams, although not all, acknowledge that defensiveness can be related to risk-avoidance.

Table 1: Self-reported defensive strategies by 18 teams

	N	Mean	SD
(1) compliance strategy: if your superior persuades you to commit, say that you comply regardless of whether you really do;	14	0.72	0.461
(2) undergo strategy: if your superior initiates a change process, just undergo the interventions passively and do not make debatable that you don't think this is going to work;	11	0.61	0.502
(3) plan strategy: agree to make a plan and act as if you comply with the plan; this way you contribute to change and stay in your comfort zone;	3	0.17	0.383
(4) blame strategy: if changing does not succeed, blame others and attribute negative intentions to them (scape goating);	9	0.50	0.514
(5) assume strategy: keep your negative assumptions about other individual's intentions and situations private;	7	0.39	0.502
(6) withdraw strategy: in case of difficulties in the communication, do not make this debatable with the persons who are involved; rather, withdraw and think up a new initiative or discuss the difficulties with peers;	4	0.22	0.428
(7) ignorance strategy: if you observe patterns that are difficult to deal with, e.g. that your employees are not really committed, do not inquire; rather, increase pressure on them to comply (disregarding);	9	0.50	0.514
(8) reduction strategy: if things become threatening or embarrassing, reduce the problem until it is controllable again;	6	0.33	0.485
(9) denial strategy: if things become threatening or embarrassing, deny the problem until it is controllable again;	4	0.22	0.428
(10) distance strategy: if the discussion comes too close, change the subject to discuss 'other' parties or general observations, such as employees, middle management, or 'the organisation';	2	0.11	0.323
(11) 'we' strategy: talk in terms of 'our responsibility' and 'what we should do'; as a consequence, nobody has to feel personally responsible;	8	0.44	0.511
(12) non-intervention strategy: keep quiet/not confront others with their behaviour so they do not confront you with yours;	6	0.33	0.485
(13) joke strategy: if things become threatening or embarrassing, make a joke and change the subject;	3	0.17	0.383
(14) shirk strategy: shift the responsibility to an 'outsider' and avoid sharing your own opinion about the process or colleagues	11	0.61	0.502
N (number of occurrences)	97	5.39	2.06
Total (min=1, max=9)			

3.2. Latent and manifest defensiveness and critical incidents, recoveries, IRB and project-success

Because these 14 defence strategies were reported as present during the project in general, it is difficult to assess how it affected the way teams were dealing with critical incidents. For that purpose we investigated the presence of (any of the 14 forms of) defensiveness in its contexts, namely the process of dealing with critical incidents and critical recoveries, where we divided the 18 teams in two groups with high-score IRB-cases (12) and low-score IRB-cases (6). We further linked survey data of self-reported project success to each team. Table 2 presents the 18 cases⁶ - a case is a project team carrying out an innovation project. The presence of manifest defensive

⁶ For the sake of confidentiality the names of teams and organizations are kept anonymous. In the appendix a short characterization is given of each case.

behaviours (column 4) was assessed on the basis of the face-to-face interviews (verbal and non-verbal information). Manifest means that teams reported they were confronted with mixed messages and ambiguities and that teams were experiencing limited progress at certain moments. These mixed messages were sometimes explicitly associated with limited progress, sometimes this relation was tacit.

The findings of the second step of the analysis in Table 2 indicate the following:

- Teams that performed lower on innovation resilience behaviour (IRB) more often performed ‘interpreted manifest defensive behaviour’ than teams with higher scores on IRB (5 out of 6 vs. 8 out of 12). Three teams that were not confronted with critical incidents showed no manifest defensive behaviours (Team08, Team05, Team06).
- Eight high score IRB-cases showed defensiveness but were able to contain negative consequences by leadership, transparent co-operation, team building and close monitoring; in none of the cases defensive behaviours seem to negatively affect the course of the project in such a way that these projects fail.
- Six low score IRB-cases showed defensiveness and had difficulties to effectively deal with mixed messaging and ambiguities, i.e. lack of consensus and commitment of management. The low-IRB cases seem to have a stronger negative impact of defensive behaviours on the team processes. One team was confronted with conflicts of stakeholders and no clear support of top management (Team11). Another team faced serious internal resistance to the changes that came with the innovation, although this seemed to have improved in the latter phase of the project (Team10). A third and fourth team suffered from difficult or stiff team co-operation and limited commitment of top management as well (Team02, Team03). The fifth team lacked smooth cooperation between team and team leader, which only changed after a reorganisation (Team13).
- The critical incidents seem to emerge in three clusters: technical issues; decision making; clustered incidents. The critical recoveries cluster in another way: there is an active side where we see team initiative (adjust plan and outcome, monitor, team building, clustered measures), management initiative (new project leader, new steering group, Kanban team, management support), and project management tools (8D team, risk management methods); there is a passive side where we see limited resilience and limited management commitment, or reactive responsiveness to market demands. The passive actions seem to dominate the low-IRB cases, while the active actions reside more with high-IRB cases.
- High-IRB cases report project success more often than low-IRB cases (75% resp. 40% has a higher score than the mean score of 3,9). From those teams within the group of high-IRB who performed manifest defensive behaviour 33% had a project success score lower than average; for those within the low-IRB group this was 80%.

Manifest defensive behaviour seems to associate with lower IRB-scores⁷ and lower project success scores⁸.

3.3. Observed defensiveness: analysing the discourse

We then analysed the interview recordings on the above mentioned four defensive strategies as the third step of the analysis. These behaviours are often an element or overlap of the 14 organisation defence strategies. Since we do not have operationalisations of any of these 14 strategies at our disposal in order to analyse audio recordings, we constructed a new measuring instrument. The analysis proved to find 1] long pausing by eight teams; 2] joke strategy by five teams, 3] external attribution by eight teams and 4] devaluation by five teams. Sixteen out of eighteen teams performed one or more of these four behaviours. There were 11 out of 12 high IRB-cases that performed one or more of such behaviours and 5 out of 6 low IRB-cases. Low score IRB cases relatively have the most occurrences on the four behaviours, except for joking behaviour. The case with the lowest IRB-score (Team13), for example, was the only one to perform all four defensive behaviours. A similar view emerged related to project success, where lower success associates with more observed defensiveness. We performed Chi-square tests which showed substantial effect sizes in the expected direction but, likely due to the limited number of cases, no significant results.⁹

3.4. Pausing

Pauses and hesitancy are linked with fear control when respondents organise their narration (Soroko, 2014). Pausing was measured in time after the question about the 14 defensive strategies was formulated (see above). In the absence of a standard from the literature, a duration of 60 seconds is regarded as reading time needed to understand the 14 defensive strategies as a self-defined norm. There were eight teams that took more time than 1 minute before they responded, which is considered as a pause or hesitancy related with control and to avoid or suppress anxiety. On four occasions respondents requested to repeat or to clarify the question. Apart from this natural response if the question was not clear or too lengthy in first instance, this is a strategy to claim some extra time to carefully consider what to answer.

Examples of asking questions and details are the following taken from four teams (R = respondent of a (team)):

⁷ Chi-square test for independence indicated no significant association (due to the low number of cases) between IRB and interpreted defensive behaviour, $X^2(1, n=18) = .04, p = .84, \phi = -.18$. Nonetheless, the correlation showed a between small and medium effect size into the expected negative direction (phi coefficient value).

⁸ A Mann-Whitney U test revealed a significant difference in self-reported project success levels of teams with absent or latent defensive behaviours ($Md = 4.4, n = 5$) and teams with manifest present defensive behaviours ($Md = 3.7, n = 13$), $U = 7.00, z = -2.54, p = 0.11, r = 0.60$. The effect size of the r-coefficient is large. This means that teams with less interpreted manifest defensive behaviour significantly report higher project success.

⁹ Chi-square test for independence indicated no significant association between IRB and interpreted defensive behaviour, $X^2(1, n=18) = .04, p = .84, \phi = -.18$. Nonetheless, the correlation showed a between small and medium effect size into the expected negative direction (phi coefficient value); Chi-square test for independence indicated also no significant association between project success and interpreted defensive behaviour, $X^2(1, n=18) = 2.43, p = .12, \phi = -.50$. Again, the correlation showed a large effect size into the expected negative direction (phi coefficient value).

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- 1 R (Team13) : “What is your point?”
- 2 R (Team02) : “What now is the question?”
- 3 R (Team11) : “Shall we read them out loud?”
- 4 R (Team15) : “What was the question again exactly”

Example 1, 2 and 4 are strategies to gain time to organise the narration, as if the question was not fully understood. In line 1 the respondent asks for the ‘point’ and in line 4 another respondent wants to hear what is meant ‘exactly’.

3.5. Humour

Humans deal with stressors by emphasizing amusing and ironic aspects (Bovey & Hede, 2001b). Laughter, jokes, or making something ‘ridiculous’, helps to accept that a topic can be taken less serious, thus less threatening. If topics become threatening or embarrassing the application of jokes causes a change of subject as a tension reducing consequence (Ardon, 2009) and as an adaptation to a stressful situation (Larsen et al, 2010). Five teams applied this strategy in the interviews and four of them did so as a first response to the questions about the presence of defensive strategies in the innovation project (see earlier).

- 1 R (Team13) : While turning to reading the card with 14 defensive strategies, a respondent said:
: “this is gonna be a short withdraw strategy... [ha ha ha..]”
- 2 R (Team14) : “It does not look very positive ! [laughing] .. as if we have a culture of blame here [laughing]”
- 3 R (Team16) : “Can I have a copy of this (card), would be very handy!
[entire team bursts into laughter]”
- 4 R (Team15) : “Is it allowed to copy these, it is a neat list” [chuckling]”
- 5 R (Team18) : While discussing a specific strategy, shirk strategy, making a joke about that strategy in a particular situation, leading on to collective laughter, and then moving on to another issue.
: “what I do myself sometimes is apply number 14, to shift the responsibility to someone else, but that is out of self-protection” Other team members start laughing, and make joking remarks like ‘yes, when things go wrong on your side, you shift the problem..’

These examples illustrate the subtleness of defensiveness as ways to make an issue not discussable or as actions that alleviate the ‘heaviness’ of the issue.

3.6. External attribution

Projection is a defence when people falsely attribute undesirable actions to others and not to themselves (Trevithick, 2011). Blaming others is regarded as external attribution, i.e. not taking

responsibility, not being reflective, and seeing undesirable behaviour as something outside oneself.

Teams differentiate to the extent in which they are either referring to defensive behaviours of their own team or of their environments. In the first place, looking at the list of 14 behaviours, most teams indicate that they recognize and acknowledge that all or most strategies are being applied, albeit not strictly in the project that is under discussion. Respondents also happen to refer to other projects where they recognize these behaviours. In the second place it is observed that eight teams say that those strategies are not performed in their team, or by their team, but in their environment and caused or performed by others. Basically these eight teams say, we see all those defences happening, but not in our team.

Examples are the following:

- | | | |
|---|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | R (Team13) | : When discussing the critical incidents the team has to deal with:
: “the problem is setting the priorities. This should be done by the management. But they don’t do it”. |
| 2 | R (Team02) | : Indicating that the organisational structure hampers solutions:
: “the problem lies in how it is organised. Apart from that we are all know-it-alls, have our own interests, it is all superhuman, but this organisational background prohibits us from being more transparent”. |
| 3 | R (Team03) | : On defensive strategies:
: “I do not recognise this in the team. I do however see it in the organisation”. |
| 4 | R (Team11) | : “Yes, I have noticed these behaviours...in our environment..” |
| 5 | R (Team12) | : “No, we do not apply these strategies ourselves. But it happens in other projects.” |
| 6 | R (Team17) | : “They all occur. It is mainly political behaviour. But it takes place outside our team. And in other projects”. |
| 7 | R (Team06) | : “I recognise that stakeholders sometimes have ulterior motives. But that does not occur in our team.” Another team member: “I do not recognise them in this project. It is apparent in the political playing field around us”. |

3.7. Devaluation

Sometimes persons deny defensiveness from happening at all or they downplay its importance by devaluating it. Denial and devaluation or trivialisation is a defence where information or events are rejected or blocked from awareness if considered threatening or anxiety provoking (Trevithick, 2011; also Larsen et al, 2010). Five teams were applying this defence mechanism during the interview on the topic of defensiveness.

- | | | |
|---|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | R (Team13) | : After being asked if it is beneficial to teams to make defensiveness discussable, a respondent said:
: “When you are in a technical environment, like ours... it is inconvenient to talk about it. But, suppose, when you are in an alpha-environment, where these issues are more often talked over, it is different. Making defensiveness |
|---|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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		discussible in our environment means that you make it very uncomfortable for those people. And that is not good for the productivity nor for the process of innovation”.
2	R (Team13)	: After having sketched the critical incidents of the project on a time-line: : “I do not see the link between the figure and the 14 defence strategies. Although I probably can give an example of any of those”.
3	R (Team02)	: Having just read all 14 defensive strategies: : “These are all negative things, but nobody is really into those”.
4	R (Team02)	: In the third interview feedback was given on self-reported defensive behaviours. Hardly believing this was being said, and as if the researcher had made it up: : “How did you arrive at these results?”
5	R (Team09)	: “Aren’t these behaviours that we all have? It is so like how people of this region behave...”
6	R (Team04)	: “I do not recognise these mechanisms, we are very open. I am not sure what you can get out of these. I don’t see it as an issue. I see it as behaviour that I have seen before”. Another team member: “This behaviour is not exclusive for innovation processes. It is behaviour (...) Defensive behaviour is human behaviour; we do not see any pros or cons when it comes to innovation”.
7	R (Team18)	: “I do not think we have these attitudes. For example saying ‘yes’ and doing ‘no’, that is not who we are and how we work. (...) Or postponing a topic to be discussed in another meeting. No. If it’s up to me, never!”.

The devaluations differ in their degree of denial. The first one (1) is a defensive reaction towards making defensiveness discussable. The respondent states that defensiveness should be covered-up, otherwise productivity and innovation become threatened. The second example (2) is a straight forward denial of a link between critical incidents and defensive mechanisms, while the fourth one (4) casts shadows of a doubt over defensiveness mechanisms that were discussed in an earlier interview with the team. It implicitly questions whether certain behaviours were really performed by the team. Example 3 and 7 seem to state that it is very unlikely that team members would use any of these defensive mechanisms because their attitude, character and professionalism would prevent them from doing so. Perhaps the respondents interpreted the defensive behaviours as conscious strategies. One respondent said “Luckily we remained free from any such skulduggery” (Team04) as if defensiveness is conscious behaviour and chicanery. The examples, nonetheless, indicate that teams underestimate the unconscious or subconscious workings of defensive mechanisms.

Conclusion and discussion

Inferences

The article researched whether organisational defensive mechanisms could be observed during face-to-face interviews with team members and team leaders of innovation projects in which defensive behaviour in their own projects was made discussable. The main hypothesis that teams

with defensive behaviour are more conducive to being in control, to tend to not lose but win, and to try to save face, is partly confirmed. As was shown teams with less innovation resilience behaviour performed more interpreted manifest defensive behaviour and relatively had the most occurrences of observed defensive behaviours. In other words, low-IRB teams might have lower thresholds to perform defensive behaviour in accordance with Model I theory-in-use values. Statistical tests pointed into the expected direction with substantial effects, but with no significant associations due to a limited number of cases, except in one situation, where the degree of IRB seemed to associate positively with the degree of project success. Hence, our second hypothesis, that more defensiveness is associated with less innovation resilience behaviour and lower project success is also partly confirmed.

The main research question ‘as innovation team members are supposed to know how to deal with complex projects effectively, are defensive behaviours still to be observed?’ results in an affirmative answer. The analyses were triggered by the curiosity that innovation teams responded defensively when the topic of defensiveness during the projects that the teams worked on, was made discussable. There is no reason to think that innovation teams are no different from other types of teams, in the sense that they react similar to situations of threat, discomfort, and embarrassment. Despite the fact that projects of innovation teams might be conducive to more non-routine events, team members are selected to deal with non-routine tasks. Therefore, embarrassing situations probably do not occur more or less compared to non-innovation teams. Yet, the fact that organisational defence mechanisms do occur in innovation teams requires extra attention, because such behaviours could provoke unintended and undesired risk-averse behaviours. A follow up research question that emerges, is whether unintended defensive behaviour partly explains the failure of innovation projects. An indication of the findings that this is a plausible reasoning is the significant association between the presence of team IRB and project success. After all, low-IRB scores not only seem to point to manifest defensive behaviour, but also to lower project success and more occurrences of the defensive strategies pausing, humour, external attribution and devaluation. However, we can draw no final conclusions based on the analysed data.

Another conclusion is that the applied instrument to measure defensive behaviours gives promising results. It can make defensive behaviours tangible, albeit necessary to keep caution in drawing inferences. The approach of using sequencing, thus making the interaction between interviewer and interviewee visible, is to our opinion helpful to enhance the validity of reported results.

Discussion points

The assumption that respondents are defensive when they are questioned about the defensiveness in their projects could be invalid if respondents are defensive because of the presence of the interviewer. The observed defensiveness would then be some kind of spurious relation where the interviewer functions as a third variable. An open culture in which respondents trust the interviewers and where they feel safe to express themselves, as if they were ‘off-stage’ - which means speaking without defences contrasted by ‘on stage’ talk which implies using defences to stay in control, not being transparent, and avoid tension (Pieterse, Caniëls & Homan, 2012; Pieterse, 2014) – was not self-evident. The respondents had not met the interviewer before. Although there was no established rapport, there was also no reason to fear the interviewer,

because the interviewer and respondents have no conflicts of interest. It was explained before the interview that the purpose was to learn from critical incidents and not to blame individuals; moreover, respondents were guaranteed that data processing and reporting would be anonymous. Despite the application of sequencing (Silverman, 2005) to present a more complete picture of the scene, it can be questioned whether certain behaviours are classifiable as defensive or not. For example, it cannot be excluded that the aspect of pausing, which we regarded as fear control, could also arise from the fact that respondents had difficulty finding examples because there are few. We neither paid attention to the opposite of defensive behaviours, controlled risk taking, which perhaps could have brought about balance between both types of strategies.

A specific construct validity issue, pointing to how accurate our observation of reality is made, might be linked by using the term ‘defensive’ in the interviews. Some respondents associated defensiveness with negative connotations, such as skulduggery or underhandedness. In other words as human behaviour that is unwanted in their teams. While, remarkably, this triggers utterances about Model II values such as an espoused preference for transparency and honesty, the term defensiveness at the same time may evoke defensive responses to deny that the associated sneaky behaviours are not present in the team, as an unaware cover-up strategy.

