THE PRAGMATICS OF PERSUASION IN BEMBA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO BRIDE PRICE NEGOTIATIONS

BY
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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN LINGUISTIC SCIENCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

LUSAKA

2016
DECLARATION

I, Abigail Nachilima Chalwe, do solemnly declare that this dissertation;

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Abigail Nachilima Chalwe has been approved as fulfilling in part the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

The current study examined the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to Bride price negotiations within the framework of the Pragmatic theories. The study applied Austin’s(1962), and Searle’s (1969) speech act theory, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory and the notion of face and Grice’s (1975) Conversational analysis theories. The study attempted to discuss the various linguistic expressions that suggest persuasion, some categories of persuasion and carry out an analysis of how the various implications of the persuasive expressions function as strategies of persuasion.

Data in the current study was collected qualitatively. The researcher used a variety of methods. Primary data was collected through twenty (20) recordings of bride price negotiations as and when the negotiations took place. These recordings enabled the researcher to make a collection of various linguistic expressions used during the negotiations. Having collected the recordings, the researcher carried out interviews. These interviews were done by means of a structured interview guide as the researcher aimed at verifying the pragmatic significance of the expressions used and to verify the perlocutionary force of the expressions. Interviews were carried out on individuals that had vast knowledge on bride price negotiations. The researcher observed language use during the negotiations and kept notes on the various linguistic expressions that were used. Observation of facial expressions and gestures enabled the researcher deduce how the hearers perceived the locutions. Recordings, interviews and observations enabled the researcher to establish pragmatic strategies interactants applied in order to achieve persuasion.

The findings of the study suggest that there are indeed various linguistic expressions that are used during bride price negotiations that stir the emotions of the hearer to the extent of changing their attitude towards a previously held belief. During the negotiations the speaker presents information to the hearer in such a way that it appeals to their emotions and in a way that the hearer is able to reason and eventually become persuaded. These linguistic expressions are usually understood by people sharing similar cultural background and context. The study further
revealed that when uttered, linguistic expressions must be perceived by the hearer as relevant to the conversation in order to make the correct inferences.

It is recommended that further studies be carried out to examine the pragmatics of persuasion in different social situations. Further studies can also be undertaken to examine the pragmatics of persuasion in Bantu languages in general and Zambian languages in particular.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dad Mr Vincent Kabunda Chalwe and mum Mrs Maggie Nambeya Chalwe who have encouraged me to excel and have played a pivotal role in my life. This work would not have been possible without your unending encouragement and support.

My husband, Mwali Chisala who has always been there for me, inspiring me and always being a positive influence on me. The positive energy you helped me develop is more than I can ask for. Thank you for all the love and support you have shown me. It has not been easy but all worthwhile. And to our daughter Chibomba Chisala, you are indeed a blessing a sacred trust from Jehovah.

My sisters Isabel and Mwila and my brothers Kabunda and Kachenje, I would like to thank you for all the support given me.

To my course mates who contributed in one way or another, I am very grateful.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Gratitude goes to Dr Simwinga, John my academic supervisor who through guidance and encouragement made this work to be a success. Your continuous direction made this possible. Thank you for being so patient.

I would like to thanks the following lecturers in my first part of my MA: Dr J. Simwinga Professor V.M. Chanda, Mr S.B. Hirst, Dr M. Nkolola, and Dr Chishiba.

Many thanks to my parents who were ever on the lookout for any bride price negotiation sessions, and my husband who would always help me travel to places and attend or record bride price negotiation sessions as and when they took place. Thank you for your support in collecting data.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 General

This chapter gives an introduction to the study of persuasion in Bemba from a pragmatic point of view. It introduces the study of persuasion with special reference to marriage negotiations, in particular, bride price negotiations. The presentation begins with a brief discussion on marriage negotiations then presents us with information on persuasion, its definition and the factors responsible for a successful persuasive attempt. The chapter also contains an overview of some theories of persuasion and how they relate to the current study. It further goes on to discuss bride price as a component of the research. Additionally, the chapter provides some insights on the Bemba community as the study was conducted with special reference to bride-price negotiations in Bemba. The chapter presents the problem under investigation, the rationale, the purpose and objectives of the study. In this chapter also, is a summarized description of the methodology discussed in chapter three of this particular research.

Subsequently, the part of the chapter that follows gives the theoretical and conceptual framework. In this section, the pragmatics of persuasion is exemplified in relation to theories on speech acts, politeness principles and conversational implicature and are applied to contexts of bride price negotiations thus showing their importance and relevance to the present study. The chapter concludes by giving the scope of the study, outlining some of the limitations and giving a summary of the chapter.
1.1 Background

1.1.0 General

Many Africans desire a marriage ceremony which reflects their native heritage. However before the actual ceremony, there are various traditional requirements that need to be fulfilled by those intending to marry. One of these requirements is that bride price be negotiated. Bride price is commonly referred to in many parts of Bantu speaking Africa as *lobola*. In the Bemba speech community though, it is referred to as *Impango*. Bride price negotiation is a domain of language use. This domain of language use, like others, requires certain skills and one of these skills is the skill of persuasion. Reardon (1981) defines persuasion as an activity or process in which a communicator attempts to induce a change in the belief, attitude, or behaviour of another person or group of persons through the transmission of a message in a context in which the persuadee has some degree of free choice. The language used during these negotiations is not plain but indirect. In order for the speaker to persuade the hearer to take a certain course of action or to come to a mutual understanding or agreement, the interlocutors have to use certain skills.

This study explores persuasive skills used during bride price negotiations in Bemba from a pragmatic point of view (that is, the meaning the speaker intends to convey to the hearer in a particular context). Usually, during bride price negotiations, interlocutors avoid being too direct in their speech, it is therefore in this regard that this study employed the application of theories of speech acts, politeness theory and the theory of conversational implicature. Speech act theory (SAT) is concerned with how an utterance can be defined in terms of the intension of the speaker and the effect it has on the listener. According to Austin (1962), to say something is to do something. In other words, saying is an act of utterance. What Austin was trying to put across is that we do things, and not only say things, with words. One can tell whether a statement, if viewed as an act, is successful or not with reference to the speaker’s intention and the fulfilment
of certain criteria such as conventional procedures, rather than simply deciding whether it is true or false. Politeness is defined as referring to proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others. According to Asher (1994) what counts as polite in any given context is socio-culturally and historically determined. Hence, what might be particularly polite in one culture might be viewed as impolite in another and since bride price negotiations involve conversing with individuals of varying cultures, it is important that politeness be observed. The cooperative principle is also of particular importance in this study as it explains how people arrive at meanings which are not expressively stated. This principle involves indirectly conveyed meaning of a conversation whereby, communication is regarded as a series of cooperative efforts between the participants who observe a common principle that Grice (1975) calls the cooperative principle (CP). Cooperative social interaction is a characteristic of every social-cultural group. According to implicature, the words we use are merely an incomplete representation of what we mean and this is applicable to the process of persuasion during bride price negotiations.

The study was based on the understanding that persuasion is a tool, and people ought to know what the effects are likely to be, if they are to use this tool effectively. The research was not looking at bride price as a buying practice. Bride price in this research is understood as the practice of giving of marriage payments by the husband of the girl before marriage can take place. This term is what early missionaries or travellers used for a lack of an appropriate English term.

1.1.1 Definition of Persuasion

There is no clear cut definition of persuasion as different scholars have defined persuasion differently. Below are some of the varying definitions of persuasion.

According to Scheidel (1967) persuasive speaking is an activity in which the speaker and the listener are conjoined and in which the speaker consciously attempts to influence the behaviour of the listener by transmitting audible symbolic cues. Scheidel (1967) further states that persuasive speaking is used constantly for negotiating and problem solving, for advising and counselling, for cajoling and deceiving. It is a vital activity in business, politics, education, jurisprudence and homiletics.
Fin and Rensburg (1983) define persuasion as the basic decision making tool for accomplishing change. They indicate that persuasion is successful only when a receiver behaves in accordance with the intentions of the source. They stress that persuasion always involves communication. On the other hand, Perloff, R.M. (1993) defines persuasion as the activity of demonstrating and attempting to change the behaviour of at least one person through symbolic interaction. He further states that it is conscious and occurs (a) when a threat to at least one person's goals is observed and (b) when the source and degree of this threat are sufficiently important to warrant the expenditure of effort involved in persuasion.

Johnston, D.D. (1994) states that persuasion is a transactional process among two or more persons whereby the management of symbolic meaning reconstructs reality, resulting in a voluntary change in beliefs, attitudes, and or behaviours.

Borchers (2002) refers to persuasion as the co-production of meaning that results when an individual or group of individuals uses language strategies and/or visual images to make audiences identify with that individual or group.

Gass, R.H., & Seiter J.S. (2003:34) observes that, “persuasion involves one or more persons who are engaged in the activity of creating, reinforcing, modifying, or extinguishing beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations, and/or behaviours within the constraints of a given communication context.”

In this research, persuasion is viewed as a process aimed at changing a person’s (or a group’s) attitude or behavior toward some event, idea, object, or other person(s), by using spoken words to convey information, feelings, or reasoning, or a combination of them.

In persuasion, explains O’Donnell (1999), both parties are dependent on one another. Interlocutors are involved in what is called interactive (turn-taking) or transitive dependency. He further observes that persuasion is a complex, continuing, interactive process which attempts to evoke a specific change in the attitudes or behavior of an individual or audience. Persuasive speaking does not involve one participant who contributes to everything during a conversation.
Rather, it is an activity in which the speaker and listener interact contributing to an ultimate effect. The speaker must adjust the message to the listener and the listener must participate actively in interpreting the message.

A persuasive message can only be transmitted, never transferred. The end goal of persuasive speaking is influence. There are two persuasive messages in every persuasion setting, the message sent and the message received. Interlocutors must contribute to the persuasive message either heard or spoken.

Effective persuasion is a process which involves negotiating and learning through which a persuader leads colleagues to a problem shared solution. It incorporates discovery, preparation and dialogue. It is about testing and revising ideas in concert with one’s colleagues’, concerns and needs. The principal purpose of persuasion can be defined as being able to influence or change one’s attitudes, beliefs or values towards a particular subject or object, so that these will merge and finally equal the persuader’s thoughts and feelings. An attitude is a predisposition to respond to people, ideas, objects, or events in evaluative ways.

During bride price negotiations, the speaker aims to influence or change the hearer’s attitude, opinion and beliefs. The objective of persuasion during these negotiations may range from slight shifts in opinion to complete change in behaviour.

**1.1.2 Features of a Successful Persuasion**

Since defining persuasion has never been easy, it is important to understand the central application of the concept by identifying the characteristic features of persuasion which are considered during bride price negotiation. O’Keefe (1990) suggests two features of paradigm cases persuasion must identify:

**1.1.2.1 A successful attempt to influence**

For the successful influence to take place in persuasion there should be the presence of some criterion or goal, and existence of some correlative intent to reach that goal. The persuader has some intention of reaching the persuasive goal. There is also some measure of freedom on the persuadee’s part. The effects of such persuasion are achieved by means of communication
through the medium of language. Another attempt is change in the mental state of the persuadee. Mental state is characterised as an attitude. Hence to achieve persuasion one has to change another’s attitude.

1.1.2 The concept of attitude

A person’s attitude towards a message will either make him or her comply or resist a persuasive message. Attitudes, points out O’Keefe (1990), come to be seen as ‘orientation of mind’ rather than of body. He observes that attitudes are learned, attitudes represent a residue of experience. He further points out that attitudes are learned and they are susceptible to change. According to Larson (2000), attitudes are positive or negative reactions to various persons, objects and ideas. Attitude is a combination of actual behavioural and cognitive reaction to an object. They are considered additional dimensions of meaning. Larson (2000) has defined attitude as a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour. Theorists assumed that, attitudes predispose individuals to behave towards some object in a manner other than they would have, had the attitude not been somehow acquired. Concerning attitudes and opinions, Larson also argues that individual beliefs range from those that are based on authority and are not as strongly held.

These features help us understand basic human process and thus allowing us predict and influence human behaviour. In persuasion, when the hearer complies with the message they have heard, then we can say they have a change in attitude and consequently the persuasive effort has been successful.

1.1.3 Overview of Persuasion Theories

Persuasion is a complex phenomenon involving interplay of different factors and is influenced by diverse communication modes and contexts. There are several theories, advocated by communication experts, based on extensive research and experience which attempt to provide insights into the whole process of persuasion. Presented below is an overview of some of the principal theories of persuasion.
1.1.3.1 Social Judgement Theory

Social Judgement theory is a self-persuasion theory defined by Sherif (1961) as the perception and evaluation of an idea by comparing it with the current attitudes. According to this theory, an individual weighs every new idea, comparing it with the individual’s present point of view to determine where it should be placed on the attitude scale in an individual’s mind. It is the subconscious sorting out of ideas that occurs at the instant of perception. The theory holds that to persuade someone, one must understand well his or her present views on the subject.

There are five principles of social judgment theory: Firstly, people have categories of judgment by which they evaluate persuasive positions. Secondly, when people receive persuasive information, they locate it within their categories of judgement. Thirdly, the level of ego involvement affects the size of latitudes. Individuals have three zones in which they accept or reject specific messages. The concept of latitude of acceptance is the range of opinions with which people agree. The latitude of rejection is the range of opinions with which people disagree while the latitude of non-committal is measured by the questions for which people have no opinion. For example, ego involvement increases the latitude of rejection. When closely involved with an issue, people recognize a broader range of opinions on the issue with which they disagree. Fourthly, people tend to distort incoming information to fit their categories of judgment. Finally, small to moderate discrepancies between anchor positions and the one advocated will cause people to change while large discrepancies will not. People typically cannot be moved far from their anchor position or far outside their areas of acceptance or rejection.

According to this theory, influence is most likely to occur under certain conditions. Communicators must work within the latitude of acceptance or at least the latitude of non-commitment for success. Direct attacks are doomed to failure according to this theory.
The implication of this principle is direct. Judgment is crucial to persuasion. If the persuader offers positions that people judge as “reject,” they are most likely not going to be persuaded. According to the theory, judgment happens very rapidly. People do not passively take in information, then make judgments. Instead, people make these judgments as they receive the information. Thus, how people judge is the key first step in the persuasion process. Judgments of rejection make influence extremely difficult. Judgments of non-commitment and acceptance offer the only chance for change.

1.1.3 .2 Inoculation Theory

Inoculation theory by McGuire (1961) explains more about how attitudes and beliefs change, and more importantly, how to keep original attitudes and beliefs consistent in the face of persuasion attempts. Inoculation theory posits that through cognitive processing, the likelihood of resistance to attitude change can be enhanced by applying inoculation treatments containing threat components that motivate individuals to generate counter arguments. The motivation for individuals’ counter arguing is induced by threats to their freedom of attitudinal discretion. Inoculation works because it exposes people to arguments, making them think about and rehearse opposing arguments. When they hear the arguments again, even stronger versions, they pay less attention to them, especially if they believe their opposing argument is stronger. There are three stages to inoculation: Warning: Tell the person what is about to happen so they are forced to get ready, Weak attack: attack them, but weakly so they can easily resist and actively defend: the persons must actively defend themselves (and find it relatively easy to do so).

Inoculation theory states that to prevent persuasion it is necessary to strengthen pre-existing attitudes, beliefs, or opinions. First, the receiver must be warned of an impending attack. This establishes threat (or recognition of vulnerability) and initiates defences to future attacks. Therefore, the idea is that when a weak argument is presented in the inoculation message the process of refutation will prepare for stronger persuasion later. It is important that the attack is strong enough to keep the receiver defensive, but weak enough to not actually change those pre-existing ideas. This will hopefully make the receiver actively defensive and allow them to create
arguments in favour of their pre-existing thoughts. According to McGuire (1964), the more active the receiver becomes in his or her defence the more it will strengthen their own attitudes, beliefs, or opinions.

1.1.3.3 Balance Theory
According to Heider and Newcomb (1964), Balance theory states that when tensions arise between or inside people, they attempt to reduce these tensions through self-persuasion or trying to persuade others. Every individual has their own opinions therefore people do not always agree on the same things which creates a feeling of discomfort or imbalance. Interlocutors may feel the same about an idea and therefore agree on it so they have a feeling of comfort or balance.

The balance theory proposes that there are three ways in which a person can feel balance. First the source and the receiver can both dislike something and at the same time like each other, so they experience comfort and balance. Second, the source and the receiver can have a positive attitude toward an object or idea and display positive feelings toward one another, therefore experiencing comfort and balance. Thirdly, the source and the receiver can disagree about an idea or object and also dislike each other, therefore experiencing comfort because they know that they disagree about the values of certain objects or ideas.

1.1.3.4 Source Credibility Theory
The source credibility theory postulates that people are more likely to be persuaded when the source presents itself as credible (Hovland 1953). The theory is broken down into three models that can be used to apply the theory. These three models are: the factor model, the functional model, and the constructivist model. The factor model, helps determine to what extent the receiver judges the source as credible. The functional model which views credibility as the degree to which a source satisfies a receiver’s individual needs and the constructivist model analyze what the receiver does with the source’s proposal. According to the theory, the speaker should be credible and attractive to the listener and the messages should not appear to be designed to persuade.
1.1.3.5 Reinforcement Theory:
This theory states that people seek out and remember information that provides cognitive support for their pre-existing attitudes and beliefs. Attitude changes result from an opinion change produced through reinforcement in areas such as attention, comprehension and acceptance (Hovland et al. 1967). Attention, comprehension and acceptance are considered by the audience before a new opinion is adopted. The message must be drawing attention and easily understood. More importantly, it must be presented in a way that reinforces the idea’s validity.

1.1.3.6 Information Manipulation Theory:
A communicator overtly or covertly violates one of the conversational maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner with the intention of deceiving his/her audience (Mc Cornack, 1992).
- ‘Quantity’ refers to a person’s expectations that a conversation will be as informative as possible.
- ‘Quality’ refers to a person’s expectation of being presented with information that is truthful and complete.
- ‘Relation’ illustrates the expectation of contributing relevant information to a conversation.
- ‘Manner’ relates to how things are said rather than what is said.

Information Manipulation Theory provides an explanation for and the multiple ways in which deception can occur. However, it does not predict what maxims a person may only violate that the violation will occur within the realm of possibilities provided.

1.1.3.7 Rank’s Model:
Rank’s(1976) model of persuasion states that persuaders use two major strategies to achieve their goals. These strategies are set into two main schemes known as (1) intensify, and (2) downplay. The basic premise of the model is that people will either intensify or downplay certain aspects of their own product, candidate, or ideology, or those of their receiver’s. The persuaders will do this in one of four methods.
- Intensify their strong points.
- Intensify the weak points of the opposition.
• Downplay their weak points.
• Downplay the strong points of the opposition.

1.1.4 The Rhetoric of Persuasion

Rhetoric is the skill of using language in speech in a special kind of way that influences people. The goal of all communication is to persuade the audience. To some it comes easily, to others it is difficult to assimilate. According to the Greek Philosopher Aristotle, persuasion could be brought about by the speaker’s use of three modes of “rhetoric” – Ethos, Pathos and Logos.

Ethos (Greek for ‘character’) in rhetoric is the demonstration of a communicator’s character and or credentials. The persuasion lies in the power and authority of the speaker. Aristotle considered it the most important attribute of any communication. The audience has to find the writer or speaker’s character credible and trustworthy otherwise, anything said from that point will not be persuasive.

Pathos (Greek for ‘suffering’ or ‘experience’) is an appeal based on emotion. The intent is to motivate people to take action. Without effective use of pathos, persuasion is unlikely to move people to action on any issue. Many rhetoricians, over the centuries, have considered pathos the strongest of the appeals, though this view of persuasion is rarely mentioned without a lament about the power of emotion to sway the mind. The most common way of conveying a pathos appeal is through narrative or story, which can turn the abstractions of logic into something palpable and present. The values, beliefs, and understandings of the communicator are implicit in the story and conveyed imaginatively to the audience. Thus, pathos refers to both the emotional and the imaginative impact of the message on an audience. It is the power with which the communicator’s message moves the audience to decision or action.

Logos is vital to the credibility of one’s argument which should be carefully constructed with basic building blocks of common sense. So logical discourse is an effective way of communicating thoughts, but it is important to know the audience before presenting such ideas.
However, just as using a single appeal is unlikely to persuade, neither is using all three in equal measure. How much ethos, pathos or logos is added to achieve persuasion depends on the speaker, the audience, the subject and the context.

1.2 Bride Price

Bride price is an old practice dating as far back as ancient times. In the Bible, the most notable recording then being in the book of Genesis where Jacob seeking the hand of Rachel pledges to serve her father for seven years in return for Rachel’s hand in marriage. This is perhaps one of the earliest recordings of a practice that has evolved throughout time and exerted influence on customary practices on marriage the world over. Some cultures require that bride price be paid before a man can marry a woman. In bible times, the payment used to be a symbolic gesture demonstrating the man’s ability to maintain a family. Payment of the bride-price was a custom in Bible times (Genesis 34:11, 12; 1 Samuel 18:25).