Defensiveness is to a significant extent intrapsychic behaviour which is not observable and runs the risk of interpretivist behaviour beyond ‘low-inference descriptors’ (Silverman, 2013). Reliability, arriving at the same insights if other researchers conducted the study in the same manner, comes under pressure when the researchers’ own high-inference summaries of the data are preferred over detailed data presentations that make minimal references. Although no observation can be free from the underlying assumptions that guide it (Silverman, 2013), we intended to minimize this high-inferencing by presenting verbatim accounts of what people said, and by including sequencing.

The intrapsychic character of defensiveness that is studied may also be applicable to the main researcher (who did the interviews), in the case of blocking inquiry and learning by defensive strategies. The researcher, when doing the interviews and analysing the data does not openly share his beliefs and reasoning at all times. Moreover, the researcher can be a victim of self-defensiveness in at least three ways (Ardon, 2009): the ignore-strategy in the case of ignoring possible inconsistencies in the argumentation or in the data; the distance strategy can cause distancing from the situations being discussed and focussing on interpreting what is happening, without being part of what actually happened, and turning an abstract analysis into an interpretivist sense making event of others (‘thinking for other persons’); a self-censoring strategy could be at play when the researcher keeps his beliefs and thoughts private that could contribute to more inquiry and learning, in order to face saving.

Although we should be very careful in drawing firm conclusions, the research main result is its opening up of an issue not much researched among innovation teams and innovation projects. It is not surprising that defensiveness appears in innovation projects – it occurs in almost all teams –, but that it occurred during the interviews on defensiveness raised the question: ‘what is going on here?’ A manner to measure organisational defence mechanisms was applied by combining the instrument to assess Model I behaviours by Argyris with defence strategies derived from the

psychological and psychiatric literature that could be used for non-patients in non-survey settings. The observed defensive behaviours of pausing, humour, external attribution and devaluation, along with the self-reported defensive strategies, allow for the conclusion that making defensiveness discussible can trigger defensive responses.

In this contribution defensiveness is regarded as detrimental to innovation. Other literatures, like critical management approaches, discuss defensiveness in a less negatively loaded way, and view this less as an organizational problem per se and more as a rational response to repressive managerial practices. Defensiveness is thus a form of resistance, for example pointing to differences in power and status between management and team members that can lead to a conscious and rational wariness and reluctance to consider alternative company policies (Trevithick, 2011). In some of the cases such political conflict or conflicts of interest is plausible, for instance, where business interests and research interests may clash. This form of resistance, however, is not relevant for our argument because such defensive behaviour is a conscious political act, whereas this article deals with subconscious defensiveness.

Despite the indications that high score IRB-cases report higher project success than low score IRB-cases, the data does not allow concluding that defensive strategies significantly hamper innovation success, such as not achieving the innovation project's target. It would be 'high-inference interpretation' to go much further than the observation that there indeed is something going on. After all, some respondents state that defensiveness is just normal behaviour for everyone, and occurs outside the innovation process everywhere. It does not seem self-evident for respondents how defensiveness detection can inform them to improve the innovation process. Argyris (2010) has written about such defensive responses. His answer is in this vein: 'now you know, and you have the choice to do something about it.' Respondents confirmed this as they agreed that team co-operation would enhance when defensiveness could be made discussible.

The study concentrated on Dutch organisations. Although Argyris (1999) contends that defensive behaviour is universal in order to prevent embarrassment or losing face, contextual differences may be an influencing factor. The Dutch working culture, namely, is relatively egalitarian and not strictly hierarchical, and therefore conducive to a relatively open way of communication. Dutch people are known for being rather direct. Perhaps defensive behaviour is less present compared to hierarchical cultures.

Future research could inform on effects of defensive behaviours for projects. This would require a dynamic approach to include the time aspect. Following the model of Argyris and the causal link he makes between governing values, action strategies and outcomes would imply that we should be able to predict the result of behaviours if we can assess what model is 'on': model I or II. Obviously the course of innovation projects would gain tremendously from such insights. Observations and continuous monitoring would be necessary to gather valid and factual data.

A recommendation for practitioners is that it is likely that psychologically safe environments support to make embarrassing events discussible. Perhaps teams with a better developed mindful infrastructure, that enable innovation resilience behaviour (as was confirmed in earlier research, Oeij, Dhondt & Gaspersz, 2016), can better handle emerging defensiveness, because low-score IRB-cases seem to more often bear negative consequences of defensiveness (Weick & Sutcliffe, 2007; Oeij, Dhondt, Gaspersz & Van Vuuren, 2016). Making defensiveness discussible means

that it is possible to do something about it. It does not solve defensiveness in the sense that it gets eliminated once and for all, but organisational and team members can learn to bypass these organisational traps (Argyris, 2010).

Coda: future research

Our effort to understand defensive behaviour during interviewing is novel, as we are shifting from ‘validating research’ (tied to testing predetermined hypotheses) to ‘discovery research’ (capitalizing on the emergence of new variables and approaches in the course of research) (Jordan, 2014). The study of defensiveness may need a more comprehensive, interdisciplinary turn to grasp its surprising appearances, as we have experienced. Defensiveness is hard to detect, but might play a significant role in innovation teams and probably beyond. Traditional, rigorous methodologies mainly look at what management science already knows in order to refine it, but ‘problematizing’ and ‘mystery creating and solving empirical material’-methodologies could challenge that status quo (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013). To unravel ‘what’s going on?’ in situations where defensiveness emerges, we need novel ways for investigation that combine two dimensions at their crossroads. One is the dimension of differing disciplines, which could more learn from each other, like behavioural, business and organisational studies. The other is the dimension of differing quantitative variable-oriented strategies versus qualitative case or agent-oriented strategies that should cross-fertilise better. Such an interdisciplinary ‘comprehensive’ research approach is capable of ‘handling the quantitative all-the-while maintaining its qualitative objective of understanding of the actors’ as ‘knowledgeable agents’ (Dana & Dumez, 2015). A broad view on research could just do that, and contribute to an embedded understanding of sometimes surprising organisational defence mechanisms.

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“Defensive behaviours in innovation teams – how project teams discuss defensiveness and its relationship with innovation resilience behaviour and project success”

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Appendix 1: Table 2: A characterization of the project team’s organisational embedding

Team	Sector
Team01	R&D department in agribusiness
Team02	Consultation firm in engineering
Team03	Consultation firm in engineering
Team04	Consultation firm in IT/ICT
Team05	R&D department in food and cosmetics
Team06	R&D department in food and cosmetics
Team07	R&D department in food and cosmetics
Team08	Training firm for organisational change professionals
Team09	IT department of education organisation
Team10	Governmental organisation in construction/engineering
Team11	Governmental organisation in construction/engineering
Team12	Change team in a municipality
Team13	Manufacturer of medical equipment
Team14	Manufacturer of medical equipment
Team15	R&D department in manufacturing
Team16	R&D department in manufacturing
Team17	Manufacturer of transport equipment
Team18	Manufacturer of transport equipment

Appendix 2: Table 3: High and Low IRB-cases and the presence of critical incidents, critical recoveries, (interpreted) manifest defensive behaviour and project success (source: Oeij, Dhondt, Gaspersz & Van Vuuren, 2016)

Teams	Critical incident(s) present	Critical recovery(ies) present	Manifest defensive behaviour (yes / no) Interpretation by researchers as manifest (yes) or latent/absent (no)	Project success (self report by team) (1=low; 5=high) Mean= 3,9
High sore-IRB-cases				
Team15	several technical setbacks	adjust plan and outcome	No to hardly manifest; small team; clear leadership; much trust in team; no significant negative effects	4,0
Team07	clustered small incidents adding up to a critical situation	close monitoring of the actual facts and good working relationship	No; There was a tense relation with external stakeholders, but clear communication prevented defensiveness	4,4
Team09	several technical setbacks	install new steering group and team building	Yes, but only in first half of project; lack of team cohesion, painful relation with steering group and stakeholders, risk avoidance. After recovery more trust and self-confidence	3,6
Team01	several conflicts of interest	close monitoring on the process to be alert for weak signals; strong focus on targeted outcome	Yes; due to limited transparency regarding co-innovation partner, distrust emerged; caused irritation	4,1
Team17	technical setbacks	adjust plan and convince management to make a shift	Yes; but no significant negative effects; small transparent team	4,0
Team08	none	none (not needed)	No; no ambiguities; longstanding cooperation in team; no critical incidents	4,5
Team14	clustered small incidents adding up to a critical situation	clustered measures to recover	Yes; but no significant negative effects; team cohesion is strong; distributed leadership is present in the team	3,7
Team12	clustered small incidents adding up to a critical situation	management support to go along with project	Yes; but no significant negative effects reported; some tension with external stakeholders	4,0
Team16	several technical setbacks	8D teams is a method to deal with issues that enable the process to continue	Yes; but no significant negative effects; distributed leadership is present in the team	4,4
Team18	technical setbacks	new project leader, formation of kanban team to settle issues	Yes; but no significant negative effects; clear leadership	4,0
Team04	no progress of the innovation	new leadership, bringing focus on results	Yes; possible effect of defensiveness is trivialised; some tension with external stakeholders	3,6

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Table continues

Teams	Critical incident(s) present	Critical recovery(ies) present	Manifest defensive behaviour (yes / no) Interpretation by researchers as manifest (yes) or latent/absent (no)	Project success (self report by team) (1=low; 5=high) Mean= 3,9
Team06	no serious CIs because risky situations did not escalate	close monitoring on risky situations to steer when needed	No; strong team cohesion; clear leadership; pro-active communication with stakeholders	4,5
Low score -IRB-cases				
Team11	resistance of top management	hardly, due to doubt / resistance by management, delayed decision making	Yes; clear conflicts of interest among external stakeholders; no clear commitment of top management	3,7
Team10	feasibility setbacks	new project leader	Yes; limited commitment outside the core team and resistance to changes; risk of job loss	4,1
Team05	none	none (not needed)	No; project was routine; team was small; no critical incidents	4,1
Team02	dissenting opinions about directions within team	limited because an impasse remained	Yes; team co-operation is difficult / stiff; external attribution towards lack of commitment of top management	3,3
Team03	decision vacuum at team level due to wavering management	limited because an impasse remained	Yes; team co-operation is difficult / stiff; external attribution towards lack of commitment of top management	2,9
Team13	clustered small incidents adding up to a critical situation	market demand forced team to be productive	Yes; suboptimal co-operation within team and with team leader; high workload limits commitment	3,1

Collocative Syntagms in the Yorubá Language Usage

Joseph Omoniyi Friday-Òtún & Christopher Olátúbòsún Omóléwu¹⁰

Abstract

In order to process language fluently and idiomatically in fulfilling basic communication needs, collocations or language chunks must be mastered by native speakers and language learners. But much research focus has been on grammar with little on collocation, and the existing works on it have largely centred on the identification and classification of collocations in non-African languages. The study, which focuses on the description of the structures and types of collocations in the Yorùbá language usage, is based on the approach that classifies language chunks into free combinations, restricted co-occurrences and fixed collocates. This research observes that the Yorùbá language contains free lexical collocations, reduplications and idioms. The language also features restricted co-occurrences such as Verb+Noun, Verb+Adjective, Verb+Adverb and Verb+Verb collocations. The article draws attention to the bilingual effect of Yorùbá and English on the usage of Yorùbá collocation, culminating in some errors of interlingual transfer. The study discovers that collocation is language universal, but also specific according to the syntagmatic rules of each language. The article suggests the teaching of collocations in Yorùbá and other native languages in schools, and also recommends that anthological compilation of collocations in the language and other native languages be embarked upon.

Keywords

Collocations, language chunks, teaching, classification, the Yorùbá language

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Introduction

Human language, as a species-specific phenomenon, carries with it the presupposition of usage as the result of human competence in rule-governed stringing of utterances in intelligible forms. Order is imposed on the usage of sounds to become words, and on the usage of words to become phrases, and on the usage of phrases to become sentences. Crystal (1997) refers to this imposition as syntagms that show the way words collocate or combine to form selectional restricted structures. According to Okoro (2013), words do not just combine at random to form sentences; there are grammatical requirements of subjects to precede verbs, and verbs to precede complements, for instance, in English. More significantly, words, in their syntagmatic relations co-occur to the exclusion of other lexemes. Based on the morphological, syntactic and semantic imperatives, some words occur with some other words naturally, thereby culminating in the creation of “syntagms” in semantic term.

Crystal (1997) draws a line of demarcation between “normal” and “set” syntagms. The ability to generate sentences which are based on the “principles” and “parameters” of the speakers’ competence, hinges on the syntagmatic rules permissible in the language. Hence, ordinary utterances or sentences are based on the construct of “normal collocations”. But when linguistic unit go together regularly in predictable ways, they are referred to as “set syntagms”. Examples in English:

“tolerance”	With	“for”
“bread”	With	“winner”
“immune”	With	“to”
“tamper”	With	“with”
“brown”	With	“bread”
“break”	With	“down”

Stressing further on “set syntagms”, Crystal draws a line that a collocation can be fixed in an idiomatic way. In this case, the structure is to be learned as a whole and not as parts of a pattern. Okoro (2013: 86) gives examples of this in English as “Look down on”, “Do away with”, “Be tenable for”, “Make both ends meet”, etc..

As language is replete with collocation structures, and language users have mastered these structures intuitively, native speakers of Yorubá use collocates as part of their semantic and syntactic intuition; collocation syntagms are acquired alongside other aspects of language. However, in discourse, it is possible to hear, among the Yorubá speakers, expressions such as:

<i>Pa’lẹ̀</i>	<i>mọ̀</i>	<i>tébù</i>	‘Clear the table’
Clear floor	Clean	table	

instead of:

<i>Pa’lẹ̀</i>	<i>tébù</i>	<i>mọ̀</i>	‘Clear the table’
Clear floor	table	clean	

In Yorubá discourse or conversation, the imperative verb phrase *Pa’lẹ̀* (Clear) does not collocate directly with the adjective *mọ̀* (clean). However, it does directly with the noun *tébù* (table). Hence, it is only correct for *mọ̀* (clean) to post-modify the noun *tébù* (table) and not otherwise. Hence, the correct form should be:

<i>Pa’lẹ̀</i>	<i>tébù</i>	<i>mọ̀</i>
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Clear floor table clean ‘Clear the table’

The same kind of error is noticed in the following sentence:

Pa’lẹ *mọ* *ounjẹ* *dáàdì* ‘Clear the table after daddy’s meal’
 Clear floor clean meal daddy

The sentence above is wrong because *mọ* (clean) can only post-modify the noun phrase *ounjẹ dáàdì* (daddy’s meal) to have the correct version as:

Pa’lẹ *ounjẹ* *dáàdì* *mọ* ‘Clear the table after daddy’s meal’
 Clear floor meal daddy clean

Another possible error is:

Alẹ *ti* *şú* ‘It is night’
 Night is dark

instead of:

Alẹ *ti* *lẹ* ‘It is night’
 Night is night

In normal Yorùbá discourse, *Alẹ* (Night) does not collocate with *şú* (dark); but collocates with *lẹ* (become night) to have:

Alẹ *ti* *lẹ* ‘It is night’
 Night is night

But we can have:

Ilẹ *ti* *şú* ‘It is dark’
 Day is dark

It is not also impossible to hear:

Ó *tẹ* *mí* *mọ’lẹ* *l’ẹsẹ* ‘He/She stepped on my leg/toe’
 He/She step me at ground/floor at leg/toe

instead of:

Ó *tẹ* *mí* *l’ẹsẹ* *mọ’lẹ* ‘He/She stepped on my leg/toe’
 He/she step me at leg/toe at ground/floor

The flaw in the unacceptable structure above is the wrong placing of the prepositional phrase *mọ’lẹ* (at ground/floor); it can only post-modify the prepositional phrase *l’ẹsẹ* (at leg/toe), and not the other way round, wherever they co-occur in a syntagm. The implication of all this is that the features of collocation in Yorùbá, like in other languages, reflect a special linguistic property that should be consciously learned and mastered as “chunks”.

In the literature, the studies on collocations in languages are generally scanty with the exception of English language. Hence, a work of this nature in Yorùbá is crucial to the interest of Yorùbá speakers, teachers, learners and language researchers generally. Consequently,

attempts will be made in this research to explore the structure of Yorùbá collocations, describe the different types of the Yorùbá collocates and classify the collocates into categories. The research will further identify and analyse observed errors of collocation, draw the attention of Yorùbá users, teachers and learners to these errors, as well as examine the bilingual effect of English language on the Yorùbá language usage.

1. Literature Review

1.1. Collocation in Languages

The existing works on collocation have largely been in the English language, hence, the studies reviewed in this study are mainly in the language. Halliday and Hassan (1967) view collocation from the perspective of lexical cohesion of texts, while Benson, Benson and Ilson (1986) consider it as fixed phrases. Technically, Crystal (1997) defines collocations in terms of semantic fields where words that relate together are grouped according to the way they belong to one another.

Islam and Ivor (2011) observe that many definitions point to the nature of syntagmatic units as chunks or features of collocations in language. Pawley and Syder (1983), Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992), Lewis (1993) and Henriksen (2014) have also defined collocations as part of lexical chunks in languages. They technically refer to these chunks as formulaic sequences (FSs). Idioms, figurative expressions, pragmatic formulas, discourse markers and collocations all fall under FSs. But according to Henriksen:

“Collocations are frequently recurring two-to-three words syntagmatic units which can include both lexical and grammatical words e.g. verb + noun (pay tribute), adjective + noun (hot spice), preposition+noun (on guard) and adjective + preposition (immune to). Many of the studies on collocations have shown that even high-level learners seem to experience problems using and developing ... collocational knowledge” (Henriksen, 2014: 30).

From the foregoing, it is obvious that while the definitions of collocation by Halliday and Hassan (1967), and Crystal (1997) lay less emphasis on collocations as chunks, that of Benson, Benson and Ilson (1986) does not embrace non-fixed collocates. Even, Henriksen’s (2014: 30) definition, as lucid as it is, also excludes fixed collocates whose “frequently recurring words” could be more than two-to-three. Hence, the need for us to provide a more comprehensive definition. Therefore, in this research, we operationally define collocations as phrases or structures which string together, in either absolutely or relatively fixed manner, to function syntagmatically in semantic domains or fields.

In order to process language fluently and idiomatically in fulfilling basic communication needs, the FSs must be mastered by native speakers and language learners (Pawley and Syder, 1983; Wray, 2002). As Kuo (2009) further points out, the L1 users acquire their phrases or chunk language and develop the competence to reconstruct the language with phrases from exposure to the environment. Collocations as sub-sets of FSs are acquired by native speakers as part of semantic and syntactic competences which subsumes syntagmatic competence.