The understanding in ancient times and today is that bride price is a form of transaction in which the parents of the bride receives a payment from the groom’s side for the right to marry their daughter. This is also done to show appreciation for having raised their daughter. Members of the groom’s family would visit the bride’s parents for token bargaining over the bride price. In many areas this is no longer the case, as fathers now actually bargain for the highest price they can possibly get. For example, amounts ranging from about twelve dollars ($12), which is set by law in some areas of Nigeria, to one thousand four hundred ($1,400) or more, was demanded (Watchtower, 1989). Money or gifts may even be expected before the initial visit of the suitor’s parents. Then, as in Congo and some tribes in Zambia, more may have to be paid to “unlock the father’s mouth,” that is, to induce him to negotiate the price for his daughter. Even after a certain sum is paid, other payments and gifts can be demanded.

The practice of bride price has always featured as a significant part of African customary practices surrounding marriage and it would appear that it plays both symbolic and economic functions in the community in which it is practiced. The symbolic functions of the practice include the payment of bride price as a sign of appreciation to the parents of the bride and also to
signify a bond that ties the two families together. Its economic functions assume an important role in the distribution of property and this is characterized by the intended groom providing to the parents of the girl a substantial amount of money and or goods before the marriage can be contracted.

Historically, gift exchange has been an important integral part of marriage rites and ceremonies in African cultures. It involves exchange of materials or money from the groom’s side to the bride’s household, but practices differ between communities. In most, it is the men folk who participate in discussions that determine what, how much and how such a payment is made. However, in recent times women too negotiate. These exchange relations between families may persist over many years and in some societies constitute the chief means for the circulation of wealth. In these situations, marriage is a corporate enterprise in which control over prestige valuables is exercised by an older generation of men.

Bride price is an old tradition, still common throughout Africa as it was established many years ago. This payment is required so that the man is formally given the right to marry a woman and also shows that the man can manage to support the woman financially. Both the families of the bride and groom would be criticised if they did not follow this custom. In many societies where the economic aspects of life are intimately associated with group interests, bride price is present as an arrangement between corporate groups that negotiate transfers of wealth and rights. Marriage payments are thus a way of establishing and securing alliances and for allocating women’s labour power and fertility.

In the Bemba speech community, bride price is not a payment for women, but rather is seen as a way of valuing and appreciating the women, and the effort involved by the bride’s family in raising the female. The family of the man arranges for a go between. The payment is a way of securing the rights of the groom to marry the bride. Although women are valued in the societies, their status relative to men’s is lower because it is the men who make the corporate household decisions. Often, payments are made in part or in full. The presence of a go-between to initiate the marriage negotiations is the commonalty not just in the Bemba speech community but also of all marriage arrangements in Zambia.
In Namwanga, the groom’s parents arrange for a Katawa Mpango. This is a highly respected person representing the groom’s interests. The groom’s family gets ready and decides on a day to visit the girl’s family. The girl, after receiving the Insalamu, takes it to her grandmother. This is the official way her family is informed. Her grandmother informs her parents and the family. They either accept or reject the proposal. Whatever the decision, they then wait for the man’s family to approach them by way of the Katawa Mpango. When he visits, he traditionally will take a manufactured hoe, wrapped in cloth with a handle. The hoe is a symbol for the earth, for cultivation and fertilization. He carries white beads and small amount of money. The beads and money are put in a small plate covered with another small plate of equal size. The go-between must know the house of the girl’s mother. Traditionally, he knocks on the door and is invited in. Dramatically he falls on his back and claps his hands. This is to indicate to the girl’s marriage panel that he is on a marriage mission. Then he places the hoe and plates on the floor halfway between the marriage panel and himself. He then explains his mission and is asked many questions by the girl’s family. If no decision is made by the girl’s family, the hoe is taken back, beads and money are taken by the girl’s family. If a decision of rejection is reached that day, the hoe is taken back. If they accept, the plates are opened and the hoe is accepted once the girl acknowledges she knows the source.

As for the Tonga people, bride wealth is paid so as to ensure the right of the husband to the children of the marriage. It is contributed by the family of the groom and is distributed among the family of the bride. The bride wealth could include: cattle, hoes, a spear and beads. The marriage arrangements start with the betrothal and are finalized only once all the bride wealth has been paid. In case of a divorce, a part of the bride wealth has to be repaid. This repayment does not, however, affect the husband’s right to the children of the marriage.

Bride price is often contrasted with a rare form of marriage payment, dowry, which is a transfer of wealth by the relatives of the bride to her and her husband and which operates in stratified societies. Shifts from bride price to indirect dowry (a contribution by the groom to the bride for her use) have occurred in African society in response to shifts in economic behaviour. Bride
price is an important variable that is particularly useful for charting social change, broad patterns of cultural evolution, the economics of inheritance, and the status of women.

On the surface, bride price is a complex and very formal process of negotiation between the two families to enable them come to a mutual agreement of the right payment that the groom has to make in order to marry the bride. Bride price is important for marriage because it brings the two families together. Mutual respect and dignity between the two families is developed in this process, and the love between the man and woman is expanded to include the immediate and extended families. But, like all traditional customs, bride price is open to abuse and distortion in the modern world. Traditionally, Africans gauged their wealth in livestock, particularly cattle, and so bride price payment was always in cattle as cattle were the primary source of wealth in African society. However, most modern urban couples have switched to using cash.

Traditionally, people would marry within their tribe, rarely going outside that circle to find a mate, but marriage within a clan group is considered taboo. Tribal customs vary but there usually is a mediator who serves as a go-between for a man and his desired bride. The man and his negotiator will meet with a prospective bride’s family and in addition to getting to know each other, start negotiations for impango (bride price or marriage payment). This bride price traditionally involves cattle or other livestock, but in modern times money settlements have been accepted. Chondoka (1988: 94) states that “the impango is very important as it legalises the marriage and it is only refundable in special circumstances.”

In the Bemba speech community, the go-between initiates the marriage negotiations. The go-between who is often a man is known as the Shibukombe however there has been in recent times a woman who has been chosen as go-between and this one is called a Nabukumbe. The go-between is a highly respected person representing the groom’s interests. The groom’s family gets ready and decides on a day to visit the bride’s family who would either accept or reject the proposal. To persuade the bride’s family to comply, the go-between has to apply various strategies. In the same way, the bride’s family has to persuade the go-between to comply with the payment requested. Eventually, the two parties have to come to an agreement. It is for these reasons that this study seeks to explore the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to
bride price negotiations in a Bemba speech community. The study also intended to examine the strategies used during bride price negotiations to reach compromise. This study is important because in our culture, only a marriage that is performed in a traditional way, which means by negotiations between the two families through a go-between, the payment of bride wealth, and probably the performance of a wedding ceremony, is considered a real marriage.

1.2.1 PROCEDURE FOR TAKING INSALAMU AND IMPANGO

Before bride price negotiations can begin, there are preparatory conditions that take place. *Insalamu* is what is given to the bride’s family in order for them to begin talking. Without this gift, the bride’s parents cannot talk hence the go between will not start negotiating. After *insalamu* is given, the groom’s family now negotiate for what is referred to as *Impango* or bride price. When a man proposes a woman for marriage and she agrees, the procedure followed is as follows:

**TAKING INSALAMU**

- The first step is for the groom, in consultation with his family to look for a *Shibukombe* or a go-between and usually the parents take an active role as they are expected to choose a respectable man to represent their family. The *Shibukombe* should be well versed in the customs and proceedings leading up to the marriage ceremony.
- Once the *Shibukombe* has been found and is agreeable, the next step is to agree on a date when to take the *Insalamu*. The *Shibukombe* will usually find someone to go with him. The parents will prepare what to take to the woman’s home. The *Shibukombe* will arrange for a suitable date when to take the *Insalamu*.
- On the agreed date and time the Shibukombe will arrive at the home of the parents of the woman and introduce the purpose of his visit.
• The parents of the woman will call the woman (bride) and ask her if she knows anything about what has been brought and where it has come from. If she agrees, she will take the items and hand over to her parents.

• Thereafter, the Shibukombe will leave and promise to come back at a convenient time.

• The Shibukombe will report back to the groom and his parents the outcome of his mission.

TAKING IMPANGO

• Sometime after Insalamu has been taken the Shibukombe will meet with the man (prospective groom) and his family to make arrangements to go and negotiate for the Impango. They will discuss and agree on some tentative amount or items to be given as Impango.

• The Shibukombe will arrange for a date and time with the parents of the woman when to meet with them to discuss when the negotiations for Impango can take place.

• On the date and time agreed, the Shibukombe will arrive at the home of the woman and make a presentation usually on a plate to commence the discussion.

• The Shibukombe will highlight the purpose of his visit as that of requesting for a bride price.

• The parents of the woman will inform him of what they have agreed as a family and in some cases give some background as to how they have arrived at the said figure or goods or livestock.

• The Shibukombe will use his negotiation skills and persuasive strategies to try and bring down the figure.

• Once an agreement has been reached the Shibukombe will leave and report back to the Groom to be and his family.

• If an agreement has not been reached the Shibukombe will go back to the family that sent him to inform them of the outcome and they will instruct him on the way forward which he will communicate until an agreement has been reached.
1.2.2 Bemba Language

The Zambian society is endowed with many languages; there are officially 73 ethnic groups, from which, seven language clusters have been identified. There are seven languages or language clusters that are used in Zambia besides English for official purposes such as broadcasting (both on radio and television), literacy campaigns and the official dissemination of information. These are, Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga.

The Bemba belong to a large group of peoples mainly in the Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt Provinces of Zambia who trace their origins to the Luba and Lunda states of the upper Congo basin, in what became Katanga Province in southern Congo-Kinshasa (DRC).

According to the CSO(2010) report, Bemba was the widely used language of communication spoken by 33.5 percent of the population in the country. It was followed by Nyanja at 14.8 percent. Tonga was the third at 11.4 percent. Bemba was spoken by a higher proportion of the population in five provinces, namely, Central (31.8 percent), Copperbelt (83.9 percent), Luapula (71.3 percent), Muchinga (46.9 percent) and Northern (69.2 percent) provinces. Chewa was the widely used language of communication in Eastern Province at 34.6 percent while Nyanja (61.9 percent) was widely spoken in Lusaka Province and Kaonde (29.6 percent) in North Western Province. Tonga was widely spoken in Southern Province (74.7 percent), while Lozi was widely spoken in Western Province at 69.6 percent. Bemba was the largest ethnic group in Zambia at 21.0 percent followed by the Tonga group with 13.6 percent. The majority of the population in the Copperbelt, Luapula, Lusaka, Muchinga, and Northern Provinces was from the Bemba ethnic group.

Bemba history is a major historical phenomenon in the development of chieftainship in a large and culturally homogeneous region of central Africa. The Bemba’s are those who consider themselves subjects of the Chitimukulu, their single paramount chief. There are over 30 Bemba clans, named after animals or natural organisms, such as the royal clan, “the people of the crocodile” (Bena Ng’andu) or the Bena Bowa (Mushroom Clan).
In contemporary Zambia, the word “Bemba” actually has several meanings. It may designate people of Bemba origin, regardless of where they live, for example, whether they live in urban areas or in the original rural Bemba area. Alternatively, it may encompass a much larger population which includes some ‘eighteen different ethnic groups’, who together with the Bemba form a closely related ethno linguistic cluster of matrilineal-matrilocal agriculturalists known as the Bemba-speaking peoples of Zambia. Bemba is a Bantu language spoken in Zambia. It is one of the seven Regional official Zambian languages and is taught in government schools. It is principally spoken in Luapula, Northern, Muchinga, Copperbelt and some parts of Central Province. The word Bemba is used to cover the regional dialects of the language such as Aushi, Chishinga and Bwile among others.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

There are currently no studies that have been conducted to examine the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba. It is perceived that the act of persuasion is incumbent on the one being persuaded and is only realized when the other party accepts or changes their attitude towards a previously held belief. Wilson (2002:58) emphasizes that, “persuasive message production needs to be explained within the interactive contexts. This exercise would involve analyzing both sides of influence interactions such as how message sources seek compliance and how targets resist or comply.” Once a speaker has chosen the most appropriate way to communicate, it is still necessary to perform the required skill effectively. Hence the one persuading has to apply certain strategies in order to achieve persuasion.

We however, do not know what strategies are used when negotiating for bride price in Bemba. Stated as a question; the problem under investigation is: What pragmatic strategies do interactants apply in order to achieve persuasion? Unless the study is conducted, it will be impossible for us to appreciate and know the pragmatic strategies used during bride price negotiations in Bemba. Further the study will seek to examine how compromise is reached between the parties involved in the negotiations.

As each person listens to the messages available to him, his or her predispositions toward listening to one message and refusing to listen to another message, may make it difficult
for negotiating parties to make final decisions based on all the available information, hence, people need to master the various pragmatic persuasive strategies in order to reach compromise. There are observable differences in the choice and variation of persuasive strategies used by Bemba people in negotiating thus the study sought to investigate the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations.

1.4 Purpose of the study

1.4.1 General

The aim of the study was to examine the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations.

1.4.2 Objectives of the study

The study sought to meet the following specific objectives;

i) To identify the linguistic expressions which suggest persuasion

ii) To categorise the persuasive expressions according to the Illocutionary implication.

iii) To examine how the implication of the various expressions function as strategies of persuasion.

1.4.3 Research Questions

In order to meet the above stated objectives, the following questions were addressed;

i) What linguistic expressions suggest persuasion in Bemba?

ii) What categories of persuasive expressions are used in Bemba?

iii) How do the implications of the various expressions in Bemba function as strategies of persuasion?
1.5 Rationale

Language is one of the main instruments by which values, belief systems and cultural practices are communicated. The study of pragmatics endeavours to explain how meaning is negotiated between interlocutors in different contexts, using pragmatic theories. Pragmatics also encompasses the study of how the interpretation and use of utterances depends on the knowledge of the real world, how the relationship between the speaker and the hearer influences the structure of sentences and how speech acts are used and understood by speakers and also how implicature works. With the above in mind, this study was significant in sense that it yielded important information on how linguistic expressions are used in the Bemba community as an aid to persuasion therefore, making valuable contribution to the knowledge gap on the subject. It established the relationship between linguistic expressions uttered and the elicited perlocutionary force.

The study is also significant in the sense that it may help people understand the ways in which compromise is reached during bride price negotiations. Decision making is an integral part of the persuasion process. If the decision made by interlocutors is poor, their persuasive efforts may or may not be successful. Hence the pragmatic strategies will help interlocutors make wise decisions when it comes to persuading the listener. In this study, the types of persuasive strategies employed were dependent on the context in which persuasion took place as well as the social distance between the interlocutors involved.

The most notable aspect of the negotiations is, the social aspect, where all participants engage in bride price fixing, utilizing their social and linguistic skills to build and negotiate their identity and lasting relationships between the bride and grooms families. Participants, before even initiating the negotiations, have in mind a mutual presupposition and expectation of social solidarity.

Reardon (1999:1) states that, “persuasion should involve considerable patience and a talent for identifying how far an individual can be encouraged to move at any particular point in time.” In the Bemba speech community, the negotiations do not constitute a simple, straightforward
economic transaction, but, rather they require much persuasion and the language of persuasion provides us with immediate access to cultural points of reference, such as hospitality and respect.

According to Fin and Rensburg (1983), the most important element in persuasive communication situations is that the listener believes what is uttered. Hence for communication situations to be persuasive, they must involve a conscious attempt by one individual to change the attitudes of another through the transmission of some message. Information yielded in this study is valuable as it will act as a reference point for further studies that may be undertaken to establish the pragmatics of persuasion in other Bantu languages.

Persuasive communication can be judged in terms of success in producing desired behaviour or failure to produce desired results. This study will therefore benefit interlocutors involved in bride price negotiations in that they will know their own biases, because they cannot know exactly how they will react to each persuasive message they face, but they can make themselves aware of some of the types of arguments to which they react favourably or unfavourably. The study also provides insight on how attitude change is achieved. The persuasive strategies discussed will not only be applicable during marriage negotiations but also in other communicative situations such as politics.

Furthermore, because the transfer of wealth has implications for status and power, the study of the mechanisms and variables associated with bride price is an important topic of study for anthropologists, demographers and social historians.

While the importance of bride price negotiations is highly appreciated, there is an immense lack of studies conducted to examine the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with reference to bride price negotiations. The study therefore yielded valuable information which would contribute to a new line of inquiry in Bantu linguistics in general and Bemba Linguistics in particular. This will prompt further research on the pragmatics of persuasion in languages other than Bemba.
1.6 Definition of Terms

1.6.1 Pragmatics

According to Levinson (1983:24), pragmatics is “the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with contexts in which they would be appropriate.” This branch of linguistics is concerned with the ways in which people produce and comprehend meanings through language. Pragmatics deals with language in use and the contexts in which it is used, including such matters as deixis, the taking of turns in conversation, text organisation, presupposition and implicature. It also focuses on conversational implicature which is a process in which the speaker implies and the listener infers.

Pragmatics addresses expressions at the level of utterances, which can range from one word to a lengthy discourse. Pragmatics as used in this study is the study of language from the point of view of its users, the choices they make, and the difficulties they encounter in using the language in social interaction and how their use of language affects other participants in communication.

1.6.2 Persuasion

Reardon (1981) defines Persuasion as an activity or process in which a communicator attempts to induce a change in the belief, attitude, or behaviour of another person or group of persons through the transmission of a message in a context in which the persuadee has some degree of free choice.

O’Keefe (1990) defines persuasion as a successful intentional effort at influencing another’s mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuader has some measure of freedom. Persuasion involves an agent (the speaker) who attempts to persuade another agent (the listener) to take a certain action. The listener can either accept or reject the speaker’s suggestion. In this case, there is no partial acceptance. Whether or not the listener should accept the speaker’s request depends on strategies possessed and applied by the speaker in the interaction. In such a situation, the speaker often presents information with various strategies to support his position.
1.6.3 Face

People in all cultures have an awareness of self-image, or “face” as they communicate. Face is the person’s public or self image. It is the emotional and social sense of self that every person has and expects everyone else to recognize. It is also the desire to be appreciated as well as not to be imposed upon (Levinsons 1983). Face also refers to the respect that an individual has for him or herself, and maintaining that “self-esteem” in public or in private situations. Usually the listener tries to avoid embarrassing the other person, or making them feel uncomfortable.

1.6.4 Bride Price (Impango)

Bride price, sometimes referred to as bride wealth, and known as Impango in Bemba, is a form of marriage transaction in which the bride’s side receives a payment in the form of goods, money, property, livestock or other valuables given to the parents of the woman for the right to marry their daughter. According to Chondoka (1988) there is no fixed amount of goods money or livestock but that the final amount is to be negotiated for by both the bride and the groom’s side.

1.6.5 Shibukombe

Shibukombe is a term that is used to describe the male go-between selected by the groom’s family to represent him and negotiate bride price on his behalf. This one represents the groom and his interests during bride price negotiations at the bride’s home.

1.6.6 Nabukombe

The Nabukombe is the go-between selected by the groom to represent him to the parents of the bride. The Nabukombe is a term used to refer to a female go-between. She negotiates on the groom’s behalf having agreed with the groom on the expected amount or goods to be paid as bride price.

1.7 Methodological Framework

In investigating the pragmatics of persuasion, the researcher used the branch of linguistics referred to as pragmatics which is the study of language from the point of view of its users. Pragmatics also studies the way context contributes to meaning and considers the negotiation of
meaning between speaker and listener. To this extent, the study utilized a qualitative approach. With this approach, the researcher purposefully selected individuals and sites that provided the required information.

Aguma (1995:73) states that, “qualitative research methods can give valuable insight into the local situation and people’s feelings and can help ascertain how local culture and beliefs affect human behaviour patterns.” According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), as quoted by Punch (2006), qualitative research is the type that produces findings by non-statistical procedures. In qualitative research data may be collected by techniques such as interviews and observation. Mason (1996) says that qualitative research concerns itself with how the world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. It starts with specific observations and moves towards the development of a general pattern that emerges from specific cases being studied.

The various techniques used to collect data enabled the researcher obtain an in-depth understanding of persuasive strategies used during bride price negotiations in the Bemba speech community. The sample of the study was drawn from bride price negotiation sessions taking place in Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. These areas provided information needed for the study. The Bemba speech community is homogenous so bride price negotiations are done in a similar manner within Bemba families regardless of geographical location. It was believed that the same information on bride price would be acquired from any Bemba family. The researcher managed to collect twenty (20) recordings of bride price negotiations from close family members and friends. The researcher used purposive sampling which is virtually synonymous with qualitative research. The purposive sampling is a type of sampling that is most effective when one needs to study a certain cultural domain with knowledgeable experts within. Choosing the purposive sample is fundamental to the quality of data gathered, hence reliability of the information is ensured. The researcher also used snowballing. Snowballing is used when one does not have access to sufficient people with the characteristics one is seeking. In this particular approach, the researcher asks respondents to give referrals to other possible respondents. Most of the information from snowballing was directed at verifying the pragmatic significance of the expressions and the perlocutionary force. The ‘snowball’ effect occurs
as referrals multiply at each step. This increased the chances of correlations being found in the study that do not apply to the generalized wider population.

The data were collected through several means namely: recordings, observations and interviews. Recordings played a pivotal role in collecting primary data. This was done by recording bride price negotiations taking place overtime. This instrument was useful because data collected came from negotiations in natural settings and in effect unmodified. The researcher was present for most of the bride price negotiations that were recorded. However, in a few cases the researcher was not allowed to be present, notably in her own bride price negotiation session. The researcher also kept notes on the various linguistic expressions that were used, and these notes were handy in analysis and served as a reference point.