Boers, et al. (2006), Boers and Lindstromberg (2009) and Okoro (2013) opine that in the course of language reception and production, collocation competence is essential. In the stages of language acquisition, normal collocations are acquired alongside other grammatical aspects

of language. For instance, a study (Friday-Òtun, 2014: 249) reveals normal collocation in the Yorùbá usage of some six-year olds. Some of the collocates are:

rà'wé	(buy a book	: v+n)
kà'wé	(read a book	: v+n)
mò'wé	(intelligence	: v+n)
kọ'sé	(write down a work	: v+n)
mọ'sé	(know a craft intelligently	: n+v)
jìnà gan an	(far seriously	: adj+adv)
dùn mí gan an	(pains me seriously	: v+adv)
ṣì'wèrè	(become mad	: v+adj)

Children seem to handle these collocates with no difficulty because they have acquired them intuitively. But set collocates that require associate lexemes are mastered as they grow older. The set collocates have some complexities that may constitute big tasks among Yorùbá native speakers, especially the young adults and learners. For example, the Yorùbá collocate, “jù lọ” (more than) in the sentence below, can pose some difficulty of combination in discourse if not mastered well:

(i)

O	dàgbà	jù	lọ	
He/she	old	more	most	‘He/She is eldest’

However, when comparing between two pronominals with one as a subject pronoun, and the other, as an object pronoun, e.g., between *Ó* (He/She) and *mi* (me), a caution must be taken not to construct a wrong sentence as follows:

(ii)

Ó	dàgbà	jù	lọ	mi	
He/she	old	more	than	me	He/She is older than me’

instead of:

(iii)

Ó	dàgbà	jù	mí	lọ	
He/she	old	more	me	than	‘He/she is older than me’

Sentence (ii) is ungrammatical in Yorùbá because the collocate “jù lọ” (more than) has been wrongly separated. To an L2 learner of Yorùbá, there is the need for the conscious knowledge of the rule in comparative structure where the object pronoun must sandwich the collocation “ju lọ” (more than) whenever the syntagm is used in comparative form between two persons or things. However, this may not be so in other languages. Hence, pedagogical efforts are essential to master collocations in languages. In this vein, Walker (2011), who uses Birmingham corpus of a million collocates in his work on English, opines that collocations must be deliberately taught and learned as appropriate in discourse in each language.

1.2. Identification and Classification of Collocations in Languages

Various taxonomies which identify and classify different types of collocates have been proposed by researchers. We shall consider the identification criteria of Nesselhauf (2003 and Gyllstad (2007) because of their suitability to this work. Their first criterion is the basis of the probability of occurrence of constituent words in large language corpora. The second is the phraseological view which is based on a syntactic and semantic analysis of the collocation unit. Harmonising the two criteria for the purposes of this study, a distinction is made between

collocations which are idioms and those that are non-idioms. Taiwo (2004) also distinguishes between idioms and non-idioms collocation, and sees “phrasal verbs”, “free” and “restricted” classes of collocation as non-idioms, while identifying idioms as fixed syntactic elements that convey one semantic import. In line with this view, Cruse (1986) identifies an idiom based on lexical complexity of units that make up a single minimal semantic constituent. He expatiates further that idioms are inseparable constituents, while non-idioms are sequence of lexical items which habitually or normally co-occur. In this study, we use the term “collocation” to cover both idioms and non-idioms.

The issue of collocation classification is also germane to this research. In this regard, let us consider the classification criteria of Taiwo (2004). Using English lexis as data for classification, he considers three main groups of collocation, thus:

(a) Free combinations, such as:

run a risk	run out of time	run an errand
make a way	make an attempt	make out of time

(b) Restricted combinations, such as:

(i) adjective + noun	hardened criminal extenuating circumstances wonderful person beautiful girl
(ii) Adverb + verb	readily admit blindly follow totally unaware foolishly accept
(iii) verb + noun	renovate a house paint the room decorate the three buy a car
(iv) noun + verb	the brake screeched tension heightened the cloud drifted

(c) Multi-word expressions, such as:

(i) phrasal verbs	pull out give up put up with made up of
(ii) idioms	to take the bull by the horne to set the ball rolling to see the hand writing on the wall

Though this study is not concerned with English collocations, Taiwo’s (2004) classification criterion is largely suitable for this research.

1.3. Collocations in the Yorùbá language

Collocations are productive features in the Yorùbá language, and a good knowledge of collocation in the language is important because “when people have good ideas to express, they are often unable to do this successfully or effectively when they do not know the most important collocation of a key word that is central to what they want to say” (Okoro, 2013: 92). As earlier said, Yorùbá exhibits different types of collocates which native speakers use intuitively in discourse. However, many native speakers, teachers and learners are facing the task of knowing the appropriate Yorùbá collocation of key and associated words that are core to what they want to express. Hence, some resort to code alternation. This trend has contributed to the endangerment of the language because fewer people are willing to use and learn the language. The endangerment state of the Yorùbá language is reflected in what Fakoya (2008) describes as “perilous”. According to him, a language that is purportedly spoken by more than 22 million people, a figure that ordinarily should ensure its strength and survival for many years to come, is bedevilled with speakers who cannot perform purely in the language without using the crutches offered by the English language. Fakoya’s assertion may look somehow alarmist, but any right observer of the language will agree that there is an endangerment scenario because its educated speaker’s (who are in geometric progression) cannot express themselves without recourse or appeal to a foreign language.

Doubtlessly, the features of collocation constitute an aspect of the Yorùbá language that deserves research attention for the benefit of its speakers, learners and stakeholders. Roughly, the type of collocates in the language are as follows:

(a) Free combination of lexical classes

Free combination of lexical classes is a type of collocation that allows the mixture of word classes without any restriction. Examples are:

fọ̀n ká síbẹ̀	(scatter inside it)
tú jù ká	(be of good cheer)
palẹ̀ mọ̀	(clear things out)
tejú mọ̀	(stare at)
mọ̀’jú kúrò	(withdraw attention)
mú nńkan je	(enjoy something)
şàtún şe	(make correction)

(b) Restricted Combinations

This type of collocation limits the combination of lexical classes to particular types; restricted chunks could be a combination of n+n, v+n, v+adj, and so on. Most of them in Yorùbá reflect bi-lexical phrases. Examples are:

(i)	Verb + Noun	rà’we	(buy a book)
		kọ’rúko	(write a name)
		pa’riwo	(make a noise)
		mọ̀’wẹ̀	(‘know book’ be intelligent)
(ii)	Verb + Adjective	ya wẹ̀rẹ̀	(become mad)
		di pupa	(turn red)
		şı wẹ̀rẹ̀	(become mad)
		d’àgbéjùúlẹ̀	(become dumped)
		d’òdẹ̀	(become stupid)
		d’odi	(became deaf)

(iii)	Verb + Adverb		sáré tete rìn gbẹ̀ndẹ̀kẹ múra gidì múra sílẹ	(run fast) (walk psychedelically) (be prepared seriously) (be ready)
(iv)	Reduplicative (repetitive) expression	(n+n)	láwẹ́ láwẹ́	(page by page)
		(n+n)	lẹ̀sẹ lẹ̀sẹ	(verse by verse)
		(adv+adv)	lọ̀wọ́ lọ̀wọ́	(now, now)
		(adv+adv)	lọ̀gán lọ̀gán	(quick, quick)
(v)	Serial Verbs	V+V	sun je gbé mì gbá mú mu je	(roast to eat) (swallow) (hold) (take and eat)

(c) Idioms

According to Okoro (2013: 89), idioms are “fixed groups of words with special meanings that are different from the meaning of individual words that make them up”. Examples in Yorubá are:

kọ etí ikún sí	(to turn a deaf ear to)
sọ ojú abẹ ní ikó	(to call a spade, a spade)
jẹun sókẹ	(to look good)
sàşẹ régèè	(to overdo something)

Without suggesting that the nature of collocations in English and Yorubá is similar in all respects, the classification of Taiwo (2004), who works on English collocation, is relevant. Through this approach, the researchers are able to capture most of the types of collocation observed in Yorubá. However, two types of collocations are found in Yorubá, but not in English-serial verbs (verb+verb) combination and reduplicative collocation. Therefore, our taxonomisation strategy in this research will be data based. That is, the nature and structure of the corpus will dictate the form the analysis will take.

2. Sociolinguistic Profile of the Yorubá Language

As stated by Pulleyblank, (1991), Yorubá language is traced to the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo. The language is one of the major languages spoken in Nigeria. It is widely spoken in seven states: Lagos, Ògùn, Òndó, Òyó, Òşun, Èkìtì and Kwara. It is also spoken in Delta, Edo and the Western part of Kogi State. The speakers of Yorubá in these three states are lesser in number than those in the seven states mentioned earlier. The language is made of several dialects, including Àkókó clusters, Ìtsẹ̀kírì and Igàlà as part of Yoruboid languages.

According to Center for World Languages/Language Materials Project, (2011), Yorubá is spoken by around thirty million (30,000,000) people in Nigeria as a first language. The number rises to thirty two million (32,000,000) if we also include the second language speakers (Oyètádé (2011: 1-2).

Different researchers like Fáfúnwá (2008), Adétùgbò (1982), Adéyínká (2000), and Oyètádé (2011) have shown that Yorubá language is equally spoken in some West African countries like Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Other places include Cuba, Brazil, Haiti

and Trinidad in Southern part of America. The wide spread of the language has brought about variants in the way the language is spoken in all the areas mentioned above, and it has led to the increase in numbers of its dialects. But the language exhibits a dialect that is accorded more social status than the other dialects; it is referred to as the Standard Yorùbá. This standard form is the language of education, judiciary, administration and media. It connects all other dialects of the language in that it is mutually intelligible to all speakers. Hence, the Standard Yorùbá is used as data in this study.

The authors of this article who have been engaged in teaching and research in the area of Yorùbá linguistics, semantics and discourse analysis, are Yorùbá speakers by birth from the North Central and South Western zones of Nigeria, respectively. To be precise, they speak Èkiti Kwara and Ibarapa dialects, respectively. The Yorùbá users, in this work, comprise native speakers; they include both the first language speakers and the second language learners. The first language users are those who acquire the language from birth, and those who, in addition to acquiring the language from birth, are equally studying the language at various tertiary institutions. The second language learners are those who, either acquire the language as an additional language while living among the L1 speakers, or have the interest of learning it as a second language.

However, English being the cynosure of general, economic and official communication in Nigeria enjoys positive attitude, greater prestige and pride of usage, with Nigerian languages suffering inequality and continuous reduction into inconsequential domains. Though Yorùbá is a regional lingua franca (Ogunsiji, 2001), it is facing a serious threat from the English language. A study of this nature, therefore, constitutes a way of promoting and developing the language.

3. Procedure for Data Collection

A research of this nature requires a close study of all types of collocation in the Yorùbá language. Over 200 collocations (non-idioms and idioms) were collected from diverse sources, using the Standard Yorùbá as the benchmark. Such sources are spoken and written forms in both formal and informal settings through the electronic and print media, live conversations, Yorùbá literary texts, selected Yorùbá student examination scripts and personal introspection by the authors as L1 speakers of the language. The list of these sources is attached as appendix.

The study was conducted intensively within a period of 10 months. As speakers and teachers of the language, the researchers seized the opportunity of examining some Yorùbá students to randomly select 19 answer scripts for study to extract some collocations. The selection was done from the 2014/2015's first semester examinations across two Yorùbá courses, namely, LIY 205: Mofoloji Yorùbá (Yorùbá Morphology); and LIY 405: Awon Ariyanjiyan tó N Lo ní Abala Síntási (Issues in Syntax).

All the data were first presented before the analysis. Each Yorùbá chunk was presented with its structure glossed. The lexical class combination of each chunk informs its groupings. The last part of the analysis is devoted to the discussion of its findings and the implications of the collocations that were erroneously used by speakers, as observed by the researchers during the process of data collection. Furthermore, the errors identified were explained. Importantly too, the findings of this research are related to the findings of earlier research, especially on English collocation in Nigerian usage. We would like to point out that the collections are far from being

exhaustive. In fact, features of collocations are massively productive in the Yorubá language to the extent that the features should attract an anthological research.

4. Data Presentation

This section is concerned with the presentation of data. The lists presented here were randomly selected from the total data collected and attached as appendix.

A rigorous study of the data revealed four major types of chunks out of which random selections were made to illustrate the collocates in proportion to the total number of data (collocations) collected. For instance, under the first identified class, ten (10) was randomly chosen; for the second category, which has four sub-divisions, five (5) per sub-division was similarly selected, while under the third and the fourth taxonomies, five, (5) and ten (10), respectively, were chosen. They are presented below. The full list of collocations is in the appendix.

(a) Free combinations of lexical classes:

CLT 23	Bu Use	enu mouth	àté slight	lù at	‘to ridicule’
CLT 27	so put	orí head	ko’dò at down		‘be crest fallen’
CLT 32	pa kill	ojú eye	dé close		‘close the eyes’
CLT 36	gbé put	ọkàn heart	lé on		‘depend on’
CLT 39	fi put	eti ear	si to		‘listen to’
CLT 52	ba make	ọkàn heart	jé spoil		‘be grieved’
CLT 60	dá create	wàhàlá trouble	sí’lẹ̀ on ground		‘cause trouble’
CLT 62	dá create	isòro problem	sí’lẹ̀ on ground		‘create a problem’
CLT 63	dá create	rúgúdù chaos	sí’lẹ̀ on ground		‘bring about chaos’
CLT 78	mú take	enu mouth	mọ̀ close		‘shut up’

(b) Restricted Combinations

Verb + Noun

CLT 64	kọ build	ilé house			‘build a house’
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CLT 68	şe do	iwé book	‘produce a textbook’
CLT 72	ra buy	iwé book	‘buy a book’
CLT 74	gbá kick	ilè floor	‘sweep the floor’
CLT 88	bó put-off	aşo cloth	‘put off one’s clothes’

Verb + Adjective

CLT 1	ya become	wèrè madness	‘become mad’
CLT 5	di become	òdè stupid	‘become stupid’
CLT 115	mú take	funfun white	‘take the white’
CLT 116	gbé carry	dúdú black	‘date the dark complexioned’
CLT 119	mú pick	kan one	‘to choose one’

Verb + Adverb

CLT 120	sáré run	tete quickly	‘run fast’
CLT 121	rín walk	şìòşìò sluggishly	‘dawdle’
CLT 123	múra brace-up	gidigidi very well	‘rehearse, or prepare very well/seriously’
CLT 127	şe do	kía quick	‘make it snappy’
CLT 129	mú sharp	gan-an very	‘of a knife-very sharp’

Adjective + Adverb

CLT 127	gbóná hot	girigiri tightly	‘very hot’
CLT 130	ga tall	fiofio high high	‘very high’
CLT 131	gùn long	gbàlàjà at full length	‘very long’

CLT 133 tutù rinrin
 cold very “very cold”

CLT 134 gbóná lala
 hot very “very hot”

Serial Verb (Verb + Verb)

CLT 138 sun je
 roast eat ‘roast to eat’

CLT 139 so je
 peck eat ‘grab to eat’

CLT 141 gbé mi
 carry swallow ‘take up to dwelled’

CLT 143 Fó mu
 marsh drink ‘marsh into liquid form to drink’

CLT 148 Bá je
 Join eat ‘eat with’

(c) Reduplicative Collocations

CLT 154 wére were (adj+adj)
 irrational irrational ‘irrational behaviour’

CLT 166 kánmọ kánmọ (adj+adj)
 quick quick ‘very quick’

CLT 167 kíá kíá (adj+adj)
 quick quick ‘speedy’

CLT 168 pátá pátá (n+n)
 total total ‘totally’

CLT 169 diẹ diẹ (adj+adj)
 little little ‘little by little; in instalments’

(d) Idioms

CLT 182 So agbéjé m’ówó
 tie caution at hand ‘be careful’

CLT 184 Yan ẹkọ ni ibi ti àgbòn ti ga
 choose pap at place where basket has high ‘embark on what you cannot cope with’

CLT 185 Na ọwọ sí
 stretch hand towards ‘give someone something’

CLT 187 Fi imú fin’lẹ
 use nose sniff ground ‘investigate’

CLT 189 Wọ àjà
 enter ceiling ‘for a monarch to die’

CLT 199	Fé blow	owó hand							‘steal or pilfering’
CLT 200	Yá fast	ídí buttocks							‘be promiscuous’
CLT 207	Tutó Spit	sókè up	Fi use	ojú face	gbà receive	á it			‘be very angry’
CLT 212	Fi use	Ìdodo Navel	kó hange	igbó bush					‘do something that one regrets later’
CLT 216	Sọ Hit	ojú Face	abẹ Blade	ní at	ikó knock				‘be frank and candid’
CLT 217	Pọn omi fetch water	si inú to inside	apèrẹ̀ basket						‘embark on a futile mission’

5. Analysis of Data

Four major Yorùbá collocations which are identified and classified are analysed in this research. They are free combinations of lexical classes; restricted co-occurrence of lexical categories; reduplicative collocations; and idioms.

The first class identified, which combines lexical categories without restriction, depicts the co-occurrence of lexical classes among verbs (v), nouns (n), adjectives (adj) and prepositions (prep) in various orders of combination. For instance, CLT 23: *bu enu àté lù* ‘to ridicule’ is a combination of v+n+n+prep; CLT 27: *so orí ko odò* is a collocation of v+n+prep+n; and CLT 39: *fi etí sí* allows the co-occurrence of v+n+prep. Similarly, CLT 32: *pa ojù dé* ‘close the eyes’, joins v+n+v together; CLT 36: *gbé okan lé* ‘depend upon’ combines v+n+prep; CLT 178: *mú enu mó* ‘shut up’ permits the combination of v+n+v; CLT 52: *ba okàn jé* ‘grieve’ allows the collocation of v+n+v; CLT 60: *dá wàhàlà sí’lè* ‘cause trouble’ is a co-occurrence of v+n+prep+n; CLT 62: *dá ìsoro sí’lè* ‘create a problem’ collocates v+n+prep+n; while CLT 63: *dá rúgúdù sí’lè* ‘bring about chaos’ is a collocation of v+n+prep+n. It is clear that the lexical categories that feature under this type of collocation mainly are verbs, nouns and prepositions.

The second class of collocation identified in the language – restricted combination of lexical categories – is divided into the four following sub-groups:

(i)	Verb + Noun	CLT 64	<i>kó ilé</i>	‘build a house’
		CLT 68	<i>se iwé</i>	‘produce a textbook’
		CLT 72	<i>ra ìwe</i>	‘buy a book’
		CLT 74	<i>gbá ilè</i>	‘sweep the floor’
		CLT 88	<i>bó aso</i>	‘put off someone’s clothes’
(ii)	Verb+Adjective	CLT 1	<i>ya were</i>	‘become mad’
		CLT 5	<i>dí òdè</i>	‘become stupid’
		CLT 115	<i>mú funfun</i>	‘take the white’
		CLT 116	<i>gbé dúdú</i>	‘date the dark complexioned’
		CLT 119	<i>mú kan</i>	‘choose one’
(iii)	Adjective+Adverb	CLT 130	<i>ga fiofio</i>	‘very high’
		CLT 131	<i>gùn gbàlajà</i>	‘very long’

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		CLT 133	<i>tutù rinrin</i>	‘very cold’
		CLT 134	<i>gboná lala</i>	‘very hot’
		CLT 137	<i>gbona girigiri</i>	‘very hot’
(iv)	Verb+Verb (Serial verbs)	CLT 138	<i>sun je</i>	‘roast to eat’
		CLT 139	<i>so je</i>	‘grab to eat’
		CLT 141	<i>gbé mi</i>	‘take up to swallow’
		CLT 143	<i>fó mu</i>	‘marsh into liquid form to drink’
		CLT 148	<i>bá je</i>	‘eat with’

As revealed in the foregoing collocations, the lexical co-occurrences are restricted to Verb+Noun, Verb+Adjective, Adjective+Adverb and Verb+Verb (serial verbs).

Another type of collocation discovered in the study is known as reduplicative expressions. Some of them are:

CLT 166	kánmó quick	kánmó quick	(adj+adj)	‘very quick’
CLT 167	kiá quick	kiá quick	(adj+adj)	‘speedy’
CLT 168	pátá total	pátá total	(adv+adv)	‘totally’
CLT 169	diè little	diè Little	(adj+adj)	‘little by little; in instalments’

This class reveals lexical items that reproduce themselves; they reproduce themselves with, at times, a change in the tone(s) of the lexical reduplicates. For example, while CLTs 166, 167 and 168 reduplicate their tones without any change, CLTs 156 and 169 show some changes in their tone reduplication. Though the structures above consist mainly of adj+adj combinations, CLT 168: *pátá pátá* ‘totally’, exhibits an adv+adv collocation. Also, CLT 11 (see appendix): *láwé láwé* ‘page by page’ and CLT 12 *lése lése* ‘verse by verse’ reflect n+n combinations.

Fixed syntagms, generally known as idioms, represent the fourth class of collocation in this research. According to Cruse (1986), an idiom consists of a lexically complex unit made up of a single semantic constituent. As revealed in the data, (see appendix), all the idioms are syntagmatic structures whose meanings deviate from the semantic features that make them up. Let us consider the following idioms

the four lexical items collocate:

CLT 182	So	agbéjẹ	mọ	owọ	‘be careful’
	tie	caution	at	hand	

the eight lexical items collocate:

CLT 184	Yan	èkọ	ní	ibi	àgbòn	ti	ga	‘embark on what you cannot cope with’
	choose	pap	at	where	basket	is	high	

the three lexical items collocate:

CLT 185	Na	ọwọ	sí	‘give someone something’
	stretch	hand	to	

	the four lexical items collocate:								
CLT 187	Fi	imu	fin	ile					‘investigate’
	put	nose	sniff	ground					
	the two lexical items collocate:								
CLT 189	Wọ	ajà							‘for a monarch to die’
	enter	ceiling							
	the two lexical items collocate:								
CLT 199	Fẹ	ọwọ							‘steal or pilfering’
	blow	hand							
	the two lexical items collocates:								
CLT 200	Yá	ìdí							‘be promiscuous’
	fasten	buttocks							
	the eight lexical items collocate:								
CLT 207	Tu	itọ	si	ókè	fi	ojú	gbà	á	‘be very angry’
	put	spit	at	up	use	face	collect	it	
	the four lexical items collocate:								
CLT 212	Fi	idodo	kọ	igbó					‘do something that one regrets later’
	use	navel cord	hang	bush					
	the five lexical items collocate:								
CLT 216	Sọ	ojú	abẹ	ní	ikó				‘be frank and candid’
	hit	face	knife	at	knock				
	the five lexical items collocate:								
CLT 217	Pọn omi	si inú	apèrẹ						‘embark on a futile mission’

As can be seen in the structures above, all the collocates or idioms above are fixed with each of them constituting a single semantic constituent.

6. Discussion and Implications of the Research

This study has focused on Yorùbá collocations and observed lexical combinations among nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as well as grammatical or functional co-occurrences involving prepositions and conjunctions. This implies that competence in the use of collocations is important in the knowledge of lexical, semantic and grammatical features of the Yorùbá language. Both lexical and functional collocations are found in Yorùbá, and according to Boers, et al. (2006), Gyllstad (2007) and Pei (2008), lexical and functional collocations are found in all languages. This infers that collocation is a universal language phenomenon. Furthermore, it has been established that though L1 speakers acquire collocation knowledge (Dechert, 1983; Lorenz, 1999; Durrant, 2008), some of the speakers (Yorùbá speakers in this case) are handicapped by inappropriate lexical selection. The situation is even more complex with L2 speakers of the language. By implication, collocation errors are imminent, even among L1 speakers. The collocation errors analysed below confirm this phenomenon. The wrong collocations, among the errors discovered during the collection of data, are presented in their sentence contexts and explained as follows:

CLT 183	Ìyanu	ló	<i>jeun</i>	<i>pẹ̀lú</i>	<i>síbí</i>	yín
	Iyanu	was one	eat something	with	spoon	you
	‘Iyanu was the one who ate with your spoon’					

CLT 183 was observed at a home domain from a 21 year-old university girl, who uses both Yorubá and English languages. On that day, the mother came home late hungry and settled to eat rice. She reached unto her spoon which was nowhere to be found. She called upon the speaker of CLT 183, who was inside the room, to ask her about the where about of the spoon. The girl responded by uttering (CLT 183). It is observed that the speaker transferred the English form to Yorubá usage, underlining the bilingual effect of interlingual transfer on the speaker. Hence, an interlingual error of collocation occurred here.

The problem with CLT 183 is the italicised collocation *jeun pelu sibi* (eat something with spoon). While it is correct to ‘eat something with spoon’ in English, it is wrong in Yorubá to *jeun pelu sibi* (eat something with spoon). The verb *jeun* (eat something) does not collocate with the preposition *pélú* (with). The right collocation is:

<i>fì</i>	<i>sibi</i>	<i>jeun</i>	
use	spoon	eat something	‘use spoon to eat’

But if *sibi yín* (your spoon), is used in a possessive form as above, the possessive *yín* (your), must post- modify the noun *sibi* (spoon) to have:

<i>síbí</i>	<i>yín</i>	
spoon	your	‘your spoon’

The correct form is:

Ìyanu	ni	ó/ló	fi	şíbí	yín	jeun.
Iyanu	was	one	use	spoon	your	eat something
‘Iyanu was the one who ate with your spoon’						

CLT 186	Sùbérù	lo	gbá	mi	oju	ninu	kílààsi
	Sùbérù	was one	Slap	me	face	inside	Class
‘Suberu was the one who slapped me in the face in the class’							

CLT 186 was observed in a primary school environment. The researcher, on one of the visits to the primary school, was discussing with the Headmistress of the school when the speaker of 186 emerged from a classroom crying. When interrogated by the Headmistress, the pupil uttered CLT 186. It was discovered that the speaker of CLT 186 was of a non-Yoruba language stock, known as Igala, spoken in Kogi State of Nigeria. The pupil has grown among the Yorubá speakers.

The flaw in CLT 186 is the omission of the preposition *ní* (at) between *mi* (me) and *oju* (face). The phenomenon is referred to in this research as an error of omission of collocation element. In describing an action like a slap at a spot in the body, the preposition *ní* (at) should be used. Hence, in CLT 186, the preposition *ní* (at), should be between *mi* (me) and the part of the body slapped, i. e., face, ear, mouth, leg, etc. to have the correct form as:

Sùbérù	ni	ó (ló)	gbá	mi	ní	ojú	nínú	kílààsi
Sùbérù	was	one	slap	me	at	face	inside	class
‘Sùbérù was the one who slapped me in the face inside the class’								

CLT 192	Mercy	mu	gààri	pèlú	kùlì	lánaán
	Mercy	drink	gààri	with	Kùlì	at yesterday
‘Mercy used <i>kuli</i> to take <i>gaari</i> as a meal yesterday’						

In the sentence above, *gààrí* in Yorùbá, is a fried cassava paste that can be soaked in water and taken with *kúlí* (fried groundnut paste) as a meal. It is normal to use *kuli* to take the *gaari*. It is wrong to say *mu gaari pelu kuli* (take *gaari* with *kuli*). Instead, it is *fi kuli mu gaari* (use *kuli* to take *gaari*).

The source of the error in CLT 192 is similar to that of CLT 183. CLT 192 was observed from a Yorùbá girl, a student of University of Ilorin speaking in the university domain. She made utterance while discussing with her friend at the balcony of a lecture room. The word *pèlú* (with) was again misused here. Although it is correct to say that Mercy took *gààrí* with *kúlí* as a meal in English, it is erroneous to translate the utterance to Yorùbá directly. This was what the speaker did, and it confirms the occurrence of an error emanating from interlingual transfer (from L2 to L1).

The correct form of the sentence is:

Mási	Fi	kúlí	mu	gààrí	lánàn
Mercy	use	<i>kuli</i>	drink	<i>gaari</i>	yesterday
‘Mercy used <i>kuli</i> to take <i>gaari</i> as a meal yesterday’					

CLT 201	Bolu!	Pa	ilẹ̀	mó	ounje	dádi
	Bolu!	Clear floor	clean	food	daddy	
‘Bolu! Clear the table after daddy’s meal’						

The wrong utterance above was recorded at the home of one of the researchers. After the researcher finished taking his meal, the older son directed one of his younger sisters to clear the table, and made the utterance. The problem with CLT 201 is in the usage of *Pa’lẹ̀* (Clear floor or table) and *mó* (clean) following each other directly. Instead, *ounje dádi* (daddy’s food or meal) should come in-between the verb phrase *P’alẹ̀* (Clear floor or table) and *mo* (clean), to have the correct form as:

Bólú!	P’alẹ̀	ounje	dádi	mó
Bolu!	Clear ground/floor	food	daddy	clean
‘Bolu! Clear the table after daddy’s meal’				

However, it is correct to say:

<i>Bolu!</i>	<i>P’alẹ̀</i>	<i>mó</i>
Bolu!	Clear ground/floor	clean
‘Bolu! Clear the table’		

Here, the object to clear from the table i.e. *ounje dadi* (daddy’s meal) is covert. But the moment the item or object to clear is mentioned, *mó* (clean) cannot pre-modify the object; instead, *mó* (clean) should post-modify *ounje dadi* (daddy’s meal). It is clear that the speaker is yet to master the rule of collocation needed to construct the correct form of the sentence in this context. The speaker over-generalised the rule of keeping together the phrase *Pa’lẹ̀ mó* (Clear the table). This is an error of over-generalisation.

CLT 204	Ó	tẹ̀	mí	<i>mó’lẹ̀</i>	<i>l’ésẹ̀</i>
	She	step	me	at ground	at toe
‘She stepped on my toe’					

The wrong utterance above, which was made by a commuter in a bus, was witnessed by one of the researchers while on board a vehicle. The speaker pushed the commuter who stepped on the toe of the speaker, while at the same time, uttering CLT 204. The statement is faulted because it is wrong for the preposition phrase *mó'lè* (at ground) to precede *l'ésè* (at the toe) in Yorubá. It should be the other way round. This feature is considered in this research as the error of swapping collocation element. Hence, the swapping should be reversed to have the correct form as:

Ó	tè	mí	l'ésè	m'ólè
She	step	me	at toe	at ground

‘She stepped on my toe’

CLT 208	Dàmólá	ṣ'éré	<i>pèlú</i>	ajá
	Dàmólá	make play	with	dog

‘Damola played with the dog’

In Yorubá, the verb *s'ere* (play) do not collocate directly with the preposition *pèlú* (with), especially in a structure like CLT 208. Hence, *s'ere* and *pèlú* cannot collocate directly. Instead, of *pèlú* (with), the preposition *bá* (join) is allowed, but with the active verb moving to the end of the sentence. The preposition *bá* (join) collocates with the object *aja* (dog) to have the correct form as:

Dàmólá	bá	aja ṣéré
Dàmólá	join	dog play

‘Dàmólá played with the dog’

CLT 208 above was observed from one of two school peers playing in a primary school environment. Their point of discussion centred on Damola who had a wound from dog's bite on her leg. The speaker was informing his peer about the cause of the wound on Dàmólá's leg. The flaw in the utterance is the wrong use of *pèlú* (with). In English, it is correct to say that Damola played with a dog but wrong to use *pèlú* (with) in like manner in Yorubá. This is another case of negative transfer of English usage to Yorubá. The verb *bá* (join), as used above, is the appropriate form.

From the foregoing, four main collocation errors have been discovered:

- (i) Interlingual error: This is a situation where the features of L2 (English) negatively affect the features of L1 (Yorubá). CLT 183, CLT 192 and CLT 208 are concerned with interlingual errors.
- (ii) Error of over-generalisation: This error is found in CLT 201.
- (iii) Error of collocation swapping: Here, collocation elements are wrongly inter-changed within sentence. This feature is observed in CLT 204.
- (iv) Omission of collocation element: In this case, collocation items are omitted. This phenomenon is revealed in CLT 186.

Earlier studies on error of collocation in Nigerian English Usage (Taiwo, 2004; Okoro, 2013) confirm errors (i), (ii) and (iv) above. But error (iii) seems peculiar to this study. Hence, features of collocation are universal, and as well language dependent. In other words, this work

and earlier studies on collocation, have shown that while collocations in languages manifest some universal phenomena, there are constrained features of collocation that are language specific or language dependent (Lewis, 1993; Nesselhauf, 2003; Okoro, 2013; Hericksen, 2014). By implication, users, teachers and learners of languages should pay attention to the general, as well as the peculiar features of collocation in any specific language under study.

Conclusion

This work has enlarged our understanding of the definition, identification and classification of Yorùbá collocative syntagms. Collocations as they relate to the Yorùbá language have been defined as the structural or syntagmatic combinations of certain words to the exclusion of others. Four types of collocations are identified and classified in the language. They are chunks of free lexical categories, restricted lexical classes, reduplicative expressions and idioms. The free lexical classes are concerned with lexical and grammatical categories that could be varied; restricted collocations are chunks which consist of syntagms that are limited in the combinations of lexical categories, i. e., verb + noun, verb + adjective, adjective + adverb; reduplicative expressions are lexical items that repeat or co-occur with themselves as chunks; and idioms are collocates that are fixed.

This article has enumerated some implications of the study on Yorùbá usage because linguistic competence in collocation is part and parcel of the lexical, semantic and grammatical knowledge of the language. Significantly, the study has made us to realise the bilingual effect of collocation on Yorùbá users, which has resulted in interlingual transfer. This has negatively impacted on the Yorùbá language users and learners, thereby leading to instances of error of mis-collocation among the users and learners. The resultant function of this underscores the need for the study of peculiar features of collocation in each language to avoid errors. This is against the background that errors of collocation are bound to affect the fluency, use or performance of the users and learners in any language. Since collocation is universal in languages, the teaching of this aspect in Yorùbá and other native languages should be introduced in schools. Then, collocations in the Yorùbá and other indigenous language should be comprehensively compiled for documentation for the benefit of users, teachers, researchers and students.

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APPENDIX: DATA (COLLOCATIONS) COLLECTED AND THEIR SOURCES

For ease of reference, the collocations are numbered, i.e., Collocate 1 (CLT 1)

SPOKEN DISCOURSE (Electronic Media)

CLT 1:	ya wèrè	(become mad)
CLT 2:	di pupa	(turn red)
CLT 3:	ṣi wèrè	(become mad)
CLT 4:	d’ágbéjùúlè	(become dumped)
CLT 5:	d’òdè	(become stupid)
CLT 6:	d’odi	(became deaf)
CLT 7:	sáré tete	(run fast)
CLT 8:	rín gbendéke	(walk psychedelically)
CLT 9:	múra gidí	(be prepared seriously)
CLT 10:	múra sílẹ	(be ready)
CLT 11:	láwé láwé	(page by page)
CLT 12:	lẹsẹ lẹsẹ	(verse by verse)
CLT 13:	lówó lówó	(now, now)
CLT 14:	lógán lógán	(quick, quick)
CLT 15:	sun je	(roast to eat)
CLT 16:	gbé mi	(swallow)
CLT 17:	gbá mú	(hold)
CLT 18:	mu je	(take and eat)
CLT 19:	rà’we	(buy a book)
CLT 20:	kọ’rúko	(write a name)
CLT 21:	pa’riwo	(make a noise)
CLT 22:	mò’wé	(‘know book’ be intelligent)
CLT 23:	bu ẹnu àtẹ̀ lù	(to ridicule)
CLT 24:	di igbò lù	(to clash with)
CLT 25:	dá ojù tí	(to disgrace)
CLT 26:	dá orí kọ̀ odò	(to be crestfallen)
CLT 27:	sọ orí kọ̀’dò	(to be crest fallen)
CLT 28:	pa’tan dé	(close one’s lap)
CLT 29:	peṅu dé	(close one’s mouth)
CLT 30:	peṣedé	(close one’s leg)

PERSONAL INTROSPECTION (By the Researchers)

CLT 31:	palẹ̀ mó	(clear the floor)
CLT 32:	pa ojù dé	(to close the eyes)
CLT 33:	fi ọkàn tẹ̀	(bank upon)
CLT 34:	fi ara balẹ̀	(to be-calm)
CLT 35:	fi ara rọ̀	(to lean on)
CLT 36:	gbé ọkàn lé	(to depend on)
CLT 37:	mú itijù kúrò	(to put shame off)
CLT 38:	gbé itijù tí	(to put shame off)
CLT 39:	fi etí sí	(to listen to)
CLT 40:	fi ọkàn sí	(to pay attention)
CLT 41:	fi àyà sí	(to pay attention)
CLT 41:	fi àyà rán	(to endure)
CLT 42:	fi ọkàn tán	(to trust in)
CLT 43:	fi ojù sí	(to watch closely)
CLT 44:	mú ẹnu mó	(to shut up)
CLT 45:	mú ẹnu lé	(to begin to speak)
CLT 46:	mú ọkàn lé	(to depend upon)
CLT 47:	mú ara dúró	(to be self-controlled)
CLT 48:	mú ọkàn le	(be courageous)

CLT 49:	fa ojú ro	(to frown)
CLT 50:	ba ojú jé	(to look displeased)
CLT 51:	ba ẹnu jé	(to pout)

WRITTEN DISCOURSE (Print Media)