Semi-structured interviews were also used to collect data. This was done by asking purposively selected participants questions in relation to the objectives stated earlier. Interviews played a vital role in the verification of the pragmatic significance of the expressions used. They were also used to verify the perlocutionary force of the expression. The researcher interviewed individuals who had been acculturated into the bride price negotiations overtime, and therefore, competent in utilizing different persuasive strategies and employing various persuasive skills. Most of the individuals interviewed had served as go betweens (Shibukombe and Nabukombe) for many years. Chapter three of this research contains a more detailed description of data collection procedure and analysis.

1.8 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This study was based on three pervasive principles which have been used widely in the field of interactional discourse. These are: the speech act theory (SAT) which was developed earlier by Searle (1969) following Austin’s (1962); the concept of politeness and the theory of conversational implicature by Brown and Levinson (1987).
1.8.1 Speech Act Theory

Speech act is a technical term in linguistics and the philosophy of language. Speech act theory is based on the notion that language is a form of behaviour, which is governed by a set of rules (Searle, 1969). A speech act, according to this theory is seen as the minimal unit of linguistic communication. It is an utterance that serves a particular function in communication. Speech acts are commonly taken to include such acts as promising, ordering, greeting, warning and congratulating. Speech Act Theory is concerned with how an utterance is defined in terms of the intentions of the speaker and the effect it has on the listener. Austin (1962) proposed the concept of performatives. Performative utterances are sentences which are not only describing a given reality but also changing the social reality they are describing. For example declarative such as “I now pronounce you husband and wife”, changes the state of affairs by the fact of its being uttered under appropriate or conventional circumstances. According to Crystal (1992:362) ‘speech act’ refers to a communicative activity defined with reference to the speaker’s intentions as they speak and the effects achieved on the hearers. In the case of persuasion during bride price negotiations, the speaker intends to convince the listener to comply with a particular proposition, this may be done through an utterance that would have or carry the illocutionary force.

According to Austin (1962: 94-108) what we say has three kinds of meaning:

1. Locutionary act or meaning: this is an act of saying something. For example: ‘It’s cold’
2. Illocutionary act: this is the force that an expression of some specific form will have when it is uttered. It is the contextual function of the act.

‘It’s cold in here’ could be: an indirect request to turn the air conditioner on

-an indirect refusal to open the windows.

3. Perlocutionary act: It is what one achieves by saying something.

‘It’s cold in here’ could result in someone turning the air conditioner on for warmth or closing the windows.

These types of acts are linked to three interrelated layers of meanings, these are;
1. The literal meaning of the utterance produced by the speaker.
2. The speaker’s intention conveyed in the utterance and
3. The effect that the utterance has on the hearer.

In his work on the theory, Searle (1976: 22) also suggests five illocutionary acts that one can perform in speaking. These are: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations.

(a) Assertives or representatives are utterances that may be true or false, they describe a state of affairs such as asserting, concluding and so on.

(b) Directives are utterances which make the listener do something such as requesting and ordering.

(c) Commissives are utterances which commit the speaker to do something such as promising and offering.

(d) Expressives are utterances which express emotional state of the speaker as in apologies and welcoming.

(e) Declarations are utterances change the state of affairs such as baptizing and declaring.

In speech act theory, Searle spoke of the speaker-hearer relationship and marked the indirectness of a speech act which carries the relation between the actual meaning of words and their implicature, he did not look at other variables such as social status, gender, age and cross – cultural variations on speech acts. These however, have been accounted for by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their work on politeness theory which focuses on the notion of ‘face’.

1.8.1.2 Indirect Speech acts

Searle (1969) introduced the notion of an ‘indirect speech act’, which in his account meant to be, more particularly, an indirect ‘illocutionary’ act. He described indirect speech acts as being responsible for sentence meaning and speaker meaning which may be different. The problem
posed by indirect speech acts is how it is possible for the hearer to understand the indirect speech act when the sentence he hears and understands means something else. Searle (1979:48), points out that, “the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he or she actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background knowledge, both linguistic and non linguistic, together with the general power of reality and inference on the part of the hearer.” He adds that an account of such act will require such things as an analysis of mutually shared background information about the conversation, as well as of rationality and linguistic conventions. Searle also raises the fact that the chief motivation for using indirect form is politeness which is discussed in this research.

1.8.1.3 Felicity Conditions

Felicity conditions should not be overlooked when describing speech act theory. According to Austin (1962:63), the phrase ‘felicity conditions’ refers to “the criteria which must be fulfilled if a speech act is to achieve its purpose.” These are social conventions which speakers and the listeners should adhere to in order to achieve the purposes for which any speech act is intended. For example, the utterance, “I sentence you to death” would only be successful if the speaker has the authority to sentence someone to death like a judge or jury. There are certain conditions that are to be met for a speech act to occur. These include:

(i) Preparatory conditions which relate to whether the person performing a speech act has the authority to do so;

(ii) Sincerity conditions which relate to the degree of sincerity with which a speech act is performed; and

(iii) Essential conditions which relate to the way the speaker, having performed a speech act, is committed to a certain kind of belief.

There are however, instances when speakers of a language sometimes fail to fulfil the felicity conditions of an utterance for one reason or another.
1.8.2 Politeness Principles

In everyday conversation, there are ways to go about getting the things we want. In different social situations, we are obligated to adjust our use of words to fit the occasion. One of the means that can enable us to get things done is politeness. Politeness theory is seen as a sub-discipline of pragmatics.

According to Asher (1994:3206), politeness is defined as referring to “proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others. What counts as polite in any given context is socio-culturally and historically determined.” Yule (1997:134) defines pragmatic politeness as, ‘showing awareness of another person’s face.’ Leach et.al (1983) refers to politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon. Politeness is regarded as a strategy employed by speakers to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations. According to Leach (1983), the politeness principles consisted of a set of maxims such as Tact: minimizing cost and maximizing benefit to hearer, Generosity: tells people to minimize their own benefit while maximizing that of the hearer, Approbation: minimizing dispraise and maximizing praise of the hearer, Modesty: minimizing self-praise and maximizing self-dispraise, Agreement: minimizing disagreement and maximizing agreement between self and other and Sympathy: minimize antipathy between self and others. Politeness can satisfactorily explain exceptions to and apparent deviations from person to person. Politeness theory is crucial in explaining why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean.

Despite the fact that accurate perception about politeness varies from one situation to another and from one culture to another, theorists generally agree that the recipient of the information presented has not only heard and understood, but has also come to understand the point of view of what has been said. Sharing information through genuine two way communication develops understanding of, and sympathy with the ways and values of others. The more effective the communication, the more chance people have to live in harmony and peace with one another. To show politeness, speakers often use indirect speech acts. According to Searle (1979), this occurs when one illocutionary act is performed indirectly, by way of another. Brown and Levinson (1987) say politeness is the underlying motivation for being indirect in English. Pyle (1975) as cited in Thomas (1995:179) states that “people employ the mechanism of being indirect when
what they want to say conflicts with the intentions and desires of the listener.” This is evident during bride price negotiation. Usually indirect speech will be used by the interlocutors in order to show politeness and it is up to each one of them to work out the implicature of the various speech acts used.

Ardnet (1993) views politeness as a rational rule governed pragmatic aspect of speech that is rooted in the human need to maintain relationships and avoid conflicts. The use of politeness during bride price negotiations is imperative as it reduces conflict. Pragmatics plays a major role as it is concerned with the choice of how to use words.

1.8.2.1 The Notion of Face

Within politeness theory, face is best understood as every individual’s feelings of self worth or self image. This image can be damaged, maintained or enhanced through interaction with others. The notion of ‘face’ as suggested by Goffman (1967), and developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) is an important framework within which persuasion can be successfully explained.

The notion of ‘face’ has been defined in Scollon and Scollon (1999: 45) as “the negotiated public image, mutually granted to each other by participants in a communicative event.” As for Goffman (1967) a person’s face is his image of himself in terms of approved social attributes. In the course of interaction participants are responsible for maintaining their own and each other’s faces cooperatively.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) define ‘face’ as a favourable public image consisting of two different kinds of desires or face wants, the desire to be unimpeded in one’s actions, and desire to be approved of. The former was labelled by Brown and Levinson as “negative face” and the latter as “positive face”. Politeness therefore, aims at counteracting the effects of face threatening activities. Brown and Levinson see negative politeness strategies as less threatening than positive politeness strategies, since the latter assume that the hearer shares the speaker’s feelings of closeness. Brown and Levinson (1987) believe that some acts, by their nature, threaten face, i.e. “face threatening acts”; therefore they require softening. Moreover, Brown and Levinson
contend that the concept of face itself is universal, though the specific manifestations of face-wants may vary across cultures with some acts being more face-threatening in one culture than in another. Persuasion is always a conscious activity characterised by the persuader’s perception of threat to his or her goals. It involves guiding people towards the adoption of some behaviour, beliefs or attitudes preferred by the persuaders through reasoning or emotional appeals. The art of persuasion involves threat to the persuader’s self concept. Therefore, there has to be understanding between the two interlocutors.

Illocutionary acts such as requests and persuasions which are most likely to damage another person’s face are called face threatening acts (FTAs). As a result, the strategies that the speaker adopts to save the face of the listener depend on the speaker’s assessment of the size of the face-threatening acts. The speaker may work out the size of the face-threatening acts by such parameters as power or status, social distance and the weightiness of the imposition. These influence the speaker’s choice of the strategies to be used.

1.8.3 Conversational Implicature

It has been postulated in this theory that the same words or expressions people use may convey, in different circumstances, very different implicatures. The words used in speech are an incomplete representation of the actual or intended meaning. When utterances are related to a context, we can infer the most appropriate meaning. To do so, the hearer assigns sense and reference to words spoken and then works out the speaker’s intention in making such an utterance.

Implicature is a technical term in the pragmatics subfield of linguistics, coined by Grice (1975), which refers to what is suggested in an utterance, even though neither expressed nor strictly implied (that is, entailed) by the utterance. Implicature denotes either the act of meaning, implying, or suggesting one thing by saying something else, or the object of that act. Implicatures can be part of sentence meaning or dependent on conversational context, and can be conventional (in different senses) or unconventional. “Implicature” is an alternative to
“implication,” which has additional meanings in logic and informal language. (Lyons, 1977: 592)

According to Grice (1975) as quoted by Thomas (1995: 61), “the theory of Implicature is an attempt at explaining how a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant, from the level of expressed meaning to the level of implied meaning.” In the same way, when one uses certain linguistic expressions during bride price negotiations, the hearer, often times than not, has to attempt to get the meaning by applying the words spoken to the context in which they are used.

According to Grice (1975) as quoted in Lyons (1977), there are two different kinds of implicatures namely conventional implicature and conversational implicature. They have in common the property that they both convey an additional level of meaning, beyond the semantic meaning of the words uttered. They differ in that in the case of conventional implicature, the same implicature is always conveyed, regardless of context, whereas in the case of conversational implicature, what is implied varies according to the context of the utterance. For example, when someone says “Would you come to my party this evening?” one might respond “Am feeling stressed”, the response in this case would have various implications, it may mean ‘yes’ you want to go believing the party will cheer you up or it may be a refusal or an excuse for not going to the party.

Conversational implicature arise only in a particular context of utterance. For example, it would be incongruous to argue that the saying “Great, that’s really great!” always generated the implicature that the speaker was furious because someone had just stepped on him or had done something wrong to him. On the other hand, it may occur on other occasions that a person producing this utterance might be genuinely expressing delight over a gift or might even just be amused by some event or even show anguish.

Additionally a sentence like: “Have you got any cash?” can have various implicatures. Depending on the context in which it is used, it may require you to infer that you need to pay the bill, or someone may require you to infer that they need you to loan them some cash or indeed to buy some item if you are at a store. As the examples above illustrate, it is possible for different
speakers in different circumstances to mean different things using the same words or expressions. As evidenced in the use of various expressions during bride-price negotiations, people are often too indirect and are mostly misunderstood thus implicature helps us to infer the most appropriate meaning.

More is involved in what one communicates than what one literally says; more is involved in what one means than the standard, conventional meaning of the words one uses and this is exactly the case during bride price negotiations. One can only understand the various expressions used if she or he goes beyond the conventional meaning of words. It is therefore appropriate that this theory has been used to investigate the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations.

The ‘calculation’ of conversational implicature is grounded on common knowledge of what the speaker has said or better, the fact that he has said it, the linguistic and extra linguistic context of the utterance, general background information, and the consideration of what Grice dubs the ‘Cooperative Principle (CP)’.

1.8.3.1 Cooperative principle

According to the Cooperative principle one should make their contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which one is engaged (Grice1975). By this principle Grice was noting that, on the whole, people observe certain regularities in interaction. His focus though, was in particular those that govern the generation and interpretation of conversational implicature.

Given a situation where the speaker has accidentally locked herself outside the house in the middle of a cold winter night, and is asked whether she would like a coat. The speaker replies “No, I really want to stand out here in the cold.” On the face of it, the reply is untrue and uncooperative. However, according to Grice (1975), if we assume that in spite of the appearance, the speaker is observing the cooperative Principle and has made an appropriate response to the question; we will look for alternative interpretation.
Without the assumption that the speaker is operating according to the Cooperative Principle, there is no mechanism to prompt someone to seek for another level of interpretation. Therefore, the observation that the speaker has said something which is manifestly untrue combined with the assumption that the Cooperative Principle is in operation sets in motion the search for an implicature. The four maxims help us to establish what the implicature might be. Noteworthy is the fact that Grice (1975) attributes to these principles an essential role for the definition and the interpretation of conversational implicatures.

As already stated, the conditions from which implicatures derive are formulated by Grice (1975) as maxims, grouped under the four headings of quantity, quality, relation and manner. These are exemplified below:

**The maxim Quantity**

(i) Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange.

(ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

**The maxim of Quality**

Try to make your contribution one that is true, specifically:

i).do not say what you believe to be false.

ii). do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

**The maxim of Relevance or Relation**

Make your contributions relevant

**The maxim of Manner**

Be perspicuous, and specifically:
(i) avoid obscurity
(ii) avoid ambiguity
(iii) be brief
(iv) be orderly

The cooperative principle goes both ways: speakers (generally) observe the cooperative principle, and listeners (generally) assume that speakers are observing it. This allows for the possibility of implicatures, which as already stated, are meanings that are not explicitly conveyed in what is said, but that can nonetheless be inferred. These maxims may be better understood as describing the assumptions listeners normally make about the way speakers will talk, rather than prescriptions for how one ought to talk. It is worth noting that some implicature arise by flouting maxims. To flout maxims means one or several maxims being absent during communication.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The researcher faced a few challenges during data collection. Due to traditional beliefs, the researcher in some areas of Lusaka faced some resistance when it came to being present during the negotiations. This however did not deter the progression of the research as the researcher still managed to negotiate her way into being present during most of the negotiations. For those where the researcher was not allowed, the interlocutors present were able to give recordings of the actual negotiations. The various linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiations had more than one meaning hence the researcher needed to carry out purposive interviews to verify the perlocutionary force of the linguistic expressions.

Furthermore the researcher also had to collect recordings as and when they took place hence that proved to be quite challenging as it is not every day that negotiations of this nature take place so it took a while for the data to be collected and thereafter analysed. Despite the pitfalls, the researcher managed to collect sufficient data to enable the completion and production of this dissertation.
1.10 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is composed of five chapters. The first chapter gives an overview of the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations in Bemba. It provides background information to the investigation, stating the specific problem under investigation. The chapter also outlines the purpose and objectives of the study, the specific research questions which addressed the objectives and also the rationale or significance of the study. The chapter also contains a brief summary of the methodological framework employed in data collection and analysis. Furthermore, the chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual framework within which the study was undertaken by defining and illustrating some of the major concepts relating to the study. The chapter thereafter focuses on some theories of persuasion. The first chapter concludes with a summary of the main issues covered in the chapter itself.

Chapter two reviews some of the available literature that is considered to be directly relevant to the current study in order to place the investigation in the context of similar surveys, thereby enriching it. The various literature examined is not just about studies conducted in Zambia but elsewhere as well. They are also examined in terms of relevance to the current study under investigation.

Chapter three describes in detail the methodology used to collect data so as to provide answers to the questions raised in chapter one of the study. The chapter presents in detail, details relating to the research paradigm and research design employed in the study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures as well as the data analysis process. It also gives a justification as to why particular methods were used.

Chapter four presents the findings of some of the linguistic expressions suggesting persuasion collected from the three study areas of Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. It explains the pragmatics of persuasion, the strategies speakers use to persuade one another to take a certain course of action and the implications conveyed by the various linguistic expressions. The findings are analysed in light of the literature review and the theoretical framework. The presentation is arranged according to the research objectives and questions as set out in chapter one of the report, however, the objectives are discussed simultaneously to avoid repetition of data.
Chapter five presents the summary of the findings regarding the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations in Bemba. Additionally, the chapter draws conclusions and makes recommendations with regard to future investigation options on the pragmatics of persuasion.

1.11 Summary

The preceding chapter gave an introduction to the contents in the dissertation on the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations in Bemba. The Chapter presented various definitions of persuasion and bride price negotiations. The chapter further presented the problem under investigation, background, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study and research questions which addressed the objectives and the rationale. Furthermore, it provided a summarized description of the methodology employed in data collection and analysis which has been discussed in detail in chapter three of this particular study. This was followed by part of the chapter that outlined the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study which was responsible for defining and exemplifying some of the concepts applied in the analysis of the pragmatics of persuasion as this was discussed in relation to theories on speech acts, politeness theory and conversational analysis theories. The chapter concluded by giving a presentation of scope of the study, outlining some of the limitations and providing a summary of the various issues that were dealt with within the chapter.

The next chapter presents a review of some of the available literature which is thought to be directly relevant to the present study so as to position the investigation within the context of similar research.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 General

The preceding chapter introduced the study on the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations in Bemba. The chapter started with general introduction to bride price and an explanation of what persuasion involves. The chapter also highlighted a few points on the Bemba language. It also provided the various definitions of persuasion according to different scholars. Subsequently the chapter went on to present the problem under investigation, background, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study and research questions which were in line with the objectives. Additionally, there is a detailed account of the methodology discussed in chapter three.

The present chapter now provides a review of the available literature which has been considered and has been found relevant to the current study under investigation. This particular chapter places the research within the context of analogous research in an effort to provide justification and to augment it.

2.1 Studies on the Pragmatics of Persuasion

Persuasion has received considerable attention in pragmatic research. In recent years many scholars have investigated the field of pragmatics in relation to different aspects of life or point of view. Other have researched on bride price in general. To the best of my knowledge there has been no research on the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations in Bemba. This chapter is however necessary in order to help identify the specific knowledge gap and to link this research to what has been documented so as to make meaningful contribution to existing literature.

Nolungisa (2005) for instance carried out a Pragmatic analysis of Persuasion in isiXhosa. The goal of the study was to investigate the speech act of persuasion in isiXhosa. The aim of the
investigation was to examine the characteristics of persuasion in remedial interchange based on the isiXhosa pragmatics. The study was concerned with the strategies people use when persuading targets, how message sources seek compliance, how targets resist and/or comply and how influence interactions are structured and what constraints on conversation need to be taken into account. The researcher in this particular study utilised the politeness theory and the notion of face and also conversational implicature.

The objective of the study was to present an account of how isiXhosa realizes premises and strategies of persuasion in authentic communication, assuming the framework of persuasion theory and the politeness principle. Taking into account all the communicative information relating to the persuasion environment, comparison was made between persuasion as communicative act represented in drama texts, and persuasion in other communication data, which are concerned with interpersonal communication.

The research aimed to establish how empirical data on persuasion from isiXhosa confirm or challenge current accepted principles and properties of persuasion theory, or how empirical data on premises and strategies used in persuasion in isiXhosa necessitate the extension of principles of persuasion theory. In addition, the research aimed to account for the nature of the social and cultural determinants that play a role in the premises and strategies used in persuasion communication in isiXhosa. Thus the research sought to make explicit the unique and distinct properties of isiXhosa that need to be taken into account in initiatives relating to the advancement of isiXhosa as an official language. Nolungisa (2005) addressed the following questions;

i) What constitutes a successful attempt to influence someone?

ii) What constitutes the presence of some success?

iii) What constitutes the intention for achieving the persuasive goal?

Data was collected by means of written dialogues collected from five close family members who were requested to each write five dialogues where they would influence different people to
change their behaviour and comply with the requests. There was also an interesting dialogue from Lamati’s drama book “Indlala inamanyala” (Hunger breeds evil) 1995. All the dialogues were assessed and then analysed according to goal identification arguments against compliance and arguments for compliance. In these dialogues were compliances and resistances.