CLT 52:	ba ọkàn jé	(to grieve)
CLT 53:	bà nínú jé	(to sadden)
CLT 54:	bà lẹkàn jé	(to sadden)
CLT 55:	bà lójú jé	(to cause to lose face)
CLT 56:	bà lẹwọ jé	(to hurt someone’s hand)
CLT 57:	bà lẹsẹ jé	(to injure someone’s in the leg)
CLT 58:	bà láṣọ jé	(to spoil someone’s garment)
CLT 59:	bà aṣọ jé	(to damage a garment)
CLT 60:	dá wáhàlà sílẹ	(cause trouble)
CLT 61:	dá ìjà sílẹ	(to start a quarrel)
CLT 62:	dá isòro sílẹ	(to create a problem)
CLT 63:	dá rúgúdù sílẹ	(to bring about chaos)
CLT 64:	kó ilé	(to build a house)

WRITTEN (Examination Scripts)

CLT 65:	kó ilẹ	(to cultivate the land)
CLT 66:	kọ oko	(to cultivate the land)
CLT 67:	kọ iwé	(to write a text)
CLT 68:	ṣe iwé	(to produce a textbook)
CLT 69:	kọ iṣẹ	(to refuse going on an errand)
CLT 70:	kó iṣẹ	(learn a vocation)
CLT 71:	kọ ojú sí	(to face somewhere)
CLT 72:	ra iwé	(to buy a book)
CLT 73:	gba ilé	(to rent a room/apartment/house)
CLT 74:	gbá ilẹ	(to sweep the floor)
CLT 75:	ta iwé	(to sell a book)
CLT 76:	mọ iwé	(to be intelligent)
CLT 77:	mọ ilé	(to build a house through a bricklayer)
CLT 78:	ka iwé	(to study/read)
CLT 79:	gba iwé	(to collect a book)
CLT 80:	gbé iwé	(to steal/take a book)
CLT 81:	mú iwé	(to take a book)
CLT 82:	mu omi	(to drink water)
CLT 83:	gba ijó	(to dance)
CLT 84:	gba kọrọ	(take a corner)
CLT 85:	mú ijó	(to dance)
CLT 86:	mú ijó jó	(to dance a dance)
CLT 87:	bọ ojú	(to wash the face)
CLT 88:	bọ aṣọ	(to put off one’s clothe)
CLT 89:	bọ ẹnu	(to be able feed a mouth)
CLT 90:	wá owó	(to seek for money)
CLT 91:	wọ aṣọ	(to put on one’s clothes)
CLT 92:	wọ ilé	(to enter the house)
CLT 93:	wá ìdí	(to search or investigate)
CLT 94:	ká aṣọ	(to remove the clothes, e.g. on the washing line)
CLT 95:	ká aṣọ	(to fold the clothe)
CLT 96:	ká ojú	(to put away the face off something)
CLT 97:	ká eṣẹ	(to bring to, or to come to an end)
CLT 98:	yọ ọwọ	(stretch forth the hand)
CLT 99:	yọ ọwọ	(to give up impact/contribution)
CLT 100:	ye ara	(stay away)

CLT 102:	mọ ilé	(know the location of a house)
CLT 103:	wa ọkò	(drive a vehicle)
CLT 104:	fón ká síbè	(scatter inside it)
CLT 105:	tú jú ká	(be of good cheer)
CLT 106:	palẹ̀ mọ	(clear things out)
CLT 107:	tejú mọ	(stare at)
CLT 108:	mó'jú kúrò	(withdraw attention)
CLT 109:	mú nnkan jẹ	(enjoy something)
CLT 110:	ṣàtún ṣe	(make correction)
CLT 111:	ya wèrè	(to become mad)
CLT 112: ṣì	wèrè	(to become mad)
CLT 113:	di ọ̀dẹ̀	(to become stupid)
CLT 114:	di pupa	(to become red)

WRITTEN (Yorùbá Literary Texts)

CLT 115:	mú funfun	(to take the white)
CLT 116:	gbé dúdú	(to date the dark complexioned)
CLT 117:	gbé pupa	(to date the fair complexioned)
CLT 118:	yàn kan	(to choose one)
CLT 119:	mú kan	(to choose one)
CLT 120:	sáré tete	(to run fast)
CLT 121:	rín ṣìṣìṣì	(to dawdle)
CLT 122:	múra dáadáa	(to dress up)
CLT 123:	múra gidigidi	(to rehearse or to prepare very well/seriously)
CLT 124:	wò bàibàì	(to gaze unsteadily)
CLT 125:	ríran bàibàì	(to see faintly)
CLT 126:	jẹun wéréwéré	(to eat fast)
CLT 127:	ṣe kíá	(make it snappy)
CLT 128:	mú gan an	(grip something)
CLT 129:	mú gan an	(of a knife-very sharp; about the sun's heat-intense)
CLT 130:	Ga fiofio	(very high)
CLT 131:	gùn gbàlàjà	(very long)
CLT 132:	gùn táṣọ́lò	(of a person-tall admirably)
CLT 133:	tutù rinrin	(very cold)
CLT 134:	gbóná lala	(very hot)
CLT 135:	gbóná fẹlifẹlì	(very hot)
CLT 136:	gbóná janjan	(very hot)
CLT 137:	gbóná girigiri	(very hot)
CLT 138:	sun jẹ	(to roast to eat)
CLT 139:	sọ jẹ	(to grab to eat)
CLT 140:	ṣà jẹ	(to pick up to eat)
CLT 141:	gbé mi	(to take up to dwelled)
CLT 142:	gbé jẹ	(to take up to eat)
CLT 143:	fọ̀ mu	(to mash into liquid form to drink)
CLT 144:	tú jẹ	(to unfold a pack to eat)
CLT 145:	bá lọ	(to accompany)
CLT 146:	bá rẹ	(to love; or to unite)
CLT 147:	gbá mú	(to get a hold on somebody or something)
CLT 148:	bá jẹ	(to eat with)
CLT 149:	bá mu	(to drink with)
CLT 150:	bá sùn	(to sleep with)
CLT 151:	bá gbé	(to live with)
CLT 152:	jéjẹ jẹjẹ	(bad condition)
CLT 153:	díro díro	(untidy situation)
CLT 154:	wére wère	(irrational behaviour)
CLT 155:	pála pàla	(absurd behaviour)
CLT 156:	bóti bóti	(strange behaviour)
CLT 157:	pọ̀nmọ̀ pọ̀nmọ̀	(unusual experience)
CLT 158:	wọ̀gọ̀ wọ̀gọ̀	(having a crooked shape)

CLT 159:	wólọ wólọ	(having a twisted shape)
CLT 160:	kánmọ kánmọ	(untoward act)
CLT 161:	jágba jágba	(irresponsible act)
CLT 162:	báṣa báṣa	(unseemly act)
CLT 163:	ráda ráda	(indecorous act)
CLT 164:	pála pála	(undignified act)
CLT 165:	réde réde	(unbecoming act)
CLT 166:	kánmọ kánmọ	(very quick)
CLT 167:	kiá kiá	(speedy)
CLT 168:	pátá pátá	(totally)
CLT 169:	diẹ diẹ	(little by little; instalments)
CLT 170:	fà jade	(to pull out)
CLT 171:	gbà iyànjú	(to make effort)
CLT 172:	gbà ní mọrán	(to give advice to)
CLT 173:	bá pàdé	(come across)
CLT 174:	fi ojú tẹmbélú	(to look down upon)
CLT 175:	yorí sí ayọ	(to result in joy)
CLT 176:	já si ìyanu	(to result in wonder)
CLT 177:	ti ojú bọ	(to pry)
CLT 178:	mú ẹnu mọ	(to keep quiet)
CLT 179:	mú ọkàn le	(to take heart)
CLT 180:	mú ara dúró	(to show restraint)
CLT 181:	mú ojú kúrò	(show forbearance)

LIVE DISCOURSE (Participant Observation)

CLT 182:	So agbẹjẹ m’ówọ	(to be careful)
CLT 183:	Iyanu lo jẹun pẹlú sibi yin	(Iyanu was the one who ate with your spoon)
CLT 184:	Yan ẹkọ nibi ti agbọn ti ga	(to embark on what you cannot cope with)
CLT 185:	Na ọwọ sí	(to give someone something)
CLT 186:	Sùbèrù lo gbà mi ojú ninu kilasi	(Suberu was the one who slapped me in the class)
CLT 187:	Fi imú finlẹ	(to investigate)
CLT 188:	Já sẹ	(to die)
CLT 189:	Wàjà	(for a monarch to die)
CLT 190:	Ta tẹru nípàá	(to die)
CLT 191:	Gbé ẹmí mì	(to die)
CLT 192:	Mási mu gaàrí pelu kuli lánàán	(Mercy took <i>gaari</i> with <i>kuli</i>)
CLT 193:	Kí òkété ẹni bórù	(to escape)
CLT 194:	Fi irù fonná	(to get into trouble)
CLT 195:	Fi ori já ilẹ agbọn	(to get into trouble)
CLT 196:	Fi ẹnu fẹra	(to adopt a remedy that is ineffective)
CLT 197:	Dá ọwọ tẹ ilẹ	(to defecate)
CLT 198:	Di ikàsi	(to become stale)
CLT 199:	Féwọ	(to steal)
CLT 200:	Yadii	(to be promiscuous)
CLT 201:	Bóólú! Palẹ mọ óunjẹ dádi	(Bolu! Clear the table after daddy’s meal)
CLT 202:	Tẹ ọkà nírù mólẹ	(to enter into danger)
CLT 203:	Fi àáké kọrí	(to be obstinate)
CLT 204:	E wòó! Ó tẹ mí mólẹ lẹsẹ	(Look! He stepped on my leg)
CLT 205:	Forí ọkà homú	(to play with a dangerous thing)
CLT 206:	Fárigá	(to be furious)
CLT 207:	Tutọ sókè fojú gbàá	(to be very angry)
CLT 208:	Dámólá séré pẹlú ajá, ajá bùú je	(Damola played with the dog, and the dog bite her)
CLT 209:	Di agbàdo inú ìgò	(to become unassailable)
CLT 210:	Di ológbò inú òkẹ	(to be fair outside but terrible inside)
CLT 211:	Fi ẹran ha ikokò lẹnu	(to make way for the enemy)
CLT 212:	Fi idodo kọgbó	(to do something that one regrets later)
CLT 213:	Ki ọwọ pálábá ségi	(for one’s game to be up)
CLT 214:	Dádi, Bólá gbá mi nişẹẹ	(Daddy boxed me)

CLT 215:	Pàrọwà fún	(to appeal to)
CLT 216:	Sọ ojú abẹ níkòó	(to be frank and candid)
CLT 217:	Pọnmì sínú apẹrẹ	(to embark on a futile mission)
CLT 218:	Fídí rẹmì	(to fail woefully)
CLT 219:	Gbówó wọgbó	(to waste resources)
CLT 220:	Àkàrà tú sépo	(for a secret to become exposed)
CLT 221:	Fakọyọ	(to do brilliantly)
CLT 222:	Lù lógo ẹnu	(to cause to talk on an issue)
CLT 223:	Kó iyán ẹni kéré	(to treat one with slight)
CLT 224:	Gba ẹyin ba ẹbọ jẹ	(to betray)

Pragma-Semantic Silences in the Nigerian 2011 Presidential Elections News reports

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Abstract

The Nigeria 2011 presidential election was the most violent in the history of democratic processes in Nigeria as several hundreds of people were killed and thousands displaced as a result of the post-election violence across the country (United States Institute of Peace, 2011). While the ruling party (the People's Democratic Party) claimed the election was free and fair, the opposition claimed otherwise. This study, therefore, uses the pragma-semantic silences in presuppositions to examine the election news reports in order to unveil the ideological stances in the representation of the election. This is because presuppositions could be both semantic and pragmatic inferences, which are most often silent in texts, and are capable of concealing ideologies. Khaleel's (2010) category of presupposition triggers is adopted and six national daily newspapers were selected for this study. The study observes that even though the Nigeria 2011 presidential election was the most violent, this reality does not seem to preoccupy the representation in the news reports as there were more of presupposition triggers supporting the ideology of free fair and peaceful election.

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Keywords

Elections news reports, media representation, Nigeria, Presupposition, Silence

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Introduction

The debate on presupposition was birthed in 1892 by Frege, a German Logician. Presupposition is foregrounded information that a speaker assumes the hearer shares with him for their conversation to thrive. This mutual knowledge enables the speaker to be implicit, most times, in during conversation by assuming that the co-interactants are aware of what he does not directly mention. The concept was initially a semantic concept because of the role it performs in constructions of meanings. That is why semanticists such as Kempson (1975) posits that presupposition is a logical concept connected to truth-conditional semantics because even when the proposition is negated in an utterance, the truth value of the presupposed information does not change. As a semantic concept, it is tied to the encoded meanings in specific words referred to as ‘triggers’.

On the other hand, Stalnaker (1974) came up with pragmatic presupposition which is different from the literal meanings of an utterance. He opines that there is a need for context in order to correctly interpret an utterance in respect to its truth value. This is because presupposed information may not always be traceable to specific words or phrases but understood from general properties of context and expectations of participants in a discourse.

In the present study, we argue that the strategies of semantic and pragmatic presuppositions are used by media practitioners to conceal their slants thereby allowing readers to figure out the proposed or intended inferences in a news discourse by themselves. Media does not explicitly say everything most times but could imply more than what is said in their representation of persons or events. Many studies such as Bekalu (2006), Khaleel (2010), Mustapha Ahmed (2011), Zare et al., (2012), and Haile (2014) have examined presuppositions in media discourse. What are thus common to these studies are two conclusions: presuppositions are both semantic and pragmatic; and presuppositions have ideological or political intents. These conclusions mean that presupposition work from inside-out. That is, from the internal system of language to external and cultural knowledge. It is also used to mystify certain ideological or political issues to the interest of certain powerful groups.

Khaleel (2010) for instance, examines the presupposition triggers in journalistic texts and discovers that journalistic texts rely heavily on existential presupposition, followed by structural and lexical presuppositions. The frequency of each trigger shows that definite descriptions has the highest frequency under existential category, while adverbial triggers in structural presupposition and conventional items under lexical category. The finding on the prominent category of triggers is similar to Zare et al, (2012) study on broadcast news discourse from Press TV and CNN. They compared the presupposition triggers in the two media news reports and discovered that existential category of presupposition was dominant. In their conclusions, they were of the opinion that existential presupposition is ‘a constant property of news discourse’ partly because of its simple structures which are possessive constructions and definite noun phrase. As for Bekalu (2006), he looks at three Ethiopian newspapers in English to unveil the types of knowledge that are presupposed in news articles by journalists. That is whether the presupposed knowledge types are fairly or unfairly presupposed. The study is hinged on Speber and Wilson’s (1995, 1986) Relevance Theory and van Dijk’s (2001, 2005) typology of knowledge. The study discovers that in situations where the journalists make use of unfair

presuppositions, they tend to obscure certain issues which consequently condition their readers to invest more processing efforts to understand and achieve the required cognitive effect of the articles.

As part of the earlier debates on media studies, van Dijk is one of the notable scholars who have conducted a lot of researches on media role in the representation of people and events. His area of interest has usually been a socio-cognitive approach to the study of media. The approach takes cognizance of social and cognitive parameters in media representations. For instance, in his study on racism, van Dijk, (2012) opines that ethnic domination as represented in discourse is of two dimensions namely: social and cognitive. The social deals with the daily discriminatory practices against the 'out-groups' (ethnically different people) by excluding them from basic human rights or unequal social resources distribution; and the cognitive dimension is in form of stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies which motivate the discriminatory practices. The implication of these dimensions is that the discourse is made polarized where the 'we' or the 'ingroup' is represented positively while the 'outgroup' or 'them' is represented negatively. Therefore, having the knowledge of media representation of social and political activities helps to further come to terms with the reality that media plays a prominent role as the most influential source of influence and shaping of attitudes.

In Nigeria, the 2011 Presidential election news reports in the press could add to the knowledge of how media representation of political activities influences the attitudes of the people. The different representations have attracted studies from different fields of human endeavor and linguistics is not an exception. For instance, the recent waves of studies into political and media discourses have resulted into studies, such as language, ideology and power relations in newspapers and magazines headlines (Oyeleye & Osisanwo, 2013); styles in political slogans (Osisanwo, 2011); patterns of metaphorical language use in Kenya's political discourse (Orwenjo, 2010); representation of people in the news in the Nigerian print media (Alo, 2008); discourse pragmatics of news headlines and lead stories (Chiluwa, 2005) and many more.

Oyeleye and Osisanwo (2013) explore the linguistic feature of lexicalization in media representation of the 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria with the aim of accounting for how different ideologies that permeated the representation of the elections are lexically anchored. The study relies on Fairclough's (1992) theory on wording to see how ideologies are expressed in *Tell* and *the News*; two famous Nigerian magazines. In their findings, they contend that lexicalization helps to unveil some of the ideologies of the selected magazines in respect to the general elections. Some of the ideologies are: election is fraudulent, rigged, dirty game and that the power of incumbency plays a crucial role in dictating the pendulum of the election. These claims are further investigated through overlexicalisation and re-lexicalization by adopting Osisanwo's (1986) formula to work out the thematic preoccupations in the news stories. It concludes that lexical choices are non-neutral because they could reveal the ideological focus of the magazines.

In another study, Taiwo (2007) takes issue with language, ideology and power relations in Nigerian Newspaper headlines. He situates the study within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and observes the peculiarity in the vocabulary and rhetorical devices in the selected Newspaper headlines. The study is not a completely political discourse study because it includes headlines on religious discourse, health and education. The study observes that the

headlines have hidden ideological meanings and leanings which are polarized between the powerful people or groups whose interests are being served and those whose interests are being undermined. This review, though largely a quantitative classification of headlines along their themes and surface structures, is significant because it lays a foundation for the present study by demonstrating that headlines are not ideologically neutral. They are the most powerful persuasive and auto-promotional tool used to attract newspapers readers (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996).

The linguistic structures of two Egyptian newspapers, *Al-Gomhuria* and *Al-Dostour* in their framing of police news story were analyzed by Mahfouz (2013). He takes a comparative look at a totally state-controlled newspaper and an independent newspaper using CDA framework to explore the nature and scope of the newspapers' ideologies. This attempt is borne out of an assumption that language can be used in constructing ideologies and the ideologies can exercise a great deal of power in shaping the reader's interpretation. The study, therefore, examines the words of the headlines, the lead and the structure of the news stories to decipher ideological polarity between the newspapers. It observes that *Al-Gomhuria*, in its style and tone, follows the official line by showing solidarity with the police and downplays their negative side while *Al-Dostour* is biased against the police. The findings in this study are further evidences that news reporting is shaped by the ideologies of the owners which in turn usually have elements of bias against the other group. That is, news reporting is never neutral and ideology-free. That is why there is careful construction of news headlines, lead paragraphs and structures of news stories in order to reflect the ideological slant of the writer.