From her findings Nolungisa (2005) came up with several strategies of persuasion which include: rationality, dominance, offer of apology and request for forgiveness. Evidence from her research suggested that, there are some differences between persons about how easily they are persuaded. Effective communicators are able to choose their goals from a wide range of goals in communication in which the parties consider one another as unique individual, rather than as object. If a person has a high referent power, that particular person may be able to persuade others to follow his or her lead because they believe in him, for doing him favour. This research confirmed that females are more easily persuaded than males and that they prefer rationality more than males do in many events. It was also discovered that dominance as a strategy was mainly used by males or women in authority. In the event of a misunderstanding, where exchange of words resulted in negative consequences, Xhosa speaking tribe offer an apology to resolve the misunderstanding and request for forgiveness. It was on the basis of these strategies that the current researcher was able to formulate her own strategies of persuasion.

This study greatly assisted the current study that is focussed on the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations as it was based on persuasion theories and the politeness principle and the notion of face which are all very beneficial to the present study. The researchers use of the theories above motivated the current researcher to incorporate them in her study.

Chakrani (2007) carried out A Socio-pragmatic Analysis of Bargaining Exchanges in Morocco. Using Moroccan bargaining data, this paper investigated the importance of cultural context in the determination of the illocutionary force of speech utterances in the bargaining
The theoretical premise of his paper was aimed at showing that marketers’ ability to perform an act and determine its illocutionary reading is achieved not solely by meeting and fulfilling the felicity conditions, but is, in fact, also attained by creatively invoking and mobilizing aspects of the Moroccan cultural context. Hence the researcher utilized the speech act theory. This research showed how interactants in a bargaining exchange, manipulate salient, shared cultural concepts and strategically organize and analyze each other’s locutions while indexing the different social roles and relationships in which they enter.

The research attempted to answer the following research questions:

i) What are the linguistic elements that are necessary in understanding speech utterances in general and bargaining speech acts in particular?

ii) How important is the element of context in delivering the meaning of utterances?

iii) Which component(s) of context, if any, help us unpack the illocutionary reading of a given speech act?

iv) And how does the notion of context manifest itself in the language of bargaining?

The primary element of focus was the cultural context, which encompasses our understanding of social norms of behaviour and speech and of secondary importance to the analysis of bargaining interactions was the situational context which encompasses features such as socioeconomic background, social status, age, and interactants’ knowledge of the market. Of tertiary importance to the research was the co-text, which addressed how the utterance itself becomes a context for the next utterance. The researcher explained that Co-text was a fragment of context that was created at the level of “linguistic environment”. The invocation of cultural context become apparent when the researcher compared the language local sellers use when they converse with local buyers, as opposed to the one they use with tourists, which is utterly stripped from any reference to such cultural norms. Since bargaining discourse is socially constructed and culturally oriented, Chakrani (2007) paid special attention to the cultural dynamics driving the interactional exchange.

Chakrani (2007) analysed aspects of cultural context with the following elements in mind:
1) The importance and relevance of each cultural concept to the Moroccan culture in general, the cultural meanings that it has acquired, and its linguistic manifestation in various discursive expressions in the language.

2) How such a cultural concept organizes the interpersonal dynamics between speakers in the Moroccan speech community.

3) How bargainers invoke and exploit such a cultural concept to reorganize and retool the bargaining interaction.

The researcher analyzed a corpus of bargaining exchanges of over sixty (60) interactions. In addition, he drew on other conversations between hundreds of subjects, which were recorded by hand. The data was analyzed using the author’s knowledge and native intuition about the bargaining language and the fact that the author was, as is the case for the majority of Moroccans, acculturated into the bargaining genre since childhood, therefore, had acquired native competence in utilizing different bargaining strategies and employing various bargaining skills. Bargaining exchanges were recorded in a variety of settings, including an electronic shop, children’s clothing store, coach bus station, produce market, medina open-air and flea markets, a shoe store, and fabric stores.

Chakranis’ (2007) study showed, using bargaining data that unpacking the meaning and the illocutionary force behind an utterance is not simply contingent on speaker’s intention or hearer’s inference, but also on the cultural meaning that these utterances have acquired in the Moroccan culture. Utterances, mobilized by interactants, index cultural notions, and in turn, draw part of their meaning from these notions. The study also showed that the interactant’s success in performing felicitous and persuasive speech acts was based on, and contingent upon, their knowledge of the local Moroccan culture. The study revealed that the invocation of cultural context is essential in analyzing not just the illocutionary force, but also the persuasive aspects of utterances. This invocation became especially apparent when the researcher compared the language local sellers used when they conversed with local buyers as opposed to the one used with tourists.
**Relevance to the current study:**

This study was important to the pragmatics of persuasion in the sense that it brought out the aspect of cultural context in determining illocutionary force of speech utterances in a given speech act in line with speech act theory which has been utilized in the present study. Cultural context was very important in the study of bride price negotiations as they helped in unlocking the illocutionary force of the utterances. Felicity conditions help the speaker attain a successful performance of speech utterances, these were equally vital to the current study.

Another study conducted from a pragmatic point of view and relevant to the present study was that conducted by Al-Khalib (2001) entitled: The Pragmatics of Invitation making in Jordanian society. The study explored the nature of invitation making and acceptance in Jordanian society. Al-Khalib points out that, “invitations are a common occurrence in everyday life, particularly in the maintenance of good relationships. They aim to address the invitee’s positive face.” The study therefore, aimed at demonstrating that upon inviting, Jordanian people engage in a ‘face work’. Specifically they take into account the vulnerability of ‘face’ and therefore take certain procedures to maintain it. The researcher attempted to systemize the various strategies used for the purpose of inviting in Jordanian society and to highlight the socio-pragmatic constraints governing their use.

It was hypothesized in the study that the social-cultural context in which invitation making occurs as well as a number of social factors such as sex, age, and the social distance between the participants that are involved have a fundamental impact on the type of strategies employed. As a polite and constructive type of behaviour, an invitation was seen as a social act. For the purpose of the study, invitation making meant all social occasions (for example: party, meal, drink) in which someone is verbally invited to take part. Three major aspects of inviting were examined: inviting, accepting an invitation and declining it. Data was collected from interactants in the workplace, department meetings, television programs, coffee shops and campus. The sample of the study was composed of 120 informants. Written data was collected by means of a questionnaire. The data was studied and analyzed following Austin (1962), Searle (1967, 1976) concepts on speech act theory, and Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) notion of politeness and
face threatening acts.

The findings of the study revealed that the process of inviting is patterned, functional and rule-governed. Furthermore, it showed that social distance in relation to sex and age of the individual speaker is an important factor in determining the type of strategies used for inviting, accepting an invitation or refusing it. It was also argued that Jordanian Arabic has a special patterning of inviting that can be understood and appreciated only by people sharing the same socio-cultural background. The results of the study have implications for intercultural communication, and applied linguistics as well as for a possible theory of foreign or second language teaching.

It was also established that the degree of social distance or solidarity between the interactants in relation to other social factors such as relative age, sex, social roles, whether people work together, or are of the same family were found to be of great effect on the type of strategy used by the individual speaker upon inviting, accepting an invitation or declining it. From the study, it was recommended that further study be done to identify other factors that may affect invitation making and acceptance in that particular milieu.

**Relevance to Current Study:**
This study was useful to the current study as it focussed on the speech act theory and the notion of face, principles on which the current study is equally based. The social-cultural context in which invitation making occurred as well as a number of social factors such as sex, age, and the social distance between the participants had an equally fundamental impact on the type of strategies employed in the current study on the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations.

Mohoanyane (1995) carried out a study on the semantic interpretation of Sesotho idiomatic expressions. The aim of the study was to determine the semantic interpretation of Sesotho idiomatic expressions in order to find out the effects of these expressions in ordinary speech. The researcher focussed on figures of speech as metaphors, euphemisms and hyperbole. She analysed idiomatic expressions using semantic theory and highlighted the fact that idiomatic expressions
had hidden meanings which in communication would lead to misunderstandings in case the hearer misinterpreted these expressions. The interlocutors therefore had to have common ground for communication to be successful.

**The Research Questions were:**

1. How are idiomatic expressions interpreted?
2. What problems are caused by these expressions?
3. How can these problems be overcome?

**The Conclusion of the Study:**

From the study, it was discovered that context was of paramount importance in understanding what the speaker said. It was discovered that the use of idiomatic expressions resulted into ambiguous expressions where two images were reflected on the hearers mind. This would culminate into confusion and misunderstanding between interlocutors which would eventually lead to communication breakdown. Therefore it was advisable that because of the problems brought about due to misinterpretation of expressions, context should always be provided. Otherwise, the speaker should use a form of language that may easily be understood by most people present during the conversation.

**Relevance to the Current Study:**

Mohoanyane’s (1995) study on the Semantic interpretation of Sesotho idiomatic expressions greatly benefited the current study in that idiomatic expressions like linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiations, have hidden meanings which require contextual analysis in order to unlock the meaning. To avoid misunderstandings, interlocutors need to have shared background knowledge and the researcher wanted to find out how this information together with context would apply when it came to unlocking the meanings of pragmatic expressions used during bride price negations in Bemba as her study was based on that topic.
In Zambia, there are a few studies that have been conducted in the field of pragmatics and related topics like sociolinguistic. Among the few, Mukonde (2009) is a noteworthy example. She carried out a Pragmatic analysis of requests in Bemba. The study explored the nature of making requests in Bemba from a pragmatic point of view. It attempted to discuss the various strategies used for making requests in Bemba. Mukonde (2009) focused on the politeness principle the notion of ‘face’. She explained how people infer meanings which are not expressly stated. She also examined four major aspects of requesting in Bemba: the linguistic forms used, the categories of request strategies based on Blum-Kulka’s classification of request strategies, the frequency of these categories of request strategies, and how request strategies in Bemba relate to social parameters such as age, gender, status, social distance, and authority. These aspects formed the basis for her research questions. Her study also looked at how society affects the structure of change and variation of language spoken, and conversely, on the way in which different attitudes about the variations affect the way people interact in a particular community.

The sample consisted of 150 informants. Data in the present survey was collected using the triangulation method. This involved using a variety of methods such as: recording, observation, questionnaire and interviews.

The researcher observed the use of request strategies by speakers of Bemba in different domains of language use such as health centres, schools, bus stations, homes and market places. In these domains, it was observed that language use varied according to the relationship between the various interlocutors, in terms of status, age and gender.

The researcher signalled out some of the factors that influenced the production of requests. These included: the status (that is, a person’s social position in relation to others in a particular context) of the hearer, familiarity, age, the sex of the participants and social power (that is, authority a person has in relation to others by virtue of the position he or she holds in that society). Other than the factors stated above the level of education, that is, the speaker’s competence in English was also highlighted as an influential factor in request making in Bemba.

After an analysis of the data gathered, it was observed that subjects mainly used conventionally indirect strategies in their requests indicating that cultural behaviour maybe a stronger factor than
gender in this aspect of formulating requests. Different patterns of request strategy were found to be related to interlocutors’ gender. It was also observed that in homes, females made requests frequently unlike men especially where there were younger children.

The results of the study showed that social distance in relation to age and status, and the relative power of speaker and hearer determines the strategies used for making requests. It was also observed that in some cases request making was accompanied by non-linguistic features such as gestures if the speaker was inferior to the hearer. It was also evident that some requests were understood better and appreciated by people sharing the same social-cultural background. When the speaker was inferior to the addressee, she or he tended to be deferential and indirect in their request making. Furthermore, in terms of influence of status, the analysis of the distribution of the main request strategy types in the situation under survey revealed that conventional indirectness was clearly the preferred strategy type for the situation which both interlocutors have equal social status, and in request situation when the speaker’s social status is inferior to the hearer’s. She also pointed out that, in the requests where the speaker is superior to the hearer, impositives dominated. Finally, data analysed further revealed in general that Searle’s speech act theory as well as Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theories, though they were developed based on English, also do apply to Bemba. The current study on the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations found Mukonde’s (2009) study very beneficial in that it drew some ideas on the use of speech act and politeness theories and also ‘face’

Mwanambuyu, (2011) carried out a Socio-Pragmatic analysis of Silozi Euphemisms. As the title entails, her study examined Silozi euphemisms from a sociopragmatic perspective within the framework of theories of Sociolinguistics and Pragmatics. The study aimed at establishing whether there is any relationship between the use of Silozi euphemisms and social factors such as age, gender, status and occupation.

In the investigation of Silozi euphemisms, the researcher used the sociopragmatic approach which is an interface of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. It involves examining the way in which
conditions of language use derive from social situations. The study applied speech act theory, politeness theory, face and conversational analysis theory.

Sample for study was taken from Mongu and Limulunga in Western Province of Zambia. From each area informants of different age, gender, education and social status were selected to give the required information. Primary data was elicited from twenty (20) informants who are native speakers of Silozi by interviewing them using structured interviews and most of which were recorded. A word compilation task was administered to school pupils who were given ten (10) ordinary euphemisms to supply the equivalent euphemisms and using these euphemisms to construct meaningful sentences appropriately. Observation of language use in domain such as court, church, girl in seclusion, home, hospital, school was done by check listing. The method used to collect data was qualitative however, due to the variety of instruments used, the researcher pointed out that the actual method was triangulation.

**The Research questions were:**

(i) What euphemisms do speakers of Silozi use?

(ii) In what social domains are Silozi euphemisms used?

(iii) What sociopragmatic functions do Silozi euphemisms perform in the domains in which they are used?

(iv) Is there any relationship between the use of Silozi euphemisms and social factors such as age, gender, status and occupation?

The findings of the study had shown that speakers of Silozi like speakers of any other language make use of euphemisms. These are classifiable into two major categories: royal euphemisms and ordinary euphemisms. She pointed out that Royal euphemisms are those used in the royal domains mainly at the palace of the king of the Lozi speaking people the Litunga while ordinary euphemisms are those used elsewhere.
The researcher pointed out that the reason why people decide which forms of language to use in a particular context depend on some factors such as: distance between participants, their relative status and formality of context. Certain contexts require the use of appropriate linguistic units or choices. It was discovered that euphemisms occur in a wide range of relationships and age groups, although it happens more frequently among elders than young children. Mwanambuyu (2011) pointed out that the form euphemisms take and the euphemistic patterns largely depend on the social distance between the participants, their relative social statuses, age, occupation, gender and even power of the speaker and hearer which determines the strategies applied in using Silozi euphemisms. The findings showed it is important for a speaker of a language to know what variety to use in what situation, how to vary the style according to whom he or she is addressing, when to speak or remain silent, when and what kind of gestures are required to go with what speech. It was discovered that some euphemisms are better understood by people who share the same social cultural background or context. Choice of language was seen to have a function of lubricating communication, help establish a good relationship between human beings and even strengthen social stability.

Relevance to current study:

Mwanambuyu’s (2011) study was beneficial to the present study on the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations in that the study on euphemisms applied the speech act theory, politeness theory face theory and conversational analysis theories, all of which were applied in the current research. Furthermore, Mwanambuyu(2011) showed that understanding of certain linguistic expressions was largely dependant on context or shared social cultural background, this too was true of the current research. Context was discovered to be very fundamental in unlocking the meaning of linguistic expressions uttered during bride price negotiations.

Mwanambuyu (2011) discussed factors such as age, occupation, gender and power of the speaker and hearer in determining the strategies applied in using Silozi euphemisms, the current study benefited in that during the analysis, it was discovered that some of these factors were important in choosing the type of persuasive strategy used during bride price negotiations.
2.2 Conclusion

The review above, has clarified that while there has been substantial information on pragmatics and persuasion using various approaches, not much has been done on the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations, hence the importance of the current study. The current study was premised on the view that during bride price negotiations in Bemba, certain expressions are used whose purpose is persuasion. This process is not direct, for the expressions uttered may convey implicature which causes the receiver to either accept or reject the proposal. Various expressions are used to perform various speech acts. From literature analyzed, it has been noticed that cultural context is important in determining illocutionary force of speech utterances in a speech act.

2.3 Summary

The preceding chapter has presented a review of most of the available literature which was thought to be of direct relevance to the study so as to place the research within the context of similar studies undertaken earlier in order to enrich and provide a justification for it.

The following chapter presents in detail the methodology utilized to collect and analyse data so as to provide answers to the research questions that were raised in chapter one of this study. The chapter builds on to the methodology summarized in chapter one and presents in detail the research design employed in the present study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures as well as the data analysis process.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 General

The previous chapter provided some insights on the available literature which was directly considered to be of importance and relevance to the current study. The chapter also provided a justification and enrichment of the present study under investigation. It focused on studies done on the pragmatics of persuasion and pragmatic studies in general in Zambia and elsewhere.

The present chapter now explains the research procedures and techniques adopted in the study. It is assumed that these procedures and techniques will enable us find answers to the research questions raised in the first chapter of this particular study. An introduction to this chapter was given in the first chapter however, this particular chapter presents in detail the type of research approach and research design executed in the study, the study area and sample size, the data collection procedures and the data analysis process. This chapter begins by presenting the research design which guided the study.

3.1 Research Design

3.1.0 General

The research design refers to the overall strategy that the researcher chooses to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way ensuring that the research problem has been effectively addressed. Research design provides the basis for the selection of appropriate research methods to be used in investigating a given phenomenon. In other word it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. There have been major developments in research which have led to an increase in the use of multiple methods. In light of this, a researcher, where possible should not only consider which is the most appropriate method for his or her study, but also what combinations of methods will produce better results. The use of multiple techniques in research is what is referred to as triangulation. Cohen and
Manion (2000) define triangulation as an attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint. Triangulation is a powerful technique that facilitates validation of data through cross verification from two or more sources with a view to double (or triple) checking results. This is also called “cross examination”. The purpose of triangulation in qualitative research is to increase the credibility and validity of the results.

Several scholars have aimed to define triangulation throughout the years. According to Altrichter et al. (2008) triangulation “gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation.” According to O’Donoghue and Punch (2003), triangulation is a “method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data.” Denzin (1978) identified four basic types of triangulation: Data triangulation: involves time, space, and persons, Investigator triangulation: involves multiple researchers in an investigation, Theory triangulation: involves using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon and Methodological triangulation: involves using more than one method to gather data, such as interviews, observations, questionnaires, and documents.

The current study used data, theory and methodological triangulation in collecting data. Slight introspection was used as the researcher is a native Bemba speaker. Data was also collected by means of recordings and observations of bride price negotiation sessions that took place overtime. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted by the researcher which played a very pivotal role in deducing the pragmatic significance of the expressions used during bride price negotiation sessions thereby validating the findings of the study. Furthermore the interpretation of data was done in relation to the theoretical framework.
3.1.1 The Qualitative Approach

3.1.1.1 Qualitative Research

The current study utilized a qualitative approach. Mason (2010) argues that qualitative research concerns itself with how the world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. It starts with specific observations and moves towards the development of a general pattern that emerges from specific cases being studied. It aims at understanding human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. This type of research aims to investigate a question without attempting to quantifiably measure variables or look to potential relationships between variables.

In qualitative research, the researcher intends to purposefully select individuals and sites that can provide the necessary information. According to Aguma (1995:73) qualitative research methods can give valuable insight into the local situation and people’s feelings and can help ascertain how local culture and beliefs affect human behaviour patterns. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), as quoted by Punch (2006), qualitative research is the type that produces findings by non-statistical procedures. In qualitative research data may be collected by techniques such as interviews and observation. It is to this effect that the researcher utilized the qualitative approach. Furthermore, since the qualitative approach digs deep into people’s feelings, their lived experiences, context and setting it enabled the researcher to obtain an in-depth understanding of persuasive strategies used during bride price negotiations in the areas that were investigated.

3.1.2 Data Collection Procedure

The task of collecting data was done over a period of twenty-four months (24). This was due to the fact that bride price negotiations are not an everyday phenomenon and the researcher aimed at gathering conclusive data on the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations. The bulk of the data was collected by means of recordings of twenty (20) bride price negotiation sessions from the three study areas namely; Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. From these recordings the researches made a list of linguistic expressions that were used during the negotiations. These where later analysed by the researcher according to the pragmatic
implications they conveyed as the researcher is a native Bemba speaker. However, to avoid biases, the researcher carried out semi-structured interviews using the linguistic expressions collected during the recordings of bride price negotiation sessions. These interviews also played the role of verifying the perlocutionary force of the linguistic expressions as during interviews, respondents are more generally honest and the researcher was able to use probing questions that allowed for more information. A total of thirty (30) interviews were conducted mostly on those present during bride price negotiation sessions and on the go-between (*shibukombes* or *nabukombes*) and also those with experience in bride price negotiations.

Data was collected by means of observation of instances of language use during bride price negotiation sessions. Observations were mostly done during bride price negotiation sessions where the researcher was not allowed to record conversations but listen in as a passive participant. The researcher observed ten (10) bride price negotiation sessions, in which, the researcher was not allowed to carry out any recordings. Through observation, the researcher was able to deduce the perlocutionary force of the utterance, in most cases merely by looking at the facial expressions and later responses of the hearer. Then researcher kept a diary of linguistic expressions as she listened in through the negotiations then, through introspection carried out an analysis of the conversation to determine the perlocutionary force of the linguistic expressions.