All the above studies indicate that countries on the African continent have witnessed different political issues in the 21st century and those issues have resulted into tribal conflicts, and in some cases, disunity and secession. Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa with over 180 million people according to the results of the National Population Commission's census of 2006. It has experienced its own instability too. Nigeria has had course to experience political struggles after independence in 1960 and by 1966 there was the first blooded coup d'état. The coup plunged the country into one military regime to another till 1979. By 1983, there was a democratically elected government which was later botched out by another successful military return. The military was therefore in power up to the year 1999 before they handed over to yet another democratically elected civilian government. The year marked the likely end of military governments in Nigeria and the country commenced another democratic system of government. There have been four different general elections since 1999; (2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015) but the 2011 presidential election was the most violent.

The media as a social institution that is expected to be objective is generally still being perceived as a ready tool to be used by powerful institutions in Nigeria. In that case, newspaper representation of events, such as the 2011 presidential election and other political activities in the country, may not be value-free but may be imbued with certain underlying ideologies and power play which, in turn, could impact on the outcomes of political events.

In this study therefore, we examined the structures of the news reports which indicate media bias of the election representation. This is in line with the opinion of van Dijk (1998, p. 10) that “in order to understand the role of the news media and their messages, one needs to pay detailed

attention to the structures and strategies of such discourses...”. This was done through the internal system of language (triggers) and the presupposed silences which are inferable in order to unveil the media slants in the representation of the election. The Nigerian 2011 presidential election is very significant in the annals of the country’s democracy. On one hand, it was the first time, in the history of the country’s democracy, in which someone (*Ijaw* man) from the minority group, would become the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria after many years of ‘political marginalization’ (Higgins, 2009). On the other hand, the 2011 election was the most violent as it claimed eight hundred (800) lives over three days in some parts of Nigeria and displaced 65,000 people, (United States Institute of Peace, 2011). Therefore, there was a lot politicking during and after the electioneering processes which might have also had considerable impacts on the representation of the presidential elections in the press.

1. Data Collection

The corpus used for the study is built as follows (see **Table 2**). A multistage sampling technique was adopted. This is because it involves different stages owing to the large number of daily newspapers in Nigeria. Also, each paper has several news articles and there is therefore the need to narrow down our selection to the needed news articles.

As a result, the initial stage had to do with random sampling of two national daily newspapers from each of the most populated states in the zones; Lagos, Kano, Benue, Bauchi, Rivers, and Anambra. The outcome gave us twelve national daily newspapers. The second stage was to random sample one newspaper from each city. These newspapers were selected from the national dailies that were kept by the national libraries in each of the states selected for this study. The total numbers of the newspapers are six. The last stage adopts a non-probability purposive random sampling whereby two (2) election news articles (the lead articles and one other news article) were selected from the newspapers. The total sample consists of twelve news reports selected from six (6) different newspapers in the country. The sampled news articles gave account of the voting processes, counting and the announcements of results by some electoral commissioners from some states of the federation. The newspapers are national dailies hence they have a general audience who are Nigerians and other nationals residing in the country. They do not have obvious ideological affinity or interest clearly stated in their publications with any political party or government but we do know that their representation of social and political events in the country may not be value-free.

Table 2: The sampling procedures adopted in the study

Stages	Processes	Newspapers	Total
Stage 1	Random sampling of two national daily newspapers from each of the most populated cities in the zones	<i>Punch, Nigerian Tribune, Guardian, New Nigeria, Daily Trust, Daily Triumph, Vanguard, This Day, The Nation, Trumpeta, The Truth, The Pointer</i>	12 newspapers
Stage 2	Selecting one newspaper each from each geo-political zone	<i>Nigerian Tribune, Punch, Guardian, New Nigeria, Daily Trust, This Day</i>	6 newspapers
Stage 3	Non-probability purposive random sampling of two election news reports		12 news articles (see Appendix)

It is important to state that there is no up-to-date statistics, to the best of our knowledge, which states the actual number of registered newspapers in Nigeria and the criteria for being called national dailies. However, the Nigerian Press Council came up with 46 daily newspapers in their 125 pages inventory of newspapers and magazines published in Nigeria. All daily newspapers attribute relevance to themselves by claiming that they are national. Therefore, this study posits that national dailies are the newspapers that discuss national issues and they are widely circulated in the most populated cities in Nigeria and can also be found in the repositories of the national libraries. The newspapers as we found out above are *Punch*, *Tribune*, *The Guardian*, *New Nigerian*, *Daily Trust*, and *This Day*.

Six lead articles were purposively selected from these newspapers. The lead articles are the major articles which are positioned on the first pages of the newspapers and they are most times conspicuously printed in bold letters to attract readers. They are also articles that reported the outcomes of the presidential election. To reduce the bias that could result from this selection, we limited our article selection to the ones published on 17 and 18 of April, 2011 when the results of the election were reported across the country.

The six lead articles were complemented by purposively selecting one other news article each which discourses the outcomes of the election from all the newspapers under investigation. The selection makes the news articles twelve in number. The study also concentrated on the whole contents of the articles albeit the headlines and lead paragraphs were given more attention because they are most times concentrated on by readers. Also, in the preliminaries of the paper, especially in the structures of news media and theoretical framework, some of the examples cited are from the corpus and such examples are marked with their sources. They are however not part of the analysis under the analysis section. All the articles are labeled as samples 1-12, and a list is attached as appendix at the end of this study.

2. Structures of News in Print Media

News reports in print media constitute a particular genre of media discourse, thus should be accounted for in terms of their structures at different levels of linguistic descriptions. These descriptions should not be restricted to grammatical, phonological, syntactic or semantic structures of isolated words, phrases, or sentences as it is customary in structural or generative linguistics (van Dijk, 1988). Their descriptions should also include a social context. News reports can have local and global structures. These structures are not only about description of isolated sentences in terms of syntax, semantics and pragmatics; these account only for local structures of news reports (Aljayrudy, 2011). For van Dijk, (1998), he is of the opinion that a comprehensive description of news reports should account for both the micro level and macro level structures.

At the microstructural level, news reports are organized in propositions through different means, such as lexicalization, coherence, implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, metaphors, and rhetoric. A proposition is the smallest unit of meaning constructs which are used to denote facts (van Dijk 1988). Consider the following example from the corpus of the study:

Hurricane Jonathan knocks out Buhari, others (*THE PUNCH*, Monday April 18, 2011, page 2).

This example contains one argument and a predicate and it is verifiable as true or false. In news discourse, an argument can be persons, groups and institutions.

Meanings and ideological stands can therefore, manifest through microstructures, such as lexicalization. The lexical items can reveal the ideological bias of the writer. For instance:

A confident President Jonathan...promised to quit his position if he fails to win the election (*SUNDAY PUNCH*, Sunday April 17, 2011, page 2)

The use of “confident” to qualify President Jonathan may not be neutral bearing in mind the caption of the article which claims that “Jonathan and Buhari are in a tight race”. Also, this can enhance ideological awareness because putting “confidence” at the sentence-initial position may represent the view of the newspapers. This may portend that the other contender, Buhari is not confident.

However, many of the structural properties in discourse, such as implications and presuppositions make their ideological beliefs implicit in discourse. For instance:

Jonathan sweeps South-West (*SUNDAY VANGUARD*, Sunday April 17, 2011, page 1)

The meaning in this example is contextually signaled. The context helps to presuppose that the reader is aware of the elections and that there are contenders and a region called South-West. Similarly, the verb “sweeps” connotes an overwhelming victory for Jonathan in the South-West, a zone that is regarded as the stronghold of the opposition. Without the background knowledge, it would be problematic assigning meaning out of context to this example. That is why it is of interest to note that most information required to understand and interpret discourse are socially shared by language users and members of a society. Therefore, speakers may not necessarily be explicit in most cases because they expect their listeners to activate their shared knowledge of the situation and culture in the interpretation of discourse.

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The above expectation is required across newspapers stories and we can guess that much of the information that is captured is left implicit or presupposed. According to van Dijk, (2006: 12) “discourses are like proverbial icebergs; most of their meanings are not explicitly expressed but presupposed to be known, and inferable from general sociocultural knowledge”. Presuppositions are propositions which are assumed by the writer to be known by the reader based on what is included in the sentence and their shared social cultural knowledge. Some presuppositions are tied to the meaning of the lexical items while some are grammatically signaled.

Entailments and implicatures are also two concepts that are related to presuppositions. Entailment is also known as implication and according to Levinson (1983: 174) ”A semantically entails B if every situation that makes A true makes B true (A ||-B)”. In other words, it means that one proposition is contained within other proposition. For instance:

General Sanni Abacha was Nigeria Head of State in 1998. (*Not from the corpus*)

This means that Sanni Abacha was a Nigerian and was in the Military. The proposition “Head of State” entails another proposition which is “Sanni Abacha was in the Nigerian Army”. Similarly, the word “General” also includes another proposition which is “Sanni Abacha was a soldier”. This type of implication is a strong one because the relations between the propositions are obvious in the sense that, a “General”, for instance, is known to be a rank in the military. However, it is not in all cases that the meaning of the entailed proposition will be obvious or strong.

I am indeed happy that we are consolidating democracy (*SUNDAY PUNCH*, Sunday April 17, 2011)

The above sentence does not have direct or obvious entailed information which may be signaled by the lexical items in the sentence but that the president is “indeed happy” presupposes his acceptance and belief in the exercise. There can also be weak or subjective implications; these are referred to as implicatures. They are not explicitly said or written in discourse. That is why van Dijk (1988) observes that implied or presupposed proposition which is not expressed directly or explicitly in discourse is implicit information. In news discourse, many things are left implicit or taken for granted and all these information can be accounted for or realized through the understanding of the background knowledge that produces the particular news report. All these structural properties and examples are at the local level of discourse.

At the macro level structures, there are global topics, global themes and macro propositions which are organized at the global semantic level or semantic macrostructures. At the global pragmatic level, news reports accomplish macro speech acts. At the syntactic level, there is a syntactic or organizational pattern in form of news schemata which organizes the overall meaning of a text (syntactic superstructures) just like a syntactic form which also organizes meaning at the sentential or micro level. For instance, in everyday narrative schema, categories such as, Summary, Setting, Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda are likely features (van Dijk, 1988). This is also similar to Labov and Waletzky (1967) oral narrative stages; Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Result/resolution and Coda. If a category is missing from these categories, it may render the story as either incomplete or uninteresting.

News reports also have a similar hierarchical schema. They consist of conventional categories, such as headlines and lead, which form the summary category; body of the text which includes main events, context and history form the background category; verbal reactions or comments category can also include smaller categories, such as evaluation and expectations. Of all these categories, the most obligatory categories are the Summary and Episode categories (Bell, 1991; van Dijk, 1988) which include headlines and lead paragraphs. The present study, therefore, examined the headlines (at the macrostructural level) and other categories in the newspapers. Both micro and macrostructures can be deployed to achieve some form of representation of events and people.

3. Theoretical Underpinning

This study is hinged on Critical Discourse Analysis; a multidisciplinary framework which draws tools from different fields of studies, such as Linguistics, Media, Psychology, Philosophy, etc. Moreover, it is imperative to clearly indicate where the tools for any study are drawn from. Many researchers working on media discourses have adopted CDA framework in their studies. For instance, van Dijk (1991) studies news discourse and uses a sociocognitive model of CDA to focus on the nature of the reproduction of racism by the press. Chouliaraki (2005) analyzes the television footage of the September 11th attacks and the Iraq war using the same framework. Therefore, the adoption of CDA in media discourse is no longer novel, and irrespective of the different dimensions and models of the above researchers, “the focus of their studies remains the same; studying the linguistic features of media texts” (Macdonald, 2003). Moreover, Bell and Garrett (1998) opine that CDA is the standard framework for analyzing media texts. In this study, we adopted van Dijk’s sociocognitive approach to doing CDA in order to uncover hidden meanings and biases in the Nigerian 2011 presidential elections news reports. This approach is credited to Teun van Dijk. He opines that CDA should be performed based on a sound theory of context and that if contexts control discourse at all, it is only possible when they are conceived as cognitive structures of some kind (van Dijk, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). A similar opinion is held by Chilton (2005, as cited in Li, 2013) that CDA should attend to the cognitive dimension of discourse in social and political contexts. This is because cognition is seen as the lost segment of many Critical Linguistics studies. Therefore, mental models and context models are the major tenets of sociocognitive model of CDA. It means that, for discourse to be produced and comprehended, mental model is crucial. Discourse production and comprehension involve the formation, activation or actualization of a mental model which is long-stored personal experience (Li, 2013). Mental model is therefore a subjective representation of the events that make up the discourse. It includes personal knowledge, beliefs and opinions of the writers which may be controlled by ideologies. Context is the participant’s subjective definition of the situation i.e. what is relevant to the social situation by the participants (Van Dijk, 2009). Context models therefore, are the ‘participants’ mental models of communicative situations’ (Van Dijk, 2006). Contexts manage the mental models of any event regarding the knowledge to be considered relevant for the immediate communicative situation (Li, 2013).

In media discourse, the mental models of the journalist have a lot of influence on what s/he writes and how such models consequently determine the perception of the readers. The representation is also driven by the journalist’s ideology or the media institution’s stance on such event or people. The basic impact of this is polarizing the discourse by pitching ‘us’ (the powerful, government, elites) against ‘them’ (the opposition).

In this study, we draw on pragmatic tool of presupposition to unearth the ideological stances of the news representation of the Nigerian 2011 presidential election. From the introduction above, presupposition is based more on the actual linguistic structure of sentence than certain contextual assumptions or pragmatic inference. That is why Saeed (1997: 98) opines that “many presuppositions are produced by the presence of certain words”. In this study, therefore, both semantic and pragmatic presuppositions are collapsed as one. This is because semantic presupposition must be evaluated in the discourse participants’ common ground just like pragmatic presupposition, at times, needs to be encoded into linguistic structures through

‘presupposition triggers’ (Frege, 1980). Triggers are ‘presupposition-generating linguistic items’ (Levinson, 1983: 179) which signal the existence of presupposition. And these triggers help to achieve the speaker action of presupposing. It is worth mentioning that presuppositions also have ideological functions just like implicatures because they relate to general sociocultural knowledge or beliefs which are not asserted but could be inferred.

Reah (2002: 106) suggests three linguistic measures of how presupposition could be marked in discourse. First, certain lexical category, such as ‘change of state verbs’ and ‘implicative verbs’ (stop, begin, manage, forget) have presupposed meanings. For instance, ‘*have you stopped stealing?*’ presupposes that the person had stolen before. Secondly, the definite article, ‘the’ and possessive articles, ‘his/her-----’ presupposes existence of something. For example, ‘*the CPC candidate*’ (*Sunday Vanguard*, April 17, 2011, page 7)¹⁴ presupposes there is a candidate contesting under the CPC party and an existence of a party called CPC. Presupposition could also be triggered by wh-questions, such as ‘*why, who, when*’ and this is evident in example like, ‘*why do you want to abandon your family?*’ presupposes that the person being addressed does want to abandon his family. The fourth category which Richardson (2007: 64) calls nominal presupposition can be triggered by nouns and adjectives used to qualify noun phrases, ‘*Britain’s asylum system takes new hammering*’ (*Daily Express*, 25 Feb, 2005). The adjective new presupposes that Britain’s asylum has experienced old or past hammerings.

For Yule (2010), the categorization of presupposition triggers are in six (6) groups. They include: existential, factive, lexical, structural, non-factive, and counter-factual. However, Potts (2015) came up with seventeen categories of presupposition triggers and what is observable in his categories is that many of the categories could be collapsed into Yule’s (2010) groupings. The categories are: Aspectual predicates like ‘*continue*’ and ‘*stop*’; Attitude predicates like ‘*know*’, ‘*realize*’, and ‘*regret*’; Definite determiners and demonstratives; Indefinite determiners; Pronouns; Proper names; Quantifier domains; Sortal restrictions; Additive particles like ‘*too*’, ‘*also*’, and ‘*either*’; Adjunct clauses headed by prepositions like ‘*before*’ and ‘*after*’; Appositives Clefts; Discourse particles like ‘*even*’ and ‘*only*’; Implicative verbs like ‘*manage*’ and ‘*fail*’ Intonational contours, including topic and focus accents and verum focus; Evidentials; and Manner adverbs like ‘*quickly*’.

In this study, Khaleel (2010) categorization is adopted with some modifications. Khaleel tries to collapse Karttunen’s thirty-One presupposition triggers as (cited in Levinson 1983: 181-184), and Yule (1996: 28). The classification is in three types, namely: existential, lexical and structural. Each category has sub-categories that are modified based on the types of presupposition triggers found in our data. The major categories and their sub-constituents as we have in the news reports are shown in Figure 1 below.

¹⁴ In order to illustrate both the presentation of the used theory and how the analysis will be implemented subsequently, examples are taken from the corpus.

PRESUPPOSITION TRIGGERS		
Existential	Lexical	Structural
Definite descriptions	Implicative verbs	Cleft constructions
	Factive verbs	Wh-questions
	Change of state verbs	Adverbial clauses
	Counterfactual verbs	
	Conventional items	
	Iteratives	

Figure 2: Presupposition Triggers

3.1. Existential presupposition

Existential presupposition is achieved through names or definite phrases and possessive constructions. By using names or definite phrases as triggers, the writer is assumed committed to the existence of the referents he names. The sentence below presupposes the existence of a place acknowledged as the opposition's territory. It also implies that there is a group referred to as the opposition.

President Goodluck Jonathan...broke into the stronghold of the opposition.
(*Vanguard*, Sunday April 17, 2011, page 1)

3.2. Lexical presupposition triggers

These are forms of lexical items, such as verbs and adjectives which are interpreted when used as presenting some forms of non-asserted meanings. Lexical presuppositions include implicative verbs, factive verbs, change of state verbs, counter-factual verbs, conventional items and iteratives. Below is the explanation of each category.

Implicative verbs

In using implicative verbs, certain presupposition is invoked. For example, forget, try, manage, fail, etc. To Yule (1996) these types of verbs have asserted and presupposed meanings in their very usage. In Karttunen's example, '*John managed to open the door*' presupposes that he tried to open the door and he succeeded. If we have another example like, *he tried to escape from the police*. This means that the person made attempts but he did not succeed in escaping from the police.

Factive verbs

They presuppose the truth of their complement clauses. The presupposed information is usually realized on verbs, such as *know, regret, realize, amuse, agree, forced to, saw, appreciate*, and

phrases like *it is odd, it is sad, it is unfortunate, bear in mind* etc. These verbs are also referred to as ‘attitudes predicates’ (Beaver, 2010). For Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) cited in Levinson (1983: 181), factive verbs could also include: ‘*know, be sorry that; be proud that; be indifferent that; be glad that; be sad that*’. Consider the example below:

...It was high time politicians realized that power belongs to the people.
(*Sunday Punch*, April 17, 2011)

The example presupposes that the complement clause after the verb ‘*realized*’ is presented as a fact. It means that politicians did not realize before the election that power belongs to the people. The factive verb ‘realize’ presupposes that power indeed belongs to the people.