### 3.1.2.1 Sampling

Sampling is a process where the researcher selects a few people from a bigger population to become the basis for predicting a fact, situation or result regarding the bigger group in which the researcher is interested in. The main objective of drawing a sample is to make inferences about the larger population from the smaller one. Studying a whole population would be time consuming and very expensive hence the need for sampling.
3.1.2.2 Sample size

Sample size relates to how many people to pick for the study. Sampling saves on time, money and labour. Sample coverage permits a higher level of adequacy. Robson (1993:217) states that “sample size in qualitative research is small. The purpose of selecting the case or cases is to develop deeper understanding of the phenomenon being investigated.” In view of the above, the researcher targeted specific groups of people who were well versed in the art of bride price negotiations. The sample of the present study consisted of twenty (20) recordings of bride price negotiations, thirty interviews (30) and ten (10) observations totalling a hundred and sixty (160) participants inclusive of those that contributed during the negotiation sessions. These participants were drawn from Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. These areas provided adequate information for the study.

3.1.2.3 Sampling techniques

The researcher in this regard used purposive sampling which is virtually synonymous with qualitative research. Purposive sampling is a sampling technique that allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. Cases of subjects are handpicked because they are informative or posses the required characteristics. The researcher had to identify participants that were conversant with bride price negotiations in Bemba. The researcher in this regard also used snowballing. In this particular method, initial subjects with the desired characteristics are identified using purposeful sampling. Snowballing is used when one does not have access to sufficient people with the characteristics one is seeking. The few identified subjects name others that they know possess the required characteristic until the researcher gets the number of cases needed for the study. Hence the researcher found someone who could provide the data needed then that person referred the researcher to other people who fit the study requirements, the researcher was able to follow up with these people. This method of requesting referrals was repeated until the researcher studied enough people for the research. In this way, the researcher managed to collect sufficient data. The ‘snowball’ effect occurs as referrals multiply at each step. The snowballing sampling was executed in finding bride price negotiation sessions in Bemba taking place in all three (3) study
areas and also in finding persons with experience in bride price negotiations. This increased the chance of correlations being found in the study that do not apply to the generalized wider population.

3.1.3 Data collection instrument

3.1.3.1 Recordings

Recordings have certain advantages; they reduce the tendency for the interviewer to make unconscious selection of data in the course of the recordings, the recordings can be played back and studied more thoroughly than would be the case if only the notes taken were available. The researcher used a mini recorder to collect recordings. The researcher was then able to effectively make use of these recordings by asking other persons to evaluate the responses in order to establish the reliability of the data collected by the researcher. Since information gathered during bride price negotiation was considered sensitive, the researcher stressed confidentiality of the information which made negotiators more relaxed thereby eventually forgetting the presence of the tape recorder. Recordings were used in collecting primary data. This was done by recording bride price negotiations taking place in Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. This instrument was useful as data collected came from negotiations in natural settings and in effect unmodified.

3.1.3.2 Observations

Data was also collected through observation. The researcher directly observed bride price negotiations and kept a diary of the various linguistic expressions that were used. The diary enabled the researcher to note down behaviour, feelings, and experiences at the time of the event. According to Patton (1990:202), “observational data should enable the researcher to enter and understand the situation that is being described.” In the current study, observation was used as a way of collecting data during the negotiations. This method was appropriate in the sense that, the researcher was actually present to observe and experience the actual bride price negotiations and the use of certain linguistic expressions, facial expressions and gestures. Cohen (2007:396) states that, “observation offers an investigator the opportunity to gather ‘live’ data from naturally occurring social situations. In this way, the researcher can look directly at what is taking place in a situation rather than relying on second-hand accounts. Therefore, observation provides a reality
check; observation also enables a researcher to look afresh at everyday behaviour of the observed.”

The data thus obtained by observation was of importance in that the researcher was able to describe the observed phenomena as they occurred in their natural settings. Evidently, the researcher was able to come up with categories of linguistic expressions that suggested persuasion by looking at the effects of the locutions on the hearer. Observing the facial expression and gestures too enabled the researcher to deduce the perlocutionary force of the utterances. In this case it was possible to generate firsthand data that were unadulterated by factors standing between the investigator and the object of research.

3.1.3.3 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were also used to collect data. A semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of inquiry that combines a predetermined set of open question (questions that prompt discussion) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further. These interviews are in-depth and often called a ‘conversation with purpose.’

A semi-structured interview is open, allowing new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. The two way open framework within which semi-structured interviews are conducted allow for focussed conversational communication and the ability to probe for details. This was done by asking purposively selected participants questions in relation to the objectives stated earlier. Where the researcher felt that answers were inadequate, the probing technique was used to help the researcher acquire adequate information to meet the set objectives. Not all questions were phrased and designed ahead of time. Some questions were created during the interview depending on the respondents answer. This allowed flexibility and probing for detail. In instances where the respondents deviated from the main aim of the objectives, the researcher had to skilfully redirect the respondent into the desired direction to achieve the objectives.

According to Tuckman (1972) interviews are some activity done: By providing access to what is inside a person’s head; it makes it possible to measure a person’s knowledge or information, his
values, preferences, attitudes and beliefs. Semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to interact with interviewees to get first hand information away from group settings. The interviews played a significant role in verifying the perlocutionary force of the linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiations. The researcher interviewed thirty (30) informants, ten (10) from the three study areas who had been acculturated into the bride price negotiations overtime, and therefore, had acquired native competence in utilizing different persuasive strategies.

3.2 Data Analysis

Data was analysed qualitatively as well as according to the objectives and research questions. This began immediately the research was underway. In other words, data collection was done simultaneously with interpretation, analysis and ultimately report writing. It involved the listing of linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiation sessions. This was followed by a classification of the linguistic expressions used according to the implicature conveyed and according to who uttered the particular expression whether the bride or groom’s side. Furthermore analysis of how the implications of the various expressions function as strategies of persuasion was done. An explanation of how the persuasive strategies support Austin’s (1962) and Searle’s (1967) concepts of Speech act Theory, and Brown and Levinson’s (1987) notion of “politeness”, and Grice’s (1975) Conversational principles was done.

3.3 Summary

This chapter aimed at presenting the various approaches used in data collection and analysis in the current study. It has also explained why the qualitative approach was selected. The chapter focussed on the research methodology used in the study and also an explanation of the procedure used in data collection and analysis.

The chapter that follows is aimed at providing a presentation of the findings of the study. It exemplifies the various linguistic expressions used in Bemba during bride price negotiations. These finding collected through recordings provide the answer to the first objective highlighted in chapter one of this study namely: To identify Linguistic expressions that suggest persuasion. These linguistic expressions have been carefully categorized in two tables namely; linguistic
expressions used by the groom’s side and those used by the bride’s side. By so doing, the researcher was able to carry out an analysis on how persuasion is achieved from the perspective of both the groom and bride’s side. A list of these linguistic expressions is found in appendix II.
CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 General

The previous chapter highlighted the methodological aspects of this investigation. It explained in detail the procedures and techniques used to enable the researcher provide answers to the research questions raised in chapter one of this study. Since only a brief introduction to the previous chapter was done in chapter one, chapter three now presented in detail the type of research approach and research design executed in the study as well as the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and the data analysis process.

The present chapter presents the findings of the study on some of the linguistic expressions suggesting persuasion which were derived from bride price negotiation sessions done in Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. These findings are discussed in relation to the objectives set out in chapter one and in light of the theoretical framework and related literature review.

This chapter is presented according to the research objectives and questions as highlighted in chapter one of this report. Below are the research questions which are in relation to the objectives as presented in chapter one of this research:

(i) What linguistic expressions suggest persuasion in Bemba?

(ii) What categories of persuasive expressions are used in Bemba?

(iii) How do the implications of the various expressions in Bemba function as strategies of Persuasion?

To avoid repetition of data, the researcher presented the findings and discussion in the same chapter. This chapter identifies the linguistic expressions that suggest persuasion, categorises
them according to their illocutionary implications and examines how the various expressions in Bemba function as strategies of persuasion. The identification, categorisation and examination were all done concurrently.

The research questions were investigated using data collected through methods highlighted in chapter three namely; twenty (20) recordings of bride price negotiation sessions, semi-structured interviews conducted on individuals who were knowledgeable on the subject of bride price negotiations and observation of gestures and facial expressions. The interviews were important in that they helped the researcher analyse the pragmatics of persuasion by asking respondents questions related to bride price negotiations to get information as to why certain expressions are used during marriage negotiations, in particular, bride price negotiations. From each area, recordings were done whenever there were bride price negotiations. These recordings were collected over a period of twenty four (24) months. After the recordings were done, the researcher listed some of the linguistic expressions used during the negotiations by both the groom and the bride’s side. These were categorised according to the illocutionary implication. See Appendix II for a list of linguistic expressions suggesting persuasion.

4.1.0 Existence of Linguistic Expressions Suggesting Persuasion in Bemba

The findings of the study suggest that in Bemba, there are several linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiations by the interlocutors in order to persuade one another and reach an agreement. These expressions can take the form of proverbs, wise sayings as well as vocabulary or lexical items. These expressions are used by both the groom’s and the bride’s side in order to produce convincing arguments in support of their position on the bride price before any sort of agreement is reached. The bride or groom’s side may either use proverbs or wise sayings in order to sound polite or to make a point. For the purpose of this dissertation, the expressions have been discussed in terms of the locution, the illocutionary force they convey, and the perlocution. The locution being the linguistic expression uttered, while the illocution is the implied or contextual meaning and finally the perlocution which is the effect of the expression on the hearer.
Persuasion is a form of social influence in which an audience is intentionally encouraged to adopt an idea, attitude, or course of action. This study investigated the critical roles communication play in persuasion and social influence processes. What is conveyed by a given message maybe (and generally is) far richer than what is said; Pragmatic principles must be evoked to bridge this gap. This is seen in the way influential messages are composed by those that disseminate them and the effects they have on various audiences. Though many verbal interactions have potential threats to face, many interlocutors, to be specific those involved in bride price negotiations use linguistic expressions to weaken face threatening acts. In categorising linguistic expressions which are the locutions, the researcher looked at the illocutionary implications of persuasive expressions that were used.

The findings from the study reveal that a Bemba marriage is not just a marriage between two people but between their families. Traditionally when a young man wishes to take a certain young woman as his bride he will ask one or more of his uncles or someone who is close to his family to be his Shibukombe or go between to present his request to the father and uncles of the bride. When the man is accepted in the family of the maiden, they will negotiate the bride price. It also cements relations between the two families.

On the surface, bride price is a complex and very formal process of negotiation between the two families to come to a mutual agreement of the price that the groom has to settle in part or in full in order to marry the bride. This may seem like a purchase and a sale, but this custom is the very opposite of a commercial transaction. It is aimed at bringing the two families together, fostering mutual respect, and indicating that the man is capable of supporting his wife, both financially and emotionally.

4.1.1 Linguistic Expressions Suggesting Persuasion

The findings of the study suggest that there are various linguistic expressions suggesting persuasion. The findings also prove that persuasive linguistic expressions are used by both the bride and groom’s side during the negotiations. As stated earlier, the research questions are
presented synonymously for coherency purposes. The researcher collected a number of linguistic expressions for example “ubukwebo bukokola, busanguka mulandu” (Delays in business transactions turn into trouble). This was used by the groom’s side. They were stating that they did not want to delay the negotiations any further as this could result in potential problems for the bride and groom who had already decided to marry. This was later justified by another linguistic expression: “ifikokola filonaika” (something that takes long can get spoilt). This basically means if people do not make quick and concise decisions, things are bound to go wrong and ultimately, the person seeking to achieve a certain goal would stand at a loss. Another expression used by the groom’s side was “Insala ya mubiyo, taifufya tulo” (A friend’s hunger does not hinder your sleep). The groom’s side condemning the bride’s side for not wanting to reach an agreement at the earliest because they are not the ones seeking the bride’s hand in marriage, hence they are at peace because they think the trouble of negotiating is not theirs. This particular expression was later used by the bride’s side to point out that since the groom’s side are the ones requesting for the bride’s hand in marriage, they should be ready to settle the bride price without delay. The bride’s side will not lose sleep because they are not worried about the cost of the transaction.

Another expression used by the groom’s side was “Uwikwite, asontela ubwali ku kanwa” (one who is satisfied uses their lips to point to food). This proverb means that a person whose life is going on well is not worried about the plight of others. In this sense, the groom’s side accuses the bride’s side of being too relaxed in not wanting to reduce the bride price because they are not on the other side of the negotiating table. Another expression collected during the negotiations was “Akansoni kafwilile mwi bula” (literally means the shy one died under a leaf). The expression as used during the negotiations means that if a person does not ask for what they want, they can suffer unnecessary internal distress. The expression focuses on the importance of communication during bride price negotiations, used by the bride’s side because they did not want to appear as though they were being unfair to the groom. Upon arrival at the bride’s home, the groom’s side used the expression “Mwapoleni” akulile umushi” (“How are you?” built a village) They were already setting the tone for friendlier conversation believing that greeting and communicating positively with people can win one support and goodwill. Additionally another
expression used by the groom’s side was “Akanwa kamwefu, takabepa” (A bareheaded man does not lie). This particular linguistic saying means that there is truthfulness in the words of an old man because it is believed that wisdom comes with age. The go-between was in actuality stating that he had come in truth hence what he was about to say was honest. This was believed to have the potential of making persuasion easier. In this case the character of the person negotiating is of equal importance as it lays the basis for trust and respect. Another expression observed was “Icikwanka bacimwena ku mampalanya” (That which saves you is seen from previous acts). This expression means you can tell whether someone will be of help to you by their previous actions. This expression was used by the groom’s side in appealing for a reduced bride price. In conveying to the bride’s side that they were being unfair in demanding a high bride price the groom’s side used the expression; ‘Palicimo, walyako libili’ (From one thing( bride price negotiations) you have eaten twice). They were actually accusing the bride’s side of being unfair because they were demanding a high bride price as though after the negotiations they will not expect any assistance from the groom’s side in particular the groom himself and his new family.

These expressions were classified according to the various implications they conveyed. The researcher discusses five categories. These are as follows: threats, accusations, reason, moral appeal and pre-giving.

4.2.0 Categories of Linguistic Expressions

4.2.1. Warnings (threats)

A warning is a statement that indicates a possible or impending danger, problem, or other unpleasant situation. It is a form of cautionary advice. Linguistic expressions suggesting warnings were used especially in bride price negotiation sessions where the interlocutors were reaching a point of deadlock. Meaning, the bride’s side did not agree to reduce the bride price. The findings of the study suggest that when linguistic expressions are uttered they are perceived as performing various acts. Some of the expressions, when uttered conveyed the illocutionary implication of a warning. The linguistic expressions have been translated both literally and their
actual meanings have been rendered having confirmed the meaning by means of informants. One of the expressions used was: “Kubuko nikwikoshi, bafwenako libili” (literally means the in-law is like a neck, you scratch it twice). This expression in one instance was used by the groom’s side. It conveys the illocutionary implication of a warning, that if the bride’s side does not consider reducing the bride price, the groom’s side would not help the bride’s side in any way once the marriage was in place. In terms of the speech act theory, the expression is performing the act of warning. This act has a force known as the perlocutionary force which moves the receiver to act in a certain way. The expression above was more appropriate to use than “belamoma kwati tabakabwelope mukulomba ubwafwilisho” (they should not think that they will never come back for assistance) as families, not just in the Bemba community continue to help each other following the pronouncement of the marriage seeing that marriage serves as an intermediary between two families.

By using the expression above, the groom’s side is “politely threatening” and reminding the bride’s side that the two families will be joined together as one family and as such, help will continue from both sides and this will be a bidirectional arrangement. However, for information to change a person’s attitude in the desired direction it is essential that the receiver draws adequate inferences. In term of the speech act theory, the linguistic expression above is performing the act of a warning. This act carries a force known as the perlocutionary force. The researcher was well informed and observed that when the expression was used, the outcome is usually a positive one as it is perceived by the receiver as a threat to say that when a higher bride price is paid, the most apparent situation likely to occur is that the groom would not welcome the bride’s side when they would be in need of help. This idea is in line with Perloff, (1993:15) who defines persuasion as, “the activity of demonstrating and attempting to change the behaviour of at least one person through symbolic interaction.” He further states that it is conscious and occurs (a) when a threat to at least one person’s goals is observed and (b) when the source and degree of this threat are sufficiently important to warrant the expenditure of effort involved in persuasion. The use of indirect words is in line with the speech act theory by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) which discusses the use of indirect speech in order to be polite.
Furthermore, according to Brown and Levinson (1987) threats may be lessened by preferring to use indirect phrases. Their theory of politeness has the concept of ‘face’ borrowed from Goffman (1967) who implied that our Knowledge of the world and the place we occupy in that world is gained entirely through social interaction or ‘face work’. Therefore when interacting, interlocutors need to balance a concern for other peoples face, with a desire to protect their own. Hence, as exemplified in the example above, interlocutors need to draw on politeness strategies, in this case linguistic expressions such as proverbs or wise sayings as a way of paying attention to another person’s face and avoid ‘face threatening acts’.

The researcher, in line with the expression “Kubuko nikuikoshi, bafwenako libili” (The in-law is like a neck, you scratch it twice) was reliably informed that one of the best ways for negotiating bride price, is that the Bride’s family should understand that their daughter is going to build a family of her own and her husband, so the bride price should be so reasonable that by the end of the negotiation, payments and celebrations the couple should be able to go and build their marriage without too much debt from the process of Marriage. It also allows the two families to be relatives, so the process should not hurt any of the parties. Normally, it brings joy and celebration in families. These findings are also in line with Sherif (1961) Social Judgement theory, which postulates that in persuasion, direct attacks are doomed to failure. Hence, the importance of indirectness cannot be overly emphasised.

Another expression identified and carrying the illocutionary implication of a warning was: “uwaima ayanga namaka” (One who stands up, does so with power). This expression was uttered by the bride’s family. The implied meaning is that when one wants to do something, they need to be adequately prepared to do it. In effect the bride’s side was warning the groom’s side that if they were not prepared to settle the bride price requested, the bride’s side would not be ready to listen to them until at a time when they would be willing to do so. Usually but not all the time, when this locution and others are uttered, this particular locution elicits a positive reaction on the part of the groom’s side. They feel challenged and show willingness to agree to the requested bride price for fear that their request for a fair price would fall on deaf ears. The researcher also observed an instance where the groom’s side did not agree to the suggested bride
price and barely after a few minutes into the negotiations, had they left to return on a later date. In this situation, the researcher observed the use of conversational implicature by Grice (1975) where there was an aspect of being indirect but cooperative. Grice (1975) regards communication as a series of cooperative efforts between participants who observe a common principle known as the cooperative principle. The importance of shared background knowledge cannot be overly emphasised as observed during the negotiation. This is in agreement with Chikarani (2007) who equally observed that unpacking the meaning and illocutionary force behind an utterance is not simply contingent on speaker’s intention but also on shared cultural knowledge. This is essential in analysing the persuasive aspects of an utterance.

Another linguistic expression used by the groom’s side was “Imiti ikula, e mpanga”. (Small trees that grow become a forest) According to this expression, the presence of a young generation assures the survival of the family, clan and country as a whole. The meaning of this proverb is that marriage is between two people who come from two different backgrounds. However, it is from this small beginning that a clan is preserved. Therefore, in order for marriage to be successful, both parties need to be aware of how they treat each other. The implication of this statement is that if the bride’s side does not reduce the bride price, the marriage might not take place resulting in loss of family lineage. The groom’s side reasons that for marriage to be strengthened neither group should be forsaken at the expense of another and that marriage should be strengthened by friendship and peace. To understand the indirect illocutionary force there was need for inferencing. According to Grice (1975) as quoted by Thomas (1996:61), the theory of implicature is an attempt at explaining how the hearer gets from what is said to what is meant, from the level of expressed meaning to the level of implied meaning. In this situation, the groom’s side had to apply the words spoken to context. Mutually shared background is important in deducing the pragmatic implications of the expressions.

Another expression used by groom’s side was “Batila ati, mayo mpapa naine nkakupapa” (mother put me on your back and I will also put you on my back) The implication of this statement is that when one does something good for you, you should be able to reciprocate. The groom’s side was in effect warning the bride’s side that once they had done something good for
them as considering reducing the bride price, the groom’s side would equally feel the need to always be open to opportunities to assist the bride’s side. However, if the bride price was not reduced the effects would not be the same. This is another example of conversational indirectness effected by a speaker in order to maintain a person’s ‘face’. This is in agreement with Brown and Levinson (1987) who looked at one’s favourable public image where threat to ones image is lessened by the use of polite and indirect phrases. This is also in agreement with Mwanambyu (2011) who regards the use of euphemisms as way of being polite. She states that politeness is regarded as a strategy employed by the speaker to promote and maintain harmonious relationships.

4.2.2 Accusations

Another category of persuasive expressions was that of accusations. An accusation is a statement saying that someone is guilty of doing something wrong. It is also an allegation that a person is guilty of some fault or offence. Below is an example of an expression showing accusation; “kwena apa, balila apatali nge cishimu” (here you have eaten high up like a bee). A bee is known for feeding from the very top of a flower or tree. This expression was used by the groom’s side, and in terms of the speech act theory the expression was performing the act of an accusation. According to the theory of conversational implicature, the speaker conveys more than the literal words he or she utters. The expression “Balila apatali nge cishimu” here implies that the bride price is too high. In actual sense, the groom’s side is referring to enormity of the bride price.

The expression is taken as an accusation in that it is perceived that the groom’s side are accusing the bride’s side of placing a high price on the bride as though she were on sale. To this effect, the bride’s side responded by saying: “teti tupelo umwana nga fwaka yakupepa mumona nangu umucele wakulunga mumunani” (we cannot give away our child like cigarette to be smoked from the nose or like salt to be put in relish). This statement too has an illocutionary implication of an accusation. In the statement, the bride’s side accuses the groom’s side of viewing the bride to be of the same value as salt which can easily be obtained from neighbours or a cigarette which is shared from one man to the next, among friends and neighbours too. The bride to be is viewed as very valuable and deserves to be given away in a manner that shows that she is appreciated.
Culturally, salt has the connotation of something free despite the fact that it too can be of value when used as seasoning in relish. During the negotiations however salt was perceived as something that could be acquired even just by begging from neighbours. Implicitly, the bride’s side is also accusing the groom’s side of thinking less of their daughter or in a sense viewing her as being of no value by requesting for a bride price reduction. This particular illocution carries a perlocutionary force which involves the hearer in this case the groom’s side to comply as they do not want to convey the message of viewing the bride as worthless. For the interlocutors to understand what was meant by the groom’s side, shared cultural background knowledge was vital. This finding is in line with Mohoanyane (1995) who also established that context and common ground were important attributes to understanding what was being talked about by interlocutors.

Another linguistic expression categorised as an accusation was “basumbila apatali nge icishimu” (they have eaten from the top like a bee), here the groom’s side accuses the bride’s side of being overly unreasonable by raising the bride price too high. The statement is performing an act of accusing. In response to the groom’s side, the bride’s side uttered the expression “Umwana mukulu, cikanga na nyina” (A grown up child is nearly the worth of a mother) The bride’s side now accuse the groom’s side of insinuating on placing a small value on the bride who has grown so much and can even take the place of a mother in a home in case anything were to happen to her mother. In most families, grown up daughters often take the place of the mother and become involved in every aspect of the family’s well being. Conversational implicature as applied by Grice (1975) is applicable in that to get the import of the expression; interlocutors have to imply the meaning of the expressions. This is done by applying the words spoken to the context in which they are used.

4.2.3 Reason

Some expressions used conveyed the illocutionary implication of reason. Reason as used in this category, means a cause or an explanation for something that is about to happen. It is a fact that makes it right or fair to do something. The interlocutors used certain expressions that the
researcher categorized as reason. For example “kolwe uuwakota asabilwa nabana” (A monkey that has become old is picked by the Children). This expression was uttered by the groom’s side in reasoning with the bride’s side. They were trying to make them see that both parents had grown old, hence needed to be taken care of by their children. However, if the bride price was too high, the bride and groom’s relationship would be on edge because the relationship between their parents would not be an excellent one. If this were the case, it would be difficult to render adequate and equal help and care to the older parents. This is in line with the speech act theory by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) which talks about saying things indirectly. In speech act theory, Searle spoke of the speaker-hearer relationship. He points out that the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he or she actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background knowledge, together with the general power of reality and inference on the part of the hearer. The motivation for using indirect speech is politeness. This is very vital during negotiations for when the hearer feels hurt by the use of harsh words, they would usually leave the discussions midway.

Another expression collected during the negotiations was; “Apali abakulu,nsengo tashipotama” (Where elders are present horns don’t become entangled) This expression means, a case is well handled when elders are present. Case in point, being bride price negotiations. The groom’s side reasons with the bride’s side reminding them that wherever elders are, there is always peace. This expression was brought out when the groom’s side noticed some tension during the negotiations. It was important for both parties to be humble and not to act out as though they came for a fight. Searle (1979) points out that the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he or she actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background knowledge. These findings render support to the study carried out by Mwanambuyu (2011) who also discovered that euphemisms are figurative and are used as a polite and indirect way of conversing to avoid mentioning words that sound impolite. It is noteworthy that some expressions used would have more than one category depending on how the speaker uses the expression and how the hearer responds to it.
According to Grice (1975) as quoted by Thomas (1995) the theory of implicature is an attempt at explaining how a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant, from the level of expressed meaning to the level of implied meaning. When linguistic expressions are uttered during bride price negotiations, the expressions have to be applied to context. For example, in the expression: “Nshilingabakupulila pe window” (I am not one who has passed through the window) In making such a statement, the groom’s side is reasoning with the bride’s side that since they have followed the right channel, the bride’s side should be moderate in the bride price they are requesting, because the bride had not been damaged by the groom (the groom was not intimate with the bride before marriage) as he valued and respected her. In this setting, there was clear evidence of the application of conversational implicature.

Furthermore in showing reason, the bride’s side used the expression: “Umwanakashi butala bwapamwinshi, taaba nga kolwe uusalila apatali” (a woman is a footstool of the door; she is not like a monkey that chooses from afar). In reasoning with the groom’s side, this expression was used by the bride’s side to convey the value of the woman and justify why she is not to be given freely. The researcher was also enlightened as to the other reason why this particular expression is used. The expression is also used to show that unlike some men, it is highly unlikely that a woman forgets her parents and in-laws. So a woman is very valuable in the eyes of her parents and cannot be given away without any appreciation. A woman also is seen as an important factor in the marriage institution as she becomes the centre and wheel on which both the bride’s side and the groom’s side spin. A woman serves as a provider to both families as she is the one, traditionally who gives food to both the bride’s side and the groom’s side. For that reason, she fetches more in terms of bride price as both families will benefit from her provisions.

Raising (2001) also shows the importance of a woman when she refers to the proverb, “umwaume butala pa lukungu, umwanakashi butala pa mwinshi” (A man is a granary on the veranda, a daughter is a granary by the doorway ). This linguistic expression means that a man may acknowledge his economic obligations but he lives far away, yet a woman is a source of economic support nearby. The conclusion here is that women are valuable and readily available to help people, hence, cannot go unacknowledged. The groom’s side counter argue by stating the importance of the groom as well in the saying “Ubutata, kutatishyanya” (The duties of a father
and son must be reciprocal). This means that a son is also expected to help his father in his old age as he helped him in his childhood. Hence, the groom is as important as the bride to both families. For the bride and groom’s side to make correct inferences, they have to draw conclusions with reference to cultural context. These findings are in line with Chikarai (2007) who carried out a Socio-pragmatic Analysis of Bargaining exchanges in Morocco. He observed that cultural context was vital in determining the illocutionary force of speech utterances. According to Grice (1975) to guarantee successful communication in conversation, there has to be some shared beliefs or cultural background.

4.2.4 Moral Appeal

Moral appeal basically involves finding common ground then using the moral commitments of a person to obtain compliance. Some expressions collected carried the act of moral appeal. For example the following expression was spoken by the groom’s side: “Naisa ati tulandeko ilyashi nomunandi” (I have come to so that we can chat with my friend). In this context, the expression is used as a way of lightening up the tension before the negotiations start. It is a way of appealing to the moral commitments of the person, in this case the bride’s side so as to obtain compliance. The groom’s side is already pointing out the fact that they are friends with the bride’s side by virtue of their families being joined through marriage. For the hearer to understand what is being said, what is spoken has to be related to context, otherwise communication will not be effective. This is in line with Mohoanyane (1995) who established that idiomatic expressions have hidden meanings which require contextual analysis in order to unlock the meaning. To avoid misunderstandings, interlocutors need to have shared background knowledge together with an application of context when it comes to unlocking the meanings of pragmatic expressions used during bride price negotiations in Bemba.

Another expression with the implication of moral appeal was that spoken by the groom’s side: “ndimwana wabo ninjisa mun’ganda yabo” (I am their child who has come in their home). Usually, people are more inclined to children hence the expression “I am their child” draws in the listener the desire to be less demanding or lenient especially during the negotiations. To
persuade the bride’s side to comply, the *Shibukombe* (go between) uses statements that appeal to the hearer. Grice (1975) point out that our talk exchanges are characteristically, to some degree cooperative efforts, and each participant recognises in them, to some extent, a common purpose, or mutually accepted direction. Interlocutors are seen to be observing the Cooperative principle. According to this principle, one should make their contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which one is engaged. The Cooperative principle involves indirectly conveyed meaning of a conversation. Cooperation therefore is essential for a conversation to take place. These findings are also in line with Leech (1983) who focussed on goal oriented speech situations, whereby a speaker uses language so as to produce a particular effect on the mind of the hearer. Leech proposed a set of maxims such as tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy( Refer to theoretical framework for a detailed discussion of these maxims) . According to leech, Modesty concerns minimizing self praise and maximizing self dispraise. Modesty comes into play during negotiations as the go between from the groom’s side reduces himself to the image of a child.

Interlocutors used expressions that conveyed indirectness as opposed to being direct. This was done to avoid sounding impolite. For example, “*Kuti bambonakofye efyo bansunsuntila*” (which literally translates ‘they can just see how they cuddle me’). This expression was used by the groom’s side. In this expression, the go between was appealing to the bride’s side to put him into consideration as the bride price was being negotiated. He wanted the bride’s side to put him and the groom into consideration as those in need of assistance. The expression used was indirect, polite and effective as one cannot say plainly that “*bweshenikofye naime*”(meaning, you just reduce). This statement would not be taken as polite. The fact that the bride’s side actually considered the appeal shows that they understood hence adhering to the cooperative principle by Grice (1975) which considers communication as a series of cooperative efforts.

As highlighted earlier some expressions used carried more than one illocution. For example not only was the expression “*mayo mpapa naime nkakupapa*” (mother put me on your back and I will also put you on my back) used as a warning, it was also used as an appeal . The implication of this statement is that when one does something good for you, you should be able to reciprocate. The researcher observed as the go-between from the groom’s side appealed to the motherly
character of the bride’s mother. He specifically addressed the mother of the bride asking her to assist the groom’s side in negotiating for a price he felt was fair. He further added “ba mayo abatufyele, afwilisheniko abana benu” (literally translated – the one who gave birth to us, help your children) the go-between was appealing to the bride’s mothers nature, as women are generally known to be more sympathetic and nurturing than men. They promised that once the bride’s side considered reducing the bride price, the groom’s side would equally feel the need to always be open to opportunities to assist the bride’s family. The bride’s mother responded by asking the groom’s side to wait for a response as she consulted the bride’s father. The response was later a positive one as the bride price was reduced. In this situation, the information was persuasive because of what the hearer made of it. The hearer was able to draw adequate inferences and this is in line with Grice (1975) conversational implicature which explains how a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant by relying on their mutually shared background.

4.2.5 Pre-giving

The act of pre-giving as used in this context is the act of giving something as part of the payment of the bride price. An expression that was used by the groom’s side as an act denoting pre-giving was “naciisa naakakutemwinako kumukoshi” (I came with something to soften your throat) In this expression, the groom’s side during the negotiations offer to give part payment of the initial proposed amount then request the bride’s side to reduce the bride price to a reasonable one. This act is what is being referred to as pre-giving. In this situation the bride’s side responded by saying “Munshanya alalike ibala” (literally means a thankless person laid his garden to sleep). According to this proverb, if you show appreciation to people, they will help you again. It also means those who do not show gratitude for a service rendered, usually find themselves without help. The researcher observed that when the act was performed, the hearer was moved to comply and the bride price was reduced. The researcher was reliably told that this act also showed the seriousness and commitment on the groom’s side and this is what elicited a positive reaction on the bride’s side.

In this category, interlocutors go about getting what they want by using indirect expressions. According to Asher (1994) Politeness is referred to as “proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others.” Politeness here is used as a strategy to achieve persuasion and promote
harmonious relations. In the discussion above, the bride’s side responds favourably to the groom’s request even though the request is not explicitly stated. The cooperative principle in this instance is applicable. According to Grice (1975), the cooperative principle interprets language on the assumption that the speaker cooperates with the listener in an attempt to exchange meaning in a conversation. The cooperative principle involves indirectly conveyed meaning of a conversation where communication is regarded as a series of cooperative efforts between the participants. Yet again we can conclude that interlocutors have observed two of Grice (1975) maxims, namely:

(i) Quantity: which alludes to the fact that in a conversation, ones contribution should be as informative as is required for the current purpose of the exchange. This means that contributors in the conversation should not give more information than is required.

(ii) Relation maxim: This is responsible for conversations to be relevant to what is being talked about.

4.2.6 Request

The researcher, having analysed recordings and observations came up with another category of linguistic expressions. Some expressions when uttered constituted the act of requests. Request is an act of asking politely or formally for something. It can also carry the connotation of begging. For example, during the negotiation sessions the groom’s side used the following expression: “Munkakeko amaboko, munsheko amaoulu inyendekofye” (just tie my hands and please leave my legs so that I can at least walk). This expression was performing an act of requesting. The groom’s side was requesting the bride’s side to reduce the bride price. By uttering such an expression, the groom’s side was in actual sense begging the bride’s side not to stretch the groom so much to the extent that he fails to do all other activities surrounding preparations for marriage. According to Searle (1969) the linguistic expression as used in this context is considered an indirect speech act. This is so because the linguistic expressions constitute indirect references to actual meaning. This is also in agreement with Brow and Levinson (1987) who say
politeness is the underlying motivation for being indirect in English. The same is true in Bemba. The linguistic expression by the groom’s side elicited a positive reaction as the bride’s side was moved with pity and reduced the bride price.

Another expression used was: “Balila apatali nge cishimu” (they have eaten high up like a bee) here implies that the bride price is too high. The groom’s side is referring to the enormity of the bride price. The expression is taken as a request from the groom’s side to the bride to reduce the bride price. Yet again, in this category the researcher notes the polite ways of requesting the bride’s side to reduce the bride price instead of saying “mwakushasana umutengo” (you have raised the price too much) which would be considered as being rude. In this example the politeness theory was observed. There was also the use of indirect speech as observed by Searle (1969). Indirect forms were used as a way of showing politeness.

The following transpired during one of the negotiation sessions

Groom’s side: “Epomwasamika paalepa” (literally translated - where you have hanged is too high). The groom’s side was reasoning with the bride’s side that what they were demanding was too high.

Bride’s side: “Kuti Babulafye akapuna Baninapo” (you can just get a stool and climb on it) The bride’s side was retaliating, by asking the groom’s side to add on to what they had and hence agree to paying the full amount.

Groom’s side: “Nakapuna kene kutibapelenwa” (literally means even with a chair, they cannot reach). The groom’s side acknowledging that they cannot manage to pay the bride price. They acknowledged that even if they looked for something to top up on what they already had, they would still not match the bride’s side expectations.

In this piece of conversation, Grice (1975) conversational implicature was observed. Implicature is an attempt at explaining how the hearer gets from what is said to what is meant, from the level
of expressed meaning to the level of implied meaning. In the dialogue above, we can observe the use of linguistic expressions in the form of sayings in Bemba. Interlocutors attempt to get the meaning by applying the words spoken to the context in which they are used. People are often too indirect during the negotiations and risk being misunderstood hence implicature is vital for communication to take place effectively and success fully.

Another expression used by the groom’s side to request for a lower bride price was: “Bakolwe abaishibana, banelana mabungo” (literally translated- Monkeys that know each other, give each other plums). By uttering the statement, the speaker was requesting the bride’s side to reduce on the price as marriage involves the union of two families. It is required that members of the same families assist each other. This statement elicits a positive reaction on part of the hearer as the bride’s side was moved to reasoning that marriage is not just about one family but two. The use of the linguistic expression in this context reflected the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987), which postulates that politeness is the underlying motivation for being indirect. They argue that a polite person ensures that he or she makes others feel comfortable in a conversation, so being linguistically polite involves speaking to others appropriately so that there is no conflict. The use of appropriate linguistic expressions is vital. Another request made by the groom’s side was “Amakanga ayengi, yaipoloko ku mbwa” (When in numbers, guinea fowls can escape from a hunting dog). When a hunting dog sees many guinea fowls, he tries to catch all of them at once and ends up catching none. The moral of the expression is that when a family stands together by helping one another, the family can overcome many problems and protect each other from danger. For this reason the groom’s side was requesting a reduction of the bride price. Grice’s (1975) cooperative principle was clearly observed as interlocutors were able to infer the correct meaning of the expression. This is also in agreement with Searle (1979) who points out the fact that a speaker communicates with the hearer more than he or she actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background knowledge and the power of inference on the part of the hearer. The illocutionary implication of a request is exclusive to the groom’s side. It is only the groom’s side that request for a reduction of bride price as the bride’s side usually only want to maximize while the other party minimizes the costs.
4.3 How Persuasion is achieved

Persuasion begins with specific statement called the locution. This statement constitutes an action known as illocution. The illocution creates an impact on the hearer which is known as the perlocution which causes the hearer to respond in a certain way. According to the findings of the study, persuasion is achieved through expressions of warning, accusations, requests, pre-giving and moral appeal. These findings are in line with the speech act theory by Searle (1969) which is a pragmatic aspect considering language as performing communicative acts. These acts constitute the illocutionary force which causes either a positive or negative reaction.

People often begin to exchange arguments only after they have discovered that they hold different viewpoints on an issue. According to Bohner & Wänke, (2002), a convincing argument comes in handy when attempting to change attitudes. An argument is a set of premises and a conclusion, with the characteristic that the truth of the conclusion is supported by the premises. For example; in the expression, “Abantu baling ukusandana” (People need to become many) sounds like a reasonable argument to most people whereas “You do not want to have grandchildren” would not constitute a reasonable argument. From the above example, we can conclude that it is not the information which is convincing or not, but what receivers make of it. For information to change a person’s attitude in the desired direction it is essential that the receiver draws the adequate inferences about its implications. This was well evident in the recordings of bride price. In terms of the speech act theory, the linguistic expression above is performing the act of reason. This act has a force known as the perlocutionary force. The statement elicits a positive reaction as the bride’s side realises that if they were to fail to reduce the bride price they would miss out on the opportunity of having grandchildren and therefore increase the number of members in their family which is usually a sign of wealth. The act of reason sets as a reminder that the bride’s side should not forget that once marriage is in place, they will enjoy the blessings of having grandchildren. By using the above expression, the groom’s side is trying to change the behaviour of the bride’s side. Persuasion is incumbent on the one being persuaded hence, when the bride’s side complies and actually reduces the bride price then persuasion has taken place which constitutes the perlocutionary force. Thus, one may define information as compelling if this information leads the recipient to the conclusions desired by the
persuader. According to Searle (1976), the goal of spoken interaction is to communicate things to the hearer by getting him or her to recognize the intention that one has to communicate those things. The speaker then must achieve the intended effect on the hearer by allowing him or her to recognize his or her intention to achieve that effect. So, the recognition of the intention or intended meaning of the utterance (speech act) seems crucial in achieving a level of success in understanding and persuasion.

It was observed that of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word there are three kinds. The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the hearer into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself. Persuasion is also achieved by the speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make the hearer think of him or her as credible. This is in agreement with Hovland’s (1953) source credibility theory which postulates that people are more likely to be persuaded when the source presents itself as credible. In this case, when the go between has good character, and is able to place the bride’s side in a certain frame of mind by appealing to their emotions and giving proof of his argument, the result is a successful bride price negotiation.

The findings of the study have shown that language is pragmatically meaningful within a particular context. This means that the meaning of sentences in this case linguistic expressions depends on an understanding of the context and the speaker’s intent. Most of the linguistic expressions are indirect and thus need one to infer the correct, actual and intended meaning while making reference to cultural contexts. For example, the expression “Cefyeni ubuchi, nabumbi buli kwifwe” (Reduce the honey, more is at the river) The groom’s side is urging the bride’s side to reduce the bride price as there are more benefits that come with marriage. The statement is an act of warning that if the bride’s side does not reduce the bride price, they would miss out on the benefits of the union as so much would have been spent on settling the bride price. To get the meaning of the linguistic expression the hearer has to relate what is said to context. This is in line with Chakrani (2007) who states that unpacking the meaning and the illocutionary force is
dependant on understanding the indirect cultural meaning of the expression. The use of expressions that carry the illocutionary implication of an act of warning are supported by the inoculation theory by McGuire (1961) which posits that through cognitive processing, the likelihood of resistance to attitude change can be enhanced by applying inoculation treatments containing threat components that motivate individuals to generate counter arguments.

During bride price negotiations, the interlocutors both present compelling reasons as to why they should pay a particular amount. The language used is usually indirect and polite. For instance, the piece of conversation below constitutes a typical application of this fact through the use of linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiation. The piece was extracted midway of the conversation. It will further help us analyse how the implications of the various expressions in Bemba function as strategies of persuasion.

Bride’s Side: “kwena batila ati ichotemwene chikoshya imbafu” (What you like makes your ribs strong)

Grooms side: “Cimbwi aikwite amaingwe, mu mbushi alaendamofye” (The hyena became so full on the doorposts that he could do nothing but walk among the goats)

The expressions cannot be taken literally for by doing so, the conversation will not make sense. The hearer has to infer the meaning using context and background knowledge. The bride’s side are in actuality implying that the bride price that they have decided upon is reasonable so since the groom’s side is interested in the bride, they should be ready to settle what is asked of them. If they were to accept what was suggested by the groom’s side, it would be as though they were giving away their daughter without placing any value on her as a woman. The groom’s response implies that bride price negotiations are just a glimpse of better things to come. It is not always prudent to act on the first opportunity as though it’s the last time they will ever need anything from the groom. There are many more blessings and benefits that come from a marriage. The finding of the study relates to Grice’s (1975) theory of Conversational implicature. This theory is applicable in the sense that the interlocutors mostly make inferences from what is said and relate it to context in which conversation is taking place. The findings are also in line with
Chikarani (2007) who established that the interactants’ success in performing felicitous and persuasive speech acts was based on, and contingent upon, their knowledge of the local culture.