Change of state verbs

This is also referred to as ‘aspectual predicates’ (Potts, 2014) and it is another type of lexical presupposition where the verbs switch from one state to another such that the presupposed meaning in the verb did not hold prior to the change. The verbs include: *finish, enter come, go, begin, stop, continue; take; leave, start, carry on, cease, arrive, etc.* Consider the sentence below:

INEC stopped the announcements of the results at the Abuja collation centre...
(*The Punch*, April 18, 2011 page 2)

The asserted meaning here is that the action is no longer in process but was in progress at some time in the past. It also means that the announcements of result took place at the Abuja collation centre.

Counter-factual verbs

These are verbs that presuppose the opposite of what is being proposed in a complement clause construction. This means that such verbs are contrary to facts. Also, conditional expressions in subjunctive mood could also trigger falsity in expressions.

Conventional items

Presupposition can also be triggered by conventional meanings of lexical items despite the arguments by scholars that presupposition does not belong to semantic but pragmatic domain (Levinson, 1983: 204). He claims that presuppositions are not stable or context-independent aspects of meaning, and as a result, it should belong to pragmatics. However, Palmer (1981: 170) is of the opinion that presupposition is associated with specific features of lexical items. Levinson (1983: 206) also supports the same opinion that presuppositions could be ‘part of the conventional meaning of expressions, even though they are not semantic inferences’. The conventionality of meaning of words is not restricted to verbs, other classes of words such as nouns, adjectives and adverbs could also have presupposed conventional meanings. Consider the example below:

‘He lost the election’.
‘He is a Nigerian’.
(Not from the *corpus*)

The conventional meaning and the context of usage of the verb *'lost'* presupposes that he contested and did not win. Similarly, part of the conventional meanings of the noun *'Nigerian'* is that the person is from Africa.

Iteratives

Iterative is a term used to 'refer to an event which takes place repeatedly' (Crystal, 1997: 206). Levinson (1983: 182) states that iterative presupposition is associated with certain words, such as, *another; again; repeat; anymore; returned; another time; to come back and restore*. They are often adverbs, adjectives or main verbs. The main verbs are those that have morphological evidence of reiteration. In English, iterative could be marked morphologically, typically by adding an affix on the verb. An example like *'The police decided to reinvestigate the money laundry case against the president'* is presupposed information triggered by the morpheme (re). It presupposes that the police had investigated the case against the said president before.

It could also be done by reduplication (Greenberg et al., 1978) where the verb is mentioned successively. *John coughed and coughed* is iterative in its interpretation. It could mean John coughs repeatedly, and each time, he coughs with more intensity or for a prolonged period of time. Also, the words (*yet, anymore*) are adverbs while (*another*) is an adjective and (*rewrite*) is a verb. Adverbs like *'too'* and *'again'* also presuppose some sorts of repetitions. He locked the gate again presupposes he locked the gate before.

Consider the following example from the data:

The PDP had a smooth sail too in Benue, ...
(*The Punch, April 18, 2011, page 2*)

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The above is an example of iterative. It is triggered by the underlined adverb *too* which presupposes that PDP had won earlier in other places.

The third category that is adopted in this study is structural presupposition and it is explained below.

3.3. Structural presuppositions

This occurs when part of a sentence structure is presupposed or assumed to be true conventionally and regularly. When this type of structure occurs, the information therein is treated as true. Yule (2010: 28) believes that such structures could "be used by speakers to treat information as presupposed (i. e. assumed to be true) and hence to be accepted as true by the listener". According to Blaze (2013: 446), "structural presuppositions are effective in the form of a question where the option to negate the question, or otherwise answer in the negative, has been eliminated". The various forms of structural oppositions are cleft constructions, wh-questions, adverbial clauses, comparative constructions, counterfactual conditionals and non-restrictive clauses.

Wh-questions

Wh-questions are also known as *'information questions'* (Quirk et al, 1985: 817) and are formed with the aid of simple interrogative words, such as *who, whom, whose, what, which, when, where,*

how, why. The wh-elements (the clause element containing the wh-word) come first in sentences. In wh-questions, normal statement order of elements is altered through the inversion of subject and operator, and they have positive and negative realizations with their corresponding presuppositions. The presupposed statement contains an indefinite expression such as ‘*somebody*’ in place of the wh-element. The presupposed statement is assumed to be true by the user of the question.

Levinson (1983: 184) opines that Wh- questions ‘introduce the presuppositions obtained by replacing the wh-word by the appropriate existentially quantified variable, eg. *who by someone, where by somewhere, how by somehow*, etc. Levinson’s example ‘*Who is the professor of Linguistics at MIT*’ presupposes that someone is a professor at MIT. For Richardson (2007), an example like this has two questions: an explicit request to name someone and the presupposed question which is left implicit. Therefore, ‘*Who is the professor of Linguistics at MIT*’ requests the person being addressed to name the professor of Linguistics at MIT and it also presupposes the existence of a professor of Linguistics at MIT. Consider another example below:

‘When did he buy the house?’
(*Not from the corpus*)

This example is mostly likely to be interpreted conventionally that the information after the wh-question is already true. This presupposes that the person bought a particular house. It also presupposes an existence of ‘*he*’ and ‘*the house*’.

Relative/Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that function as adverbs. They are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, such as *because, when, soon, until, before, if, provided, since, though, while*, etc. An adverbial clause modifies verbs, adverbs, and adjectives by signaling their place, time, manner, reason, condition, etc. The placement of adverbials in sentences could be initial, middle and final. They enjoy freedom of positioning. Adverbial clauses could trigger presuppositions in their main clauses. Consider the example below:

Former Chief of General Staff, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, became vice-president under the Ibrahim Babangida military regime after the removal of of Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe...
(*Nigerian Tribune, April 18, 2011 page 53*)

The underlined is an adverbial clause of time or reason and it presupposes or confirms that *Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe* was removed.

Having explained the various forms of presuppositions, let us consider the following examples taken from the news reports. The examples are the ones that are used to support the oppositional ideologies of free and fair election, and an election bedeviled with malpractices. The examples are presented in tables 2, 3, and 4 below. In this study, we did not dwell much on existential presupposition. This is because we assumed that the types of knowledge that the news writers will presuppose which may likely not be ideological are existential. Similarly, the readers belong to the same epistemic community of being Nigerians.

4. Analysis and Discussion of Findings

In this section, we start by examining an aspect of lexicalization (Prenominal Adjectives) as used in the news reports to portray the presidential election and we also show how the prenominal adjectives suggest a biased representation which left readers into a positive inference and acceptance of the exercise. Then, we examined the presupposition strategies in the news reports. It must be noted that presuppositions could also manifest in form of polarities between one group and the other. In socio-cognitive approach, the most likely way of expressing polarity is saying positive things about 'Us' and negative things about 'Them'. That is a general feature of opposing groups, such as political parties, social actors participating in elections, media groups, etc. This feature is well encapsulated in what van Dijk (2003, p.44) refers to as *ideological square*.

- a) Emphasise positive things about *Us*
- b) Emphasise negative things about *Them*
- c) De-emphasise negative things about *Us*
- d) De-emphasise positive things about *Them*

In the news reports, there are two groups whose ideologies are represented. One group is portrayed in such a way that makes the outcome of the presidential election acceptable to the public, while the other group is presented in a way that suggests that the outcome of the election is rejected.

4.1. Prenominal Adjectives

A prenominal Adjective is used to modify a noun. The modification helps to elucidate or adjust the meanings of nouns that it precedes. This will allow a 'finer gradations of meaning' than the meanings which the nouns would have when used alone (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 526). Prenominal adjectives could reflect the writer's choice of expressions that will echo their ideologies or beliefs. In the data, different prenominal adjectives abound and they are classified into two groups; adjectives that present the outcome of the Presidential election as peaceful, organised and indeed won by President Jonathan, and adjectives that present the exercise as sham, violent and rigged.

Consider the following prenominal adjectives from the corpus:

- a) He said last week, there were obvious lapses which the party drew attention to in the elections...
- b) In Bauchi state, two persons were killed by irate youths for an alleged attempt to snatch a ballot box at Kofar Dumi Polling unit in Bauchi metropolis yesterday.(Sample 12)
- c) He said the college is a collation centre in Yalwa area of Bauchi state where youths caught the three who attempted to smuggle fake ballot boxes. (Sample 12)
- d) Wild jubilation in Gombe state yesterday greeted the announcement of results of the presidential polls...
- e) The PDP also took its winning magic to Kwara State where it scored 268,243 [votes] (Sample 4)
- f) The PDP had a smooth sail too in Benue, the home state of the President of the Senate
- g) Significantly, Dr Jonathan had a clean sweep in the Middle Belt of the country, a region populated by Northern ethnic minority groups. (Sample 6)

such as *huge, large, delightful, and significant lead* which could have possibly toned down the force of the modification. The implication is that the representation achieved with the use of these words may be biased and not objective. The force or tone of those words could have been mild, thereby placing them in between the two continua or on the objective continuum. What is therefore presupposed with the use of ‘somewhat biased’ pronominal adjectives is that the election was generally peaceful rather than being violent.

In the analysis of the headlines in this study, the following was observed on the use of ‘verbs’ in the representation of the conduct of the election. The focus on these verbs in the twelve headlines in the study is presented in **Table 3** below.

Table 3: Headlines of the Selected News Reports

<i>Labour</i>	<i>rates election high, lauds voters</i>
<i>Hurricane Jonathan</i>	<i>knocks out Buhari, others</i>
<i>Jonathan</i>	<i>Cruises to victory, reaches out to opponents</i>
<i>Jonathan</i>	<i>floors Buhari, Ribadu</i>
<i>Jonathan</i>	<i>sweeps presidential poll</i>
<i>Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie</i>	<i>laud peaceful election</i>
<i>Jonathan</i>	<i>wins the big prize</i>
<i>Jonathan</i>	<i>sweeps South-West</i>
<i>Presidential Poll</i>	<i>massive turnout, generally peaceful</i>
<i>Trend in Nigeria Politics</i>	<i>wind of change</i>
<i>Jonathan, Buhari</i>	<i>in tight race</i>
<i>Hail to the Chief! Jonathan</i>	

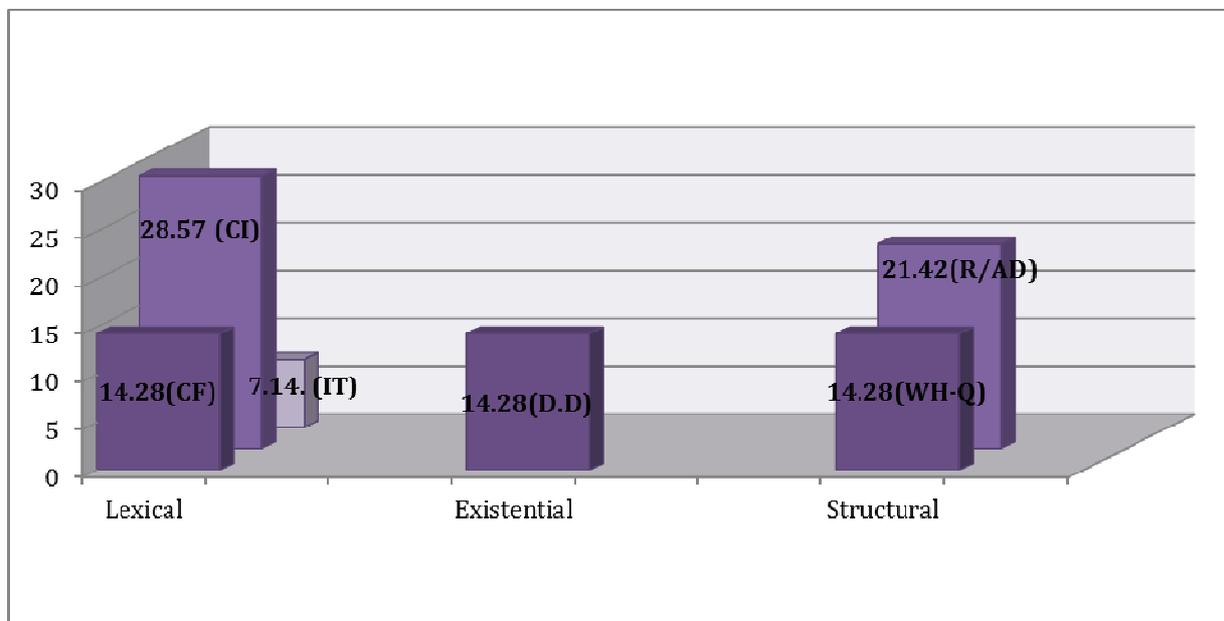
In **Table 3**, the verbs that are used in the headlines portrayed the election as peaceful, free, fair and credible. Some of the verbs also suggest a general approval of the election because those verbs were exaggerative. For instance, verbs such as ‘*sweeps*’, ‘*floors*’, ‘*knocks out*’ and ‘*cruises*’ were used figuratively. These verbs are used in a way different from their ordinary signification or meanings. This was done in order to embellish the headlines by creating mental images of events usually attached to ‘*sweeps, cruises, floors and knocks out*’ and relating them to electoral process. The choice of ‘*sweeps*’, ‘*floors*’, and ‘*knocks out*’ in the headlines to depict how Jonathan won the Presidential election may suggest a landslide victory for him in the minds of the readers. Going by the lexical and connotative meaning of ‘*sweep*’ which is ‘to clear something completely’, we can assume, bearing in mind the context of usage, that ‘*sweep*’ may be intentionally used to make the victory appear total and devoid of electoral irregularities. Similarly, the verb ‘*floors*’ could literally mean ‘hit’ or cause someone to fall. Therefore, it could arouse some form of biased interpretation. The verb ‘*knocks out*’ is a jargon associated with boxing bout and it is used to refer to an act of hitting the other fighter so that they fall to the ground and are unable to get up again.

The representation may be sensational because it portends, first, that other aspirants were not ‘serious contenders’ in the election. It could also arouse in the minds of readers, a scene of physical combat where Jonathan knocks out his opponents. In the election context, it could mean a situation of helplessness on the part of fellow contestants because Jonathan’s knockout has rendered them unconscious and defeated. The allusion to boxing is a conscious one and it is capable of informing the opinions that readers would have about the contest. However, in another article, the two main contenders were depicted as ‘*Jonathan, Buhari in tight race*’. If we are to go

by this headline, the verb *sweeps, floors and knocks out* may be sensational and unwarranted. They may therefore have been used emotively to ‘exaggerate and propagandize [the report to ideologically favor Jonathan and his party] without actually lying but are cunningly loaded with biases’ (Alo and Ogungbe, 2012). This could help to reiterate the dominance of President Jonathan in the election which may likely be the opinion that the writers presuppose and allow the readers to infer themselves. All the verbs sampled are loaded and are capable of evoking a train of positive thought and emotions about the exercise.

The next discussion in figure 2 shows the quantitative results of the presuppositions that characterize the two ideologies in the data. Afterwards, **Table 4** indicates the categories of presupposition triggers (counter-factual, conventional items and iteratives); the examples from the data and the actual words or morphemes that trigger the presupposed information.

Figure 3: Percentages of Presupposition Triggers



The results presented in the bar chart above indicate that conventional items have the highest occurrence with 28.57%, followed by relative/adverbial clauses with 21.42%; counter-factual verbs; definitive descriptions; and wh-/yes/no questions with 14.28%. Iteratives are the least occurred presupposition triggers with 7.14%.

The counter-factual verb ‘allege’ presupposes information which is not true. Therefore, the speaker is trying to discredit the claims of Buhari about the ‘*foul play*’ and the ‘thumb-printed ballot papers being airlifted’. Ideologically, it shows that the claims are non-factual and unfounded though the speaker does not explicitly state it but it is presupposed in sentences *a* and *b*. In sentence *c*, the adverb ‘*further*’ presupposes that the people had already believed in the transparency and credibility of election hence their resolve to participate in the exercise.

Table 4: Lexical Presuppositions

Categories (Lexical)	Examples	Triggers
Counter-factual	a) <i>But Buhari... has already <u>alleged</u> foul play in the conduct of the exercise.</i> b) <i>Buhari had...<u>alleged</u> that thumb-printed ballot papers were airlifted to different states... (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011)</i>	<i>Alleged</i> <i>Alleged</i>
Conventional items	c) <i>The massive turnout recorded on Saturday had <u>further</u> emphasized people's belief in the credibility and transparency of the process. (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011)</i> d) <i>People have shown high degree of commitment so you can describe it as a <u>new dawn</u> in our political evolution. (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011)</i> e) <i>Nigeria is now experiencing <u>true democracy</u> where we the politicians have to go to the people because the power belongs to the people. (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011)</i> f) <i>Former President Olusegun Obasanjo in his reaction described the presidential election as a <u>victory</u> for Nigeria and Nigerians... (Vanguard, Monday April 18, 2011)</i>	<i>Further</i> <i>New</i> <i>True</i> <i>Victory</i>
Iteratives	g) <i>...the ongoing elections <u>had restored</u> people's confidence in the electoral process (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011)</i>	<i>Restored</i>

In sentences *d*, *e*, and *f*, the election is regarded as a new dawn because it is peaceful, orderly and it shows high commitment from the people. The adjective *new* presupposes that the election is different from the old practice or it is a shift from what used to characterize previous elections in Nigeria. Therefore, if the election is a new dawn, it means the previous democratic processes were not good enough; thus not free and fair. In a similar vein, the adjective '*true*' further supports the idea that the election is better than the previous ones because it presupposes that what Nigerians experienced in the past was not true democracy probably because the politicians had the absolute power with no regard to the people's choice.

In sentence *f*, '*victory*' is used to lay credence to the success of the election by presupposing that the exercise was credible because it represents the wish of Nigerians. The speaker could have said the exercise is '*a victory for Jonathan*' without attributing it to Nigerians but he chose to attribute it to Jonathan because he may want to cajole his listeners into believing that the outcome of the election represents their wish.

Finally, '*restore*' is used as iterative presupposing recurrence or regaining of something that was lost in the past; confidence of Nigerians in electoral process. It means that the people had lost confidence in the electoral process before because of the irregularities that usually characterized the process.

In **Table 5**, the instances of existential category of presupposition triggers in the study are presented. The category has only *definite descriptions* which are achieved through definite articles to show existence of the presupposed information.

Table 5: Existential Presuppositions

Categories (Existential)	Examples	Triggers
Definite descriptions	a) <i>Also commendable is the political leadership of the country whose utterances and body language sent a clear message that <u>the era of do-or-die politics, or imposition of elected leaders, is over</u></i> . (The Guardian, Monday April 18, 2011)	The era of do-or-die politics
	b) <i>...deciding the winner in the first ballot <u>would reduce the tension in the country</u></i> . (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011)	The tension

In sentence *a*, the underlined definite article ‘*the*’ presupposes two things; the existence of *do-or-die politics* and *imposition of elected leaders*. The speaker may be implying that the current leadership (Goodluck Jonathan) is not an imposition by any political leader but the wish of the people. That is, in the previous political dispensations, elections were generally known to be war-like because speeches and actions of political actors always portend danger, violence and threats. Also, where there is imposition of leaders on the people and party for elective positions, there must be existence of *God fatherism*.

Similarly, the definite article in sentence *b* indicates that there is tension already in the country due to the fear of agitation and violence that usually accompany elections in the country. Another pointer to the presence of *tension* in the country may have been caused by the various campaign speeches of contestants and their parties which heated the political space with hate speeches. Therefore, these examples tend to support the credibility of the election by comparing it with the presupposed previous elections which made people to lose interest in the process.

The next table (Table 6) presents structural category of presupposition triggers which include: wh-questions and adverbial clauses.

Table 6: Structural Presuppositions

Categories (Structural)	Examples	Triggers
Wh-/ yes/no questions	a) <i><u>How</u> did they know the number of percentage of people who voted?</i>	How and Are
	b) <i><u>Are</u> they REC? (THIS DAY April 18, 2011)</i>	
Relative/Adverbial Clauses	c) <i>My party, the CPC, would like to praise Nigerians <u>who have shown more enthusiasm to pick the leaders of their choice than many involved in moderating the elections have exhibited</u></i> . (Nigerian Tribune, Monday April 18, 2011)	Who
	d) <i>The commission had hardly finished announcing the results for the two states <u>when</u> Sirika and Garba alleged that there was foul play</i> . (This Day, Monday, April 18, 2011)	When
	e) <i>..the agents were arrested by the police <u>when</u> they protested their denial of entry into the collation centre</i> . (This Day, Monday, April 18, 2011)	When

The interrogatives ‘*how and are*’ are used as means of generating presupposed information. For wh-question ‘*how*’, it should presuppose that the addressed know the number of percentage of people who voted and at the same, it is assumed that the speaker wants the addressed to name

their source. However, in the context of the news report, the speaker may be presupposing another thing different from the expected information. The speaker may be implying that the people being addressed have no claim concerning the percentage of voters because they are not the Resident Electoral Commissioner. This example may be an attempt to dislodge their claims because the speaker knows that the addressed are not REC as well because only REC could authenticate the percentage of people who voted.

In sentence *c*, the relative clause identifier 'who' shows that voters are committed to choose leaders of their choice. Meanwhile, the presupposed information is triggered by comparatives such as the adjective 'more' and conjunction 'than'. The comparatives in the relative clause presuppose that officials involved in the conduct of the election are not committed like the voters. That could possibly mean that the officials gave room for malpractices since they did not exhibit the same level of commitment as the voters. The presupposition in sentence *d* is triggered by the adverbial clause of time 'when'. What it presupposes is that there was an allegation leveled by Sirika and Garba. The allegation is on foul play observed in the conduct of the election. In sentence *e*, there are two propositions. The two propositions are triggered by the adverbial 'when'. The first presupposed information is that 'there was a protest by the agents', and secondly, 'the agents were not allowed to enter the collation centre'. Though we could deduce that the cause of their protest was their denial of entry into the collation center, it thus still presupposes that probably the exercise was not devoid of irregularities.

Conclusion

In this study, pronominal adjectives were used to signal ideological slants. Some groups are presented positively while others are represented negatively. This was done by polarizing the arguments in the news reports. The effect that pronominal adjectives have on the news reports is that it showed the group that is presented with a form of dominance which translates to a fact that the representation was biased. That is, apart from giving information about the event, media also evaluates or gives judgement through the lexical items employed in the reports. Alo and Ogungbe (2012) contend that language, in news reports, is not a mere instrument of communication but it is imbued with power; it is action-oriented; it has the ability to influence or control reader's thoughts and actions. The form of power that is wielded by media representation commences from the selection stage of what should constitute news reports and consequently makes it to the pages of the newspapers and what is discarded. The difference that is observed in this study is that generally the representation, though judgemental, is used more to maintain the dominant power structure of the ruling party than other political parties. Also, the issue of news objectivity and difference of opinions, as expected, should have been solved by merely reading the outcomes of the election from different newspapers but that was not the case in this study. All the newspapers examined presented the news reports from almost the same point of view; the point of view which does not go in consonance with the reality of what was observed as the aftermath of the exercise in terms of post-election crisis.

Similarly, the two ideological or political opinions fronted in the study are (a) the election was free, fair and peaceful; and (b) the election was rigged and not peaceful. The former opinion is supported by the ruling party while the latter opinion was of the opposition. In our observations, the headlines and the pronominal adjectives suggest a more peaceful election than one bedeviled

with violence. Similarly, as represented in figure two above, there are more instances of conventional items under lexical category of presuppositions than relative/adverbial, and wh-/yes/no questions in structural category of presupposition. Furthermore, all the presuppositions identified show more of peaceful conduct of the election than presuppositions which could imply that the exercise was rigged. Also, there are more instances of lexical triggers in relation to the ideological slants than structural. We also conclude that the amount of knowledge invested in the comprehension of the presupposed information by the readers may not be much because the readers are assumed to be members of the same epistemic community with the news writers. In the same vein, we submit that since the exercise was more of positive representation, that is, free, fair and peaceful, the presupposed information could be controversial or unfair because a general survey of the election showed that the exercise was very violent.

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Appendix: Corpus – List of the News Reports

Sample 1: “Hail to the Chief! Jonathan”, *The Guardian*, Monday, April 18, 2011, pages 1 and 2.

Sample 2: “Labour rates election high, lauds voters”, *The Guardian*, Monday, April 18, 2011, page 6.

Sample 3: “Jonathan, Buhari in tight race”, *The Sunday Punch*, Sunday, April 17, 2011, pages 1 and 2.

Sample 4: “Hurricane Jonathan knocks out Buhari, others”, *The Punch*, Monday, April 18, 2011, pages 1, 2 and 6.

Sample 5: “Jonathan cruises to victory, reaches out to opponents”, *This Day*, Monday, April 18, 2011, pages 1 and 8.

Sample 6: “Jonathan floors Buhari, Ribadu”, *Nigerian Tribune*, Monday, April 18, 2011, pages 1, 4 and 53.

Sample 7: “Jonathan sweeps presidential pool”, *New Nigerian*, Monday, April 18, 2011, page 1.

Sample 8: “Presidential poll: massive turnout, generally peaceful”, *New Nigerian*, Sunday, April 17, 2011, pages 4 and 5.

Sample 9: “Jonathan sweeps South-West”, *Sunday Vanguard*, Sunday, April 17, 2011, pages 1 and 7.

Sample 10: “Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie laud peaceful election”, *Vanguard*, Monday, April 18, 2011, pages 1 and 5.

Sample 11: “Jonathan wins the big prize”, *Daily Trust*, Monday, April 18, 2011, pages 1 and 5.

Sample 12: “Violence, fraud mar presidential poll”, *Sunday Trust*, Sunday, April 17, 2011, pages 1 and 2.

Book Review

Guri Ellen Barstad, Arnstein Hjelde, Sigmund Kvam, Anastasia Parianou, and John Todd (eds.) (2016). *Language and Nation. Crossroads and Connections*, Waxmann, 320 pages, ISBN 978-3-8309-3497-4

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Language and Nation. Crossroads and Connections is a transdisciplinary and multilingual book, which look at language to shed light on nation as a concept, and its relations to language. The editors, Guri Ellen Barstad, Arnstein Hjelde, Sigmund Kvam, Anastasia Parianou, and John Todd, place these relations in an introduction to “Make the case for an interdisciplinary approach to language and nation”. They refer language to discourses and narratives, which enable communication and negotiation around identities. Thus, language is both considered as structuring nations and being influenced by national identities building.

The 13 contributions cover various disciplines (History, Linguistics, Literature, Political Science, and Translatology), and various geographical areas (Canada, Ecuador, European Union, the French speaking community (*francophonie*), Norway, Scotland, etc.). The materials used to conduct the analysis are also diverse (literary texts, laws, speeches, news reports, etc., all being texts). Finally, contribution are written either in English (five contributions), German (five contributions), or French (three contributions). This choice of multilinguality seems especially relevant as it supports a thorough analysis of the language issues at stake, including toned and detailes immersion in national contexts, which inform readers about the discourse, meanings, wordings, and speech acts that are under study. All abstracts are in English.

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Hans Petter Hermansen's contribution is in German and focuses on the founding principles of nowadays two official language variants in Norway, despite some attempts in favour of a standard language. A concise but also clear and toned historical presentation of linguistic influences since the IIIrd century (and shared by Denmark, Norway, and Sweden) helps to situate the trade-off leading to the current situation.

Sigmund Kvam's contribution is in German and deals with the evolution of official identity in former East Germany. His analysis is based on the three constitutions of the GDR (1949, 1968, and 1974), looking at the frequency and the collocations of the following adjectives: *deutsch* (i.e. German) and *sozialistisch* (i.e. socialist); and the associated substantives (*Deutschland*/Germany; *Sozialismus*/socialism). The historical and political context is presented, which help to better understand the shift from a German national identity to an ideological national identity.

Franck Orban's contribution is in French and focuses on the French far-right various discourses towards General De Gaulle inheritance, which is widely politically celebrated in France. Beyond noticing the current use of language to be able to both claim and reject this inheritance (respectively referring to the adjective *gaulienne* and *gauliste*), Orban sets the historical background (and the related discourses) in which this choice is embedded. Looking at language underlines the machineries of the trade-off between, on the one hand, the need of an alternative support to undemonise (*dédiaboliser*) the National Front while seeking votes to reach political power, and, on the other hand, its core value where the greatness of France is considered as

Book Review: Guri Ellen Barstad, Arnstein Hjelde, Sigmund Kvam, Anastasia Parianou, and John Todd (eds.) (2016). *Language and Nation. Crossroads and Connections*, Waxmann, 320 pages, ISBN 978-3-8309-3497-4 being enhanced through its (former) colonial territory (while independency was reached by Algeria during De Gaulle's presidency).

John Todd's contribution is in English and focuses on British eurosceptic discourses, which helps to understand the choice of people who voted for Brexit. Using discourse analysis and securitisation theory, Todd underlines how EU is assimilated in these discourses to several threats toward the British identity and sovereignty. His analysis is based on UKIP speeches and news reports written by unequivocal eurosceptic columnists. The analysis sheds light on the following identified threats: EU conceived as Nazi Germany, EU seen as mass immigration channel, EU seen as Soviet Russia, and the threat from terrorism and organised crime (however the two later threats are less mentioned).

Guri Ellen Barstad's contribution is in French and deals with the relation between nation and language in Canada. Her analysis is based on two novels: *Volkswagen Blues* (1984) written by Jacques Poulin¹⁵, and *Vers l'Ouest* (2011) written by Mahigan Lepage¹⁶. Barstad first presents the various uses and meanings of the word "nation" in Canada. Then, she focuses on how the chosen novelists enable a questioning within this national framework, without becoming a political manifest. While Poulin's text interlaced French and English (and the main characters agree with an ongoing building of nation without denying the past), Lepage's text focuses on the conflictive relation between these two languages in Canada.

Wladimir Chavez Vaca's contribution is in English and focuses on the contemporary social and political interests toward the figure of General Eloy Alfaro (1842-1912) in Ecuador. His analysis is based on a film (*La Revolución de Alfaro*, 2009, by Juan Pérez Ponce)¹⁷, a children's magazine (*Ábrete Sésamo*, 2013-2014)¹⁸, and a novel (*Alfaro en la Sombra*, 2012, written by Gonzalo Ortiz Crespo)¹⁹. After a biographical presentation of Alfaro, Vaca introduces the current political context, notably toward the consolidation of the Ecuadorian identity. Indeed, even not mentioned in the three cultural products of the corpus, it belongs to the fertile ground of this strong interest.

Elin Nesje Vestli's contribution is in German and deals with the literature produced in German-speaking countries, which invites to think about German literature from a wider point of view. Her analysis of the autobiographical based novel *Vielleicht Esther. Geschichten* (2014) written by Katja Petrowskajas underlines the questioning of transnational and multilingual identity, beyond the shift from Russian to German, beyond the fact that German stays unfamiliar (*fremd*) to the author.

André Avias' contribution is in French and focuses on *francophonie* (French speaking community)²⁰. The objective is to assess whether, in the capacity of an identity, *francophonie* it is much more related to linguistics, culture, or transnationalism. Avias' analysis is based on three novels: *L'Africain* (2005) written by JMG Le Clézio²¹, *L'enfant noir* (1953) written by

¹⁵ This novel is translated in English with the same title.

¹⁶ To our knowledge, this book is not translated in English.

¹⁷ Translation of the title: *Alfaro's Revolution* (no English DVD found).

¹⁸ Translation of the magazine title: *Open Sesame*.

¹⁹ To our knowledge, this book is not translated in English.

²⁰ When speaking about Francophone countries, the wording in French is *Francophonie* instead of *francophonie*. In the contribution, the focus is on the pragmatic use of French rather than on the linguistic system itself.

²¹ This novel is translated in English with the following title: *The African*.

Camara Laye²², and *Rue des Tambourins* (1969) written by Taos Amrouche²³. These three sources are all in relation to autobiographical elements. They all deal with a disappearing past, while celebrating the multiculturalism of *francophonie* identities.

Anastasia Parianou's contribution is in German and focuses on the small translation languages. She underlines that, in this case, as the link with culture and identity is still quite strong, translation zones may foster nation enhancement. While she depicts the correlation between language and identity as an illusion, she takes it into account as the studied representations are based on it. This contribution is theoretical, and thus may be confronted to all national contexts which involve small languages.

Vilemini Sosoni's contribution is in English and deals with Eurolect effect on national language, legal culture, and sense of Europeanness through the case of Greece. His analysis is based on 50 EU directives' official Greek translations in comparison with their transposition in into Greek legal system. Sosoni uses AntConc to implement the analysis with a focus on europeisms and collocations. The results show that the transposition into laws goes with linguistic changes, i.e. Greek Eurolect additions.

Arne Kruse's contribution is in English and deals with Scots, which was not included in the recent debate around Scotland's independence. After the presentation of a history of Scots as a language, Kruse focuses on nowadays situation. Notably, she asks if Scots is still a language today according Kloss' model. Indeed, for several decades, elites preferred the use of Standard English, and nowadays English is the most widely used language in Scotland. Associated to low social standing, Scots is still spoken, and linked to social belonging rather than national belonging.

Jürgen F. Schopp's contribution is in German and focuses on the use of scripts, and their relationship to national identity definition, as it happens here in relation to German national identity. *Broken* scripts (i.e. **BLACK** letter, instead of Roman-face fronts) were used for German-language texts. Schopp presents the strong link from language (*Deutsch*/German), to the name of the country (*Deutschland*/Germany), and to the script choice. While Antiqua is now used for international integration, still resorting to broken scripts is not neutral, having become nowadays captured by various positionings.

Arnstein Hjelde and Bente Kolberg Jansson's contribution is in English and focuses on the Norwegian-American community (in the US) acceptance and use of the language reforms implemented in Norway. Hjelde and Janssons underline the observed changes and the status quo, including their meaning in relation to the identity of Norwegian-Americans (who still use Danish for the written form, which is enough to support their identity) and Norwegians in Norway (whom identity is supported by using written Norwegian).

Overall, I found the volume very interesting for various reasons. First, each contribution gives access to a complex context, being accessible without being simplistic. This facilitates international comparisons among the contexts described by contributors, as between these and readers' research context background. Second, through its international scope, *Language and Nation. Crossroads and Connections* covers the various dimensions of how language may be linked to nation. Third, the detailed historical and national backgrounds enable to situate

²² This novel is translated in English with the following title: *The Dark Child*.

²³ To our knowledge, this book is not translated in English.

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contemporary national identity issues. Fourth, the written attention to readers makes this volume accessible to a wide audience, from undergraduate students to senior scholars, and including the experts interesting in understanding nation and identity building in the concerned contexts. Of course, this relies on the linguistic skills of readers. I choose here to underline the advantage of the linguistic choice for this volume rather than underlying the drawback if the reader is not familiar with English, German, and/or French. Indeed, gathering contributions in several languages in the same volume encourages multilingualism toward research, building bridges between various national contexts and languages. This enhances research dissemination without selecting scholars on the basis of their skills in solely one of the language used for the volume.

RC25 Awards

Since their creation, RC25 awards are linked to *Language, Discourse & Society*, as all published articles are eligible to be considered by the Awards Committee. Here is a record of the articles granted and the Awards Committee composition.

2012, Buenos Aires, Second Forum of Sociology of ISA

Award Committee

Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, University of Haifa

Viviane Resende, University of Brasilia

Sergei Riazantsev, Institute of Social and Political Research, Moscow

Chair: Stéphanie Cassilde, CEPS/INSTEAD, Esch-sur-Alzette, Luxembourg

Academic Excellence Award

Anders Persson (2012), "Front- and Backstage in Social Media", *LD&S*, 1(2), 11-31.

Graduate Student Award

Not granted.

2014, Yokohama, XVIII ISA World Congress

Award Committee

Nadezhda Georgieva, Trakia University, Stara Zagora, Bulgaria

Corrine Kirchner, Columbia University, United States

Anders Persson, Lund University, Sweden

Chair: Stéphanie Cassilde, Centre d'Études en Habitat Durable, Belgium

Academic Excellence Award

Raymond Oenbring and William Fielding (2014), "Young Adults' Attitudes to Standard and Nonstandard English in an English-Creole Speaking Country: The Case of The Bahamas", *LD&S*, 3(1), 28-51.

Graduate Student Award

Nassima Neggaz (2013), "Syria's Arab Spring: Language Enrichment", *LD&S*, 2(2), 11-31.

2016, Vienna, Third Forum of Sociology of ISA

Award Committee

Erzsebet Barat, Institute of English and American Studies, University of Szeged, CEU, Budapest

Irina Chudnovskaia, Department of Sociology of Communicative Systems, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Roland Terborg, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico

Chair: Stéphanie Cassilde, Centre d'Études en Habitat Durable, Belgium

Academic Excellence Award

Tiffany A. Dykstra (2016), "Assemblages of Syrian suffering: Rhetorical formations of refugees in Western media", *LD&S*, 4(1), 31-48.

Graduate Student Award

Tomoaki Miyazaki (2016), "The Rhetorical Use of Anecdote in Online Political Discussion", *LD&S*, 4(1), 49-61.

Past editorial boards

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Board members	Celine-Marie PASCALE, American University, USA Amado ALARCON, Rovira & Virgili University, Spain Melanie HEATH, McMaster University, Canada Taiwo ABIOYE, Nigeria Daniela LANDERT, Switzerland

2012-2015

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