The above expressions are indirect interlocutions. This is in support of Searle (1969) and Grice’s (1975). They indirectly conveyed meaning referred to as “conversational implicature”, where communication is regarded as a series of cooperative efforts between interlocutors who observe a common principle known as cooperative principle. It is clear therefore, that the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) is applied in this category where language is used as a way of showing maximum respect or politeness to one another. In being polite the interlocutors save face. Face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. In general, people cooperate (and assume each other’s cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face (Brown and Levinson 1978). Having put all these principles into consideration both parties are able to reach an agreement and therefore achieving persuasion. Even in situations where the bride’s side seems to counter argue, if the groom’s side have a convincing argument, the bride’s side will have no choice but to agree with the groom’s side.

In human interactions, people are often forced to threaten either an addressee’s positive and/or negative face, and so there are various politeness strategies to mitigate those face-threatening acts. This is in relation to Mukonde (2009) study that also discovered that subjects mainly used conventionally indirect strategies in their requests indicating that cultural behaviour is a strong factor. Among the most troublesome kinds of problems that arise in negotiation are the intangible issues related to loss of face. In some instances, protecting against loss of face becomes so central an issue that it swamps the importance of the tangible issues at stake and generates intense conflicts that can impede progress toward agreement and increase substantially the costs of conflict resolution (Brown, 1977).

The use of politeness is achieved through indirectness. It was also observed that even warnings and threats were disguised in politeness. Hence, neither side took offence of the threats or warning posed. According to Leech et. al. (1983) politeness is a pragmatic phenomenon. Politeness is
regarded as strategy employed by speakers to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), ‘face’ refers to a person’s favourable public image. In order to lessen that threat and to avoid risk of others losing face, the speaker during bride price negotiation sessions preferred to be indirect through the use of proverbs, sayings and idioms. These findings render support to the study carried out by Mwanambyyu (2009) who also discovered that euphemisms are figurative and are used as a polite and indirect way of conversing to avoid mentioning words that sound impolite.

One aspect that makes information compelling is the fact that it is perceived as intended to persuade. This assumption of self-generated compellingness is based on the notion of persuasion as a social exchange or persuasion game (McCann & Higgins, 1992). During persuasion the hearer expects the persuader to present valid and compelling information. For instance during bride price negotiations, various linguistic expressions were used in order for the interlocutors to persuade each other and support their arguments, this was done through the use of expressions that conveyed different illocutionary implications. These expressions were used to provide compelling reasons as to why a particular amount should or should not be paid. Through the use of metaphors, interlocutors were able to draw convincing arguments. Furthermore, Searle (1979) points out that the speaker communicates to the hearer more than she actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background, knowledge of both linguistic and non linguistic features coupled with the power of inference. In the conversation, it was noticed that there were various expressions used which on the surface seemed not to make sense as though they were not relevant to the negotiation. For example, the expression; “Ubukulu bwankoko, maso” (The size of a chicken is measured by the number of chicks it has). The illocutionary implication of the expression is that the bride is important as she is one of the many children the bride’s side have, hence she cannot be given away as one who is of no value. In the same way the groom would value his children and would not give them away as though they were of no importance. The expression by the bride’s side produced a positive perlocutionary force which eventually led to a cordial agreement. As the groom’s side made relevant inferences and drew correct conclusion by means of their mutually shared background, for example, knowing the importance of children and just how the leaving of a child affects the family of the bride especially her mother. In the
above example, the interlocutors were able to converse without any hindrances like, hurting or annoying the other, hence their ability to understand each other very well. It can therefore, well be said that the linguistic expressions are considered to have a function of lubricating communication and the ability to reach an agreement.

Conversational relevance has a major role to play in persuasion. A basic assumption in social communication is that information is not presented arbitrarily. According to Sperber and Wilson (1986:6) “communicated information comes with a guarantee of relevance”. According to the cooperative principle (Grice, 1975), recipients in a communication may expect that the information that is presented is relevant to the accepted purpose of the communication. The assumption that the presented information is relevant to the purpose of the communication governs informal and formal conversations such as bride price negotiations. Applied to persuasion this suggests that recipients may expect that any information presented by the persuader is relevant to the persuader’s goal and potentially supports the desired conclusion. During the negotiations, the bride’s side in convincing the groom’s side used the expression: “Mulilandya tabanamulandu” (One who want to eat, has no problem) This expression was uttered to convey the fact that just as one who want to eat has no problem eating, one who is negotiating for a bride that he wants should have no problem settling the bride price requested. This expression in line with the Speech act theory by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) which talks about saying things indirectly. In this case, the illocutionary implication of the bride’s linguistic expression elicits a positive reaction because the groom’s side feels morally drawn to the bride’s mothers reasoning. In this sense, persuasion was successful. Asher (1994:3255) defines Pragmatics as, “the study of the system which underlies the ability of language users to interpret utterances. When the receiver is able to interpret the utterance he is able to find compelling reasons as to why he or she should pay bride price. Often, the persuader does not need to state explicitly what a particular expression means because recipients complete the missing premise from their knowledge. According to the maxim of relation (Grice, 1975), one should only give information that is relevant to the point one wants to make. Presenting responses that are not linked certainly violate conversational maxims. During the negotiations, it
was discovered that context and common ground was of paramount importance in enabling interlocutors make the correct inference or illocution. This is evident in the linguistic expression above, this is in line with Mohoanyane (1995) who also established that context and common ground were important attributes to understanding what was being talked about by interlocutors. Especially when dealing with idiomatic expressions which do not have direct meaning. These can be related to linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiation sessions which have hidden meanings.

The underlying inference rule in persuasion is that if a persuader presents information in order to persuade someone, then the information must potentially support the persuader’s position. Potentially supporting means that the information has implications, which in principle support the goal of the persuader. Although the presented information may not necessarily elicit individual attitude change, it is likely to be considered as potentially relevant to the persuaders goal and if accepted may do so. Based on Grice (1975) assumptions persuasion targets may reason that if information is given it must support the intended conclusion, otherwise the persuader would not mention it. According to this pragmatic assumption it is not necessary that the presented information hold particular implications. Even ambiguous and unfamiliar information may become a compelling argument if presumed to be presented with the intention to persuade.

The findings also revealed that persuasion is effected through speech itself. The researcher observed that persuasion came through the hearers (bride’s side) when the speech from the groom’s side stirred their emotions and gave then compelling evidence as to why they needed to reduce the bride price. For instance, during one negotiation the groom’s side in particular the go between said: “kuti baamera ifyobanshako nashala ndepemwinako” (They can see how they leave me so that I can breathe). The illocutionary implication of the utterance is that of an act of moral appeal. By uttering the expression, the go-between is literally saying the bride’s side should allow for breathing space so that the groom is not overstretched as bride price negotiations are but just the beginning of marriage negotiations and arrangements. There are also various expenses that come with marriage. The groom’s side do not want the bride to begin a life of struggle with income having settled with a groom who would have spent his life’s savings on
marriage negotiations. When such an expression is uttered, it appeals to the hearer’s emotions, moving them to reconsider their decision and to reduce on the bride price as this is one of the ways they will help create lasting relationships and family ties.

As context determines the meaning of statements, in persuasion, knowing that the speaker tries to persuade one towards a particular direction lends meaning to what he or she says. The difference between the two perspectives is that the latter focuses more on the presumed goals of the communication rather than on the speaker’s background. By doing so, the pragmatic persuasion perspective perceives of persuasion as social communication, in which both partners do their share to create an understanding. The active role of the persuasion target goes beyond elaborating the presented arguments or making inferences from cues but starts with interpreting the presented information. Hence, what is usually said is being inferred and interlocutors are able to cooperate in their communication because they belong to the context and share the same background.

The findings also suggested that the go between’s character was also one of the most important and effective means of persuasion. Usually when he or she is of good reputation in the community coupled with relationship the two families enjoy, the bride’s side was not too demanding because they valued the relationship between them. This is supported by the source credibility theory by Hovland (1953), which postulates that people are more likely to be persuaded when the source presents itself as credible.

Rather than merely refusing to pay an amount that is requested by the bride’s side, it was important for the groom’s side to give compelling evidence to support their statement. The findings suggest that for utterances to be persuasive, one must be a good listener as well. They needed to have insight regarding the family they were speaking to. As observed, coming up with convincing arguments that lead to change of mind in hearers calls for insight into their thinking. It was observed that by drawing the listener out and carefully paying attention to what they were saying, the groom’s side was able to get to know what was in the heart of the bride’s side and find ways to appeal to their emotions. For example, the groom’s side would say: “Icikwishibe tacikulya acikupwishisha” (literally translated- one who knows you does not eat you
completely). This expression was uttered to appeal to the bride’s side not to demand too much from the groom as he was no stranger to then. The illocutionary implication of the expression elicited a positive reaction on the part of the bride’s side as they were moved to reduce the bride price. Grice (1975) theory of conversational implicature has been applied to a large extent. According to the theory, conversational implicature could be “calculated” using the cooperative principle. Therefore, to work out an implicature we need to infer it in a specific way from the cooperative principle using particular facts about the meaning of the sentence uttered and the context of the utterance. Interlocutors can therefore understand the meaning of the expressions even though they are not explicitly stated.

Politeness is viewed as a rational and rule-governed pragmatic aspect of speech that is rooted in the human need to maintain relationships and avoid conflicts. It plays a very important role in social interaction and conversation, in this case bride price negotiations. It leads us to what is referred to as ‘face saving’ and must be taken into consideration so that communication can go on efficiently. It is necessary therefore for interlocutors to keep ‘face’ in communication, for instance, as we have noticed, bride price negotiations require that conversational participants maintain both their own face and their integrators’ face.

The speech act theory by Searle (1967) was also applied in deducing the intended meaning. This is because the interlocutors chose to use indirect speech due to the sensitive nature of the conversation to express themselves. This was done in order to avoid annoying one another. Furthermore according to the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness helps us develop a model that concentrates on choices the interlocutors make in actual contexts and allows for cross cultural variability. As in the example below we notice the use of indirect speech, which is evident in most or the recordings, for example in the expression ‘Amenshi baling nobunga’ (The amount of water should be equal to the amount of mealie-meal) In this expression, when cooking nshima (pulp) one cannot add too much water then add very little maize meal, if that were to be done, there would be no nshima but porridge. Applied to the context of bride price, the groom’s side is making an indirect plea to the bride’s side to reduce the bride price. Figuratively speaking, the groom’s side can be taken to be mealie- meal whereas the bride’s side can stand for water. Hence, the groom’s side are in effect asking the bride’s side
not to charge them more than they can afford for if they did so they would hypothetically be adding lots of water to very little maize meal hence, in a sense turning the groom’s side into porridge. The groom’s side would later have no money left to proceed with the wedding and the expenses that come with starting a new family. Indirect expressions reduce tension during negotiations. They are more convincing to the bride’s side. According to the Social judgement theory by Muwzafer (1961), direct attacks on an interlocutor are doomed to failure. In this case, the use of indirect speech bore fruit as the brides side was convinced and reduced the bride price.

During bride price negotiations, emotions often run high, linguistic expressions therefore enabled conversation to take place in a serene environment. Interlocutors in this study chose to use indirect speech in order to ‘save face’. This is in agreement with Mwanambuyu (2011) who states that euphemisms are used to avoid unpleasant expressions. This is also in line with Mukonde (2009) who observed that subjects mainly use conventionally indirect strategies in their requests.

From an analysis of the linguistic expressions used, it is evident that these expressions are used as a register to achieve politeness. Interlocutors more often than not rely on the mutually shared background knowledge to infer the meaning of various linguistic expressions given in the register used.

**4.4 Conclusion**

From the evidence collected through the findings and the discussion, it is clear that during bride price negotiations, there are indeed various linguistic expressions that are used to suggest persuasion. These linguistic expressions are not used randomly, they have a pragmatic significance. The expressions used have different illocutionary implications. However, most of these expressions as noticed from the findings have more than one illocutionary implication depending on the context in which they are used. Many people do not know much about the expressions used in bride price negotiations hence the need of a ‘shibukombe’ or ‘go between’ who is well vested in these negotiations. Many are the times when people find it so hard to express themselves directly for fear of hurting the other person; hence the most appropriate way of expressing themselves would be through the use of indirectness. These linguistic expressions
are best suitable for such occasions where tension is a possibility. This makes conversation easy and goals of negotiations possible to achieve. Thus, the various linguistic expressions above help people to have fruitful and meaningful conversations without fearing to ‘lose face’ because interlocutors know which words, phrases or expressions to use and at what time. From the examples of linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiation sessions, the findings, suggest that there is a widespread use of conversational indirect speech act. A speech act as alluded to in the opening chapter is an utterance which serves a particular function in a conversation (Searle 1969, 1975). The findings also suggest that the use of linguistic expressions during negotiation is important as it provides a basis for expressing oneself freely without fear. Hence they will remain a vital part of the negotiations for a long time to come.

From the findings and discussions it has been concluded that how presented information is understood depends both on a prior Knowledge and on the pragmatic inference that is communicated. As part of a persuasive communication the information must be relevant and therefore imply support for the persuasion goal. It is evident that during bride price negotiations, there are various linguistic expressions that are used as part of persuasive strategy.

There is abundant evidence that persuasion targets interpret presented information as potentially supporting the persuaders goal, in this case, the goal of both the bride and groom’s side. In turn, ambiguous information can become persuasive just because it is perceived as intended to persuade. Even negative information that is perceived as a threat, warning or accusation can lead to positive inferences. However, for persuasion to occur during bride price negotiations there needs to be change in attitude.

Furthermore, for information to change a person’s attitude in the desired direction it is necessary that the receiver draws the adequate inferences about its implications. This is why the go between is usually one of vast knowledge and wisdom and one who can make meaningful and intelligent arguments and responses. It has also been argued that the crucial variable determining whether information is persuasive is not its prior implications but why recipients believe the information was communicated. Basing on conversational logic, presented information serves
the purpose of the communication (Grice, 1975), presented information is pragmatically interpreted as potentially persuasive merely because its presumed purpose is persuasion.

From the discussion of the findings, it has been established that linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiation sessions are persuasive because they are directly self-evident and appear to be proved from their illocutionary implications which create an impact on the hearer—the perlocutionary force which causes the hearer to respond in a certain way. The hearer will then either comply or reject. However, one has to be careful who they choose to involve in the negotiations because some people can destroy what was supposed to be a union by being too demanding and difficult to negotiate or by being too outright and thereby damaging the face of the other persons. The negotiators should be chosen bearing in mind that the union of two families is meant to bring joy to both parties.

During one of the bride price negotiation session, the hearer was unable to understand what was meant by the speaker. This situation is what is referred to as pragmatic failure which Thomas (1983) considers as the inability of an individual to understand what is said in an interlocution. This however was corrected when the speaker clarified himself.

4.5 Summary

The present chapter provided examples of linguistic expressions used during bride price negotiations for the purpose of exemplifying the availability of these expressions and giving an answer to objectives one (i), two (ii) and three (iii). The expressions were collected during actual bride price negotiation sessions. The various linguistic expressions were divided then organised according to the implications they conveyed namely that of warnings, requests, pre-giving, moral appeal.

The chapter followed through with a discussion of the linguistic expressions collected during bride price negotiations which were used for persuasive purposes. The chapter also discussed the illocutionary implications of the various expressions and how persuasion is achieved. The findings of the study suggested that there are various expressions which when used during bride price negotiations stir the emotions of the hearer to the extent of having them change their minds.
and be persuaded to take a particular course of action. These expressions were further discussed in relation to the relevant theories found in chapter one and studies that have been carried out on similar research. Finally a conclusion was drawn based on the findings of the current chapter.

The following chapter provides answers to the research question by summarizing and explaining the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations collected from Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. The chapter further draws conclusions and recommendations on the importance of the current study.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 General

The preceding chapter presented the finding of the study that where collected from the tree study areas namely; Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. These findings were collected through recordings of various bride price negotiations sessions taking place overtime. The chapter highlighted the various linguistic expressions suggesting persuasion while discussing their illocutionary implications. This was followed by an analysis of how persuasion is achieved. Having recorded bride price negotiation sessions, the researcher carried out semi structured interviews and observations where the researcher was able to verify the pragmatic significance of the expressions used and the perlocutionary force. The observations were used as they enabled the researcher to observe how interlocutors expressed themselves and to keep notes on various linguistic expressions that were used.

The findings of the study have identified and explained the various linguistic expressions which contribute to the process of persuasion in the Bemba speech community. This was followed by explanations of some of the linguistic expressions that suggest persuasion in Bemba, the categories of persuasion and eventually how persuasion is achieved. The linguistic expressions were discussed in relation to the appropriate theories used in this study.

From the data collected it is evident that the groom’s side use more expressions than the bride’s side basically because the groom finds someone who is good at negotiating and knows the traditions of both the bride and the groom.

The rationale of the present study was to establish the pragmatics of persuasion with special reference to bride price negotiations in Bemba. Recordings were collected as and when they took place form Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. With regard to the findings of the study discussed in the previous chapter, the current chapter is aimed at giving a summary and of the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba with special reference to bride price negotiations. It explains how persuasion is a vehicle for attitude change. Additionally, the chapter also draws conclusion from
the findings of the study and presents recommendations on the importance of studies on persuasion.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The findings of the study suggest that effective persuasion is a process which involves negotiating and learning through which a persuader leads colleagues to a problem’s shared solution. It incorporates discovery, preparation and dialogue. It is about testing and revising ideas in concert with ones concerns and needs. The principal purpose of persuasion can be defined as being able to influence or change one’s attitudes, beliefs or values towards a particular subject or object, so that these will merge and finally equal the persuader’s thoughts and feelings. Persuasion during bride price negotiations was achieved through acts of warning, requests, reason, moral appeal and pre-giving. Persuasion is incumbent on the one being persuaded hence, when the bride’s side complies and actually reduces the bride price by the requested amount, then persuasion has taken place which would constitute the perlocutionary force.

Findings from the recordings and observations of bride price negotiations confirm the fact that linguistic expression are actually used during the negotiations as an aid to persuasion. These expressions are used by both the bride and groom’s side but usually by the latter. Interlocutors aim to be polite and therefore use linguistic expressions which are indirect ways of expressing oneself. During bride price negotiations, emotions often run high, linguistic expressions therefore, enable conversation to take place in a serene environment.

Persuasion in the study was considered as the means to convince, to bring about change of mind by means of sound logical reasoning. To this effect the researcher observed through the recordings that rather than the groom’s side merely declaring their intention, they supplied satisfying evidence to support their arguments by appealing to the hearts of the bride’s family, showing respect and deference which was important to the bride’s side. Displaying sincere respect for the bride’s side and genuine interest was important in achieving persuasion.

From the findings, it was observed that when linguistics expressions are uttered by the speaker, the hearer perceives them as either, threats or accusations. Other expressions are regarded as
intended for reason and moral appeal. When the receiver perceives the expressions as such, a change of mind by the influence of moral considerations is the ultimate result.

Applying conversational norms to persuasion, we suggest that persuasion targets presume that information that is communicated with the goal to persuade comes with a guarantee of potential persuasiveness. Persuasion targets may therefore interpret any information that is presented in a persuasion context as having implications consistent with the persuasion goal. Thus, it is not only prior knowledge that makes recipients infer the desired conclusion from the presented information, but strangely enough the knowledge of the desired conclusion may turn the presented information into a compelling argument.

What makes bride wealth so important for marriage is that it is based on a process that brings two families together. Mutual respect and dignity are woven into the process, and the love between the man and woman is expanded to include the immediate and extended families. However, like many traditional customs, bride price negotiations are open to abuse and distortion in the modern world. As noticed by the researcher, some have commercialized bride wealth. Still others want to use it for personal enrichment hence coming up with unreasonable and exaggerated prices.

Observations enabled the researcher to see the facial expressions of the interlocutors and observe how language was used to reduce tension between themselves and the use of face saving acts. The researcher also conducted semi-structured interviews with the interlocutors in this case, the go-between and the bride’s side on the various implications of the persuasive expressions that were used.

5.1.2 Deference during negotiations

Deference refers to the respect we show to other people by virtue of their age and higher status. Deference can be shown through the use of both standard and non-standard dialects. In most cases, the speakers of a standard dialect are seen to show more deference than non-standard speakers in variety of ways. They are viewed as more competent and more self-confident and the content of their message is rated more favourably. The age of a person is also considered. The other noteworthy aspect about deference is that younger people conform because they show
respect to the elder ones. Effective communicators are able to choose their actions from a wide range of behaviours. It is essential for individuals to know that, what is appropriate for one person, may not necessarily work for another. This ability to choose the best approach to show deference is essential, since a response that works well in one setting would flop miserably in another one. That is why during negotiations, the groom usually selects a mature and experienced man or woman as the go between and this man or woman may show deference using the grammar of language. This was observed during the negotiations through the use of “ba” an honorific prefix. “Ba” was used to show politeness and hence strengthen ones face.

5.2 Conclusion
In relation to the purpose of the current study, the findings suggest that various linguistic expressions are used in the Bemba community as an aid to persuasion. The use of the linguistic expressions is evident in the data collected from the three study areas of Mufulira, Kitwe and Lusaka. To achieve persuasion, interlocutors use acts of warnings, reason, requests, accusations and moral appeal. These expressions are used both by the bride and groom’s side in order to reach an agreement. By so doing, interlocutors are able to converse without necessarily hurting each other’s feelings. Linguistic expressions during bride price negotiations are not used by anyone, they are used mainly by individuals well versed in the Bemba language and have mustered the art of persuasion during bride price negotiations.

The study also proves that the theories of Speech act, politeness theory and conversational implicature are applicable in conversation that occurs during bride price negotiation. To achieve persuasion during bride price negotiations in Bemba the interlocutors effectively used linguistic expressions in Bemba to reason and appeal to the hearer. Linguistic expressions also helped the interlocutors to communicate thoughts otherwise not communicated in plain language.

There is nothing improper in giving bride price to the father as a token compensation for the loss of a daughter he raised and educated. A prospective son-in-law could properly view this payment as a symbol of his appreciation for the training given his fiancée. However, some parents try to recover all that they spent, feeling that their married daughters will not help in educating the
younger children. Such parents look for the highest bride price possible, as if their daughters were mere commodities for sale. But they owe their children a good upbringing. Their pride should be in fulfilling this obligation, not in seeing how much they can get back in terms of money or prestige through an exorbitant bride price. Sadly, such practices have encouraged greed for money therefore commercializing the practice of bride price.

Bride price can also affect the way a husband views his wife’s parents. Having paid a high bride price, he could conclude that he no longer owes them anything, even if they plunge into need. Yet, even the Bible at (1 Timothy 5 vs 4 )says that ‘If any widow has children or grandchildren, let these learn first to practice godly devotion in their own household and to keep paying a due compensation to their parents and grandparents.’ Happily, many Christians have shown consideration in what they have requested as a bride price, and this reveals a fine attitude. Some have even chosen not to require a bride price at all, in order to guard against abusing the custom and causing spiritual and mental troubles.

The study proved that linguistic expressions are understood only by people who share a context and have similar social cultural background. They are used as a way of expressing or showing politeness between interlocutors. They are used during bride price negotiations to avoid being offensive when expressing an opinion as to why the amount should reduce in the case of the groom’s side or remain the same in the case of the bride’s side. Interlocutors take into account each other’s feelings when negotiating so as not to upset one other and achieve the intended purpose without any threat to face. The study established that effective use of linguistic expressions leads to persuasion.

The study has made contribution to the pragmatics of persuasion using the theories of persuasion, the Speech act theory, politeness theory which includes the notion of face and the cooperative principle. The study has also contributed to the documentation of persuasive expressions used during bride price negotiations in Bemba.

5.3 Recommendations for Further Research

From the study, it is recommended that further study be undertaken to examine the pragmatics of persuasion in Bantu languages in general and Zambian language in particular. Studies can be
conducted to look at persuasion from a different social perspective such as in settlement of disputes in different speech communities.

Comparative studies can be done to show how the pragmatics of persuasion works in one speech community and how it is realised in one language verses another language. It is evident that there is an immerse lack of research in the study of the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba or any other language.
REFERENCES


Wänke, M. (2007). *What is said and what is meant: Conversational implicatures in natural*


APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

The following is a sample of the interview guide followed in collecting data. The purpose of this guide is to generate information on the pragmatics of persuasion in Bemba. The interviews were based on the recordings collected.

1) If you were a go between, what expressions would you use during bride price negotiations?

“Ngamwali ba shibukombe, ni nsoelo nshi mwiingabomfya ishakumyafwa uklanshanya impango?”

a). Would you use the expression(expression from the list)

b). What is the significance of that particular expression

2) Why would you use that particular expression?

“Ninshi mwiingabomfesha insoselo iyo?”

a) What would you be trying to convey. For example: a warning, accusation or reason.

3) How do those on whom the expression is used feel?

“Bomfwa shani ebo mwabomfesha insoselo iyo?”

a) does the expression change the hearers disposition; either accept or reject the proposition

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4) If the expression was used on you, how would you feel?

“Ngai paliimwe babomfeshe elyo ipinda kuti mwaunfwa shani?”

a) Would you deem the expression as being polite

b) Why would the expression change your mind?

c) If not why would the expression fail to change your mind
APPENDIX II

A List of Linguistic expressions used during bride price Negotiations

There were various linguistic expression used during bride price negotiations in Bemba. Most of these expressions were used by the groom’s side. These expressions were used to express politeness and respect without offending the other person during the negotiations. The list below comprises Linguistic expressions that were used during bride price negotiations in Bemba that were not used in the discussion.

Expressions by the Groom’s Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Implied meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Umulandu wa mubiyo, cibashilo ca mupini</em></td>
<td>Your friend has troubles, meanwhile you decorate an axe’s handle</td>
<td>The expression is used to emphasize that usually people are not bothered about other people’s problems. Groom’s side uses this expression to accuse the bride’s side of seeming not to be bothered about the high bride price they have suggested. Marriage is between two people who come from different backgrounds, therefore to strengthen marriage; both parties should feel they have been treated fairly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Kuti babweshako ichefu, babweshako umutima</em></td>
<td>They can reduce emotions.</td>
<td>The bride’s side should not become too emotional. They should be considerate and reduce the bride price</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ichikwanka bachimona kumampalanya</td>
<td>Something that catches you is seen by its likeness</td>
<td>You can tell someone is serious from the way they look. The groom’s side have serious intentions.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Umupama pamo utula ingoma</td>
<td>One who hits knock and knock at the same place on the drum will tear the drum</td>
<td>The groom’s side will be persistent in their request for a reduction in bride price. For the persistent one pierces through ones heart and eventually achieves what they want.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Akanwa akaungamene nemyona</td>
<td>The mouth is attached to the nose</td>
<td>The groom’s side know what they are expected to do. That is why they have gone to the bride’s family in a proper manner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mukwate umutima wabufyashi.</td>
<td>Have the heart of a parent</td>
<td>Grooms side seeking for reduction by asking the bride’s side to have the heart of a parent which is reasonable at all times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Twabwela kuti batusula kubuko</td>
<td>We have come back, for our in-laws can think we are not serious.</td>
<td>This expression shows the seriousness of the shibukombe and the purpose of his visit. The expression is meant for the inlaws to see how serious the groom’s side are.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Uwabinga ukowa teminina</td>
<td>This expression literally means one who wants to swim should not stop in mid-stream.</td>
<td>Do not beat about the bush if you want to do something you need to go straight to the point and finish what you started. Groom intends to finish what they started.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nteleleka mune, tona bukwebo</td>
<td>Feel pity or sorry for us, it’s not like we don’t want.</td>
<td>This expression implies that the one who bargains does not destroy the business. The shibukombe is requesting that the bride price be lowered to a considerable amount.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><em>Ulubilo tawamwipi kubangilila</em></td>
<td>A race for the short ones, one has to start early.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>If you want to do something you don’t have to delay. Do not do things at the last minute</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><em>Infwa ya mubiyo, kasekelo.</em></td>
<td>Another person’s death may be the cause of joy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>By this expression the groom’s side tells the brides that they do not expect people to feel the same way as they do about the bride price because it affects them directly. They are actually using the expression as an appeal to the bride’s side to consider reducing bride price further.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><em>Tapakafimbwe, pakaloka</em></td>
<td>A roof not mended will leak</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Situations not acted upon do not change. The groom’s side is requesting that the bride’s side show sympathy to the groom and change his current situation: that of remaining unmarried due to failure of settling a high bride price.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><em>Kabilo wa nsoni tapwa milantu.</em></td>
<td>A shy counsellor never concludes matters</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A person in a position of responsibility should be resolute and decisive about concluding or enforcing matters. The go-between (<em>shibukombe</em>) is acknowledging his responsibility in a quest to make the bride’s side see how committed he is in reaching an agreement.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><em>Naciisa nakapiya ati tubanasheko</em></td>
<td>I came with some money so that we can</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre–giving of part of the bride price to show seriousness and to appeal to the bride’s side</td>
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<tr>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>Meaning 1</td>
<td>Meaning 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>Taipaya watensha kanwa</em></td>
<td>Hunger does not kill one who moves his mouth</td>
<td>The mouth is a symbol of wisdom and communication. The groom’s side communicates to the bride’s side his intention by asking them to reduce to bride price so that the groom is not left penniless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><em>Apa komaila nondo, ninshi pali ubulema</em></td>
<td>Where the hummer continues to hit means there is a problem</td>
<td>Repeated reproach is communication in itself and indicates that there is still something to be corrected in ones behaviour. Groom’s side reasoning that they are at the bride’s house because they are interested and do not want to leave unsuccessful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td><em>Bwila uwikwite</em></td>
<td>It gets dark for one who is satisfied</td>
<td>Groom’s side stating that until they are satisfied, they will not leave the home of the bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td><em>Twenda babili temwenso</em></td>
<td>Walking the two of you, one will not fear</td>
<td>Groom’s side arguing that the brides side should be reasonable for their daughter has found a companion in whom to rely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>Uwa kanwa takutula</em></td>
<td>He who has a mouth never eats a meal without relish.</td>
<td>A good communicator gets what he wants. The groom’s side does not want to remain wanting after the negotiations hence they plea for the bride’s side to listen to then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>Amenso yabantu tayalya</em></td>
<td>People’s eyes don’t eat</td>
<td>Groom’s side have come in peace, hence seeking a fair price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td><em>Umusuku uushipona</em></td>
<td>A fruit that does not</td>
<td>Groom’s side warning the bride’s side that if they are not flexible concerning the bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>balaunyanta</strong></td>
<td>drop will be shaken price stated, the Groom’s side will use force in negotiating.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22</strong> Ukuboko bapota uukumine</td>
<td>A hand is cooked dry. If you are not arguing, you will receive a fair judgement</td>
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<tr>
<td>The groom’s side are willing not to argue much as they want the bride’s side to be fair in their deciding on bride price.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>23</strong> Ukufumya ukuboko kulupako kunakilila</td>
<td>To remove a hand from a small hole, one has to be gentle</td>
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<tr>
<td>The groom’s side has to be humble in order to get what they want, which is a reduction in the bride price.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>24</strong> Ubweni bwa petele akabwa umuchila</td>
<td>Visitor folded the dogs tail</td>
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<tr>
<td>If one is a visitor, they need to be humble. The groom’s side show humility in the manner they speak and in the way they approach the bride’s side</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>25</strong> Teti tuchite ama chichimbafu</td>
<td>We cannot be big headed</td>
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<tr>
<td>The groom’s side humble themselves before the bride’s side in a bid to have the bride’s side feel pity for them and reduce bride price</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>26</strong> Uwenda na kanwa taluba</td>
<td>One who walks with his mouth does not get lost</td>
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<tr>
<td>It is important to ask when you not sure about something. Questions reveal useful information. Groom’s side opening the way to criticize the bride’s side on the suggested bride price</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>27</strong> Iyabuluma tailya</td>
<td>One the roars does not eat</td>
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<td>We have come in peace and seek your assistance by being fair in the amount you are requesting</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>28</strong> Umunu wabupe</td>
<td>A person who gives</td>
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<tr>
<td>The groom’s side reasons with the bride’s side that it they gave their child in a manner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Note</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>tafwa kunsala</td>
<td>does not die of hunger</td>
<td>that is fair; a fair bride price, the groom’s side would also be willing to come to their aid in an event that they fell in need.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Apali umunwe, epali ibala</td>
<td>Where there is a visitor, that is were there a field</td>
<td>Groom’s side showing commitment to what they came to do. They stress the fact that if a person puts their mind to doing something, they will make sure it is done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Kabusha takolelwe bowa</td>
<td>One who asked did not eat poison</td>
<td>Groom’s side stating their dissatisfaction in the bride price requested. Pointing out that the bride price is too high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Umute utule ngoma</td>
<td>Insistence bursts a drum</td>
<td>Perseverance brings results. The groom’s side refuses to leave till an agreement is reached</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Abeni ni nkwa, bakakilwa pamo</td>
<td>Strangers are like bark cloth; they are tied up together in a bundle</td>
<td>Groom’s side asking the bride’s side if they can work together and arrive at a fair bride price since they are all new in this venture, in the same way that people who are new in a work place or area stick together and protect each other’s interests</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td><em>Umutima usunga cibinda</em></td>
<td>The heart looks after the hunter</td>
<td>Your good deeds keep bad things from happening. It’s important to put others into consideration especially when they are in need.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><em>Kunaka kunaka apapilwe muya nkalamo</em></td>
<td>The meek one was carried in a lions skin</td>
<td>Groom’s side pointing out that being humble and truthful has its rewards. They are hoping to be rewarded for their humility by agreeing on a fair bride price with the bride’s side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td><em>Mwenda bwino alile ikanga iya musuma</em></td>
<td>The well behaved one ate the whole guinea fowl</td>
<td>Conducting oneself well brings good results. Groom’s side hoping to bear good results by conducting themselves well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td><em>Umuclele ukufina umfwika ku uusendele</em></td>
<td>The heaviness of a bundle of salt is felt by the person carrying it</td>
<td>One who is experiencing some form of pain or loss feels it. In this case the pain is in form of the huge bride price which the groom seeks to be reduced by the bride’s side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td><em>Lembalemba aipeye nkalamo mu kunakilila</em></td>
<td>A black spider killed a lion through gentleness</td>
<td>Being gentle can achieve great things. Even when the bride’s side seems unshaken by the plea for a reduction in bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td><em>Takwaba chibolya ca bashimbe</em></td>
<td>There is no old village site inhabited by unmarried people</td>
<td>By raising the bride price you are denying the groom of a chance to find a life partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Lesa tapela,</em></td>
<td>God does not give, he</td>
<td>God creates opportunities for everyone it is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>apalamikafye</td>
<td>only brings closer</td>
<td>required that we use them. The groom’s side is urging the bride’s side to reduce the bride price so as not to deny the groom the opportunity of a mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Cenga-bupele walaile mfumu musengele wa cela</td>
<td>The miser promised the king an iron bed</td>
<td>Groom’s side warning the bride’s side that in their effort to please them, they may be driven to promise what they would not deliver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Twaisa pakabalika</td>
<td>We have come when the sun is shining.</td>
<td>The groom’s side stating that since they had followed the right channel they were deserving of a reduction in bride price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Umutema umupundu taceba buluba</td>
<td>One who cuts down a fruit tree does not look at the blossoms</td>
<td>Groom’s side urging the bride’s side that as they make their decision, they should focus on the long-term good of the relationship which far outweigh immediate gratification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Ubwana bwa nsato, bulasatula</td>
<td>The offspring of a python scatter afar</td>
<td>You cannot hold onto your child forever, she will soon have to leave home and start a home of her own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td><em>Ijuma filanonkwa, abana tabanonkwa</em></td>
<td>Wealth can be acquired, children cannot</td>
<td>No amount of wealth can make up for the lack of children. You don’t want to lose your children and gain wealth which will not take care of you when you grow old. Groom’s side urging the bride’s side to reduce the bride price as it is not meant for them to get rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td><em>Icisalwa masaka, abana tabasalwa</em></td>
<td>One can pick the best among millet seeds, but not among children</td>
<td>Groom’s side reasoning with the bride’s side that they should treat the groom with fairness as they discuss the bride price because the groom is also their child as his intention is to marry their daughter. He too deserves love and consideration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><em>Akacila ka mbushi, Kapyanga apo kalele</em></td>
<td>The little tail of the goat sweeps the place where it sits</td>
<td>Family must be taken care of first. Groom’s side stressing the importance of family. Families must stick together and help one another. This is what our societies are made of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td><em>Cupo ca nomba, calowa ngo bucik</em></td>
<td>A new marriage is as sweet as honey</td>
<td>Things are always wonderful at the beginning of a marriage, however, when marriage problems arise, where will the couple run to having not established a good relationship with the bride’s side because of a high bride price?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td><em>Imiti ipalamene, taibula kulila ng’wema</em></td>
<td>Trees that are close together do not fail to rub against each other</td>
<td>Marriage is not without friction, hence a good relationship between families involved is essential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td><em>Umwana ashili obe, takongwa nshima ne nama</em></td>
<td>A child who isn’t yours is not won over by thick porridge and meat</td>
<td>It takes a lot to strengthen relationship with one who is not your biological child. With marriage it starts from the bride price you suggest for the groom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>Ing’ombe shupana mwitanga</em></td>
<td>Cows get married in their stables</td>
<td>By virtue of the groom having chosen one who is of similar culture, the bride is already family. So bride price should be fair and reflective of family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td><em>Umukalamba apusa kabwe, tapusa kebo</em></td>
<td>An old man misses a target when throwing a stone, but not his words</td>
<td>Go-between warning the bride’s side to reduce bride price as there are many other benefits to marriage. Marriage does not start and end with bride price as the bride’s side will see in future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Amenshi ayaitika, tabakusa</td>
<td>Spilled water cannot be scooped up again</td>
<td>Groom’s side warning the bride’s side that once they damages the relationship by refusing to reduce the bride price, it will be so difficult to mend a broken relationship</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Ukukomene nsofu, kuli ulububa</td>
<td>Where the elephant concentrates, there is a thicket</td>
<td>The groom is willing to stay at the bride’s house until they have come to an agreement on the bride price because the groom has found solace in the bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Umusana wa bulimi ni pamo</td>
<td>The backbone of farming, is unity</td>
<td>The groom’s side urging the bride’s side that the only way they will come to an agreement is if they discuss the bride price in unity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Tulebutanda, kano kashila wa ndala atontwela</td>
<td>We will plant until something stops us from doing so.</td>
<td>Groom telling the bride’s side that they will not leave without accomplishing what they came there for. Which is negotiating for bride price and reaching an agreement. Moral of the saying is that perseverance rewards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td><em>Bukula mwana wambusa, tabukula bwangu</em></td>
<td>A garden is like a baby, it does not grow fast</td>
<td>Anything worth venturing in takes time so the groom’s side will not give up in negotiating for a reduced bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td><em>Impofu iishinyanta, mu nshiku ikanyanta</em></td>
<td>A blind man who has not trampled on something will one day trample on something</td>
<td>Groom’s side showing that they will not leave the bride’s home if they do not come to an agreement with the bride’s side over the bride price payment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td><em>Umulopa ukufuma, ni pa lulembo</em></td>
<td>Blood only flows where there is a cut</td>
<td>Unless there is an obvious sign that one should stop pushing themselves to achieve a certain task, They should keep trying. In this sense the groom does not see any reason to stop pushing for a reduction in bride price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td><em>Isembe taliwa, icitwa mutima</em></td>
<td>An axe is never sharp, what is sharp is the will</td>
<td>Groom determined to settle the bride price and continue with marriage procedures.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Linguistic Expressions by the Bride’s Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
<th>Implied meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Impiya tashibomba Kumwana</td>
<td>Money does not work on the child</td>
<td>The amount paid should not be too little as much is involved in marring off a daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ukakulile kuto umukwa</td>
<td>Preparing honey plug for a beehive</td>
<td>Bride urging the groom’s side not to count their chickens before they hatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abantu baleimana ngabaikala akale</td>
<td>People used to fight when they meet a long time ago.</td>
<td>To show gratitude for the groom’s side having come in peace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ukukushafye cimo nga kafula</td>
<td>To hummer and expand one spot, like an ironsmith</td>
<td>The Bride’s side pointing out that the groom’s side have been harping on the same point for too long and are just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5</strong> <em>Uwibukisha kamangu, no kumusenda</em></td>
<td>The one who remembers the war drum must also carry it</td>
<td>The one who suggested that they want to marry our daughter must be prepared to bear the cost</td>
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<td><strong>6</strong> <em>Babalila kumutwe umwaice asula</em></td>
<td>When an adult starts eating the fish from the head, the child understands that he will get little</td>
<td>The bride’s side have stated the most important issue so the rest are small issues the groom’s side should not even consider bring about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>7</strong> <em>Ulefewna apashibabile</em></td>
<td>You are scratching where it does not itch</td>
<td>The groom’s side are stating the obvious, they have no argument hence should settle the bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>8</strong> <em>Ichotemenwe chikoshya imbafu</em></td>
<td>What you like makes ribs your strong</td>
<td>Since the groom loves the bride, he should be ready to give what is asked of him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>9</strong> <em>Icikata ingoma cileshibanokupilibuka</em></td>
<td>One who holds the drum even knows when to turn</td>
<td>Since the groom chose the bride, he should be able stand the consequences which include paying the bride price requested by the family.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>10</strong> <em>Bikapo tona bukwebo</em></td>
<td>Adding on does not mean we want to destroy what is</td>
<td>Someone who says they want more to be paid as bride price implies that they want you to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>already there</td>
<td>reach an agreement and not to destroy what already exists.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><strong>Mwabulapo icushi, mwawasha mulilo ubeyaka</strong></td>
<td>You have taken the smoke, and left the fire burning</td>
<td>Used when the groom’s side missed the point and were attending to irrelevant points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><strong>Tekeni akasanga mwilindo</strong></td>
<td>Reduce yourselves</td>
<td>Bride’s side urging groom’s side to be humble and not to be so confident about the possibility of bride price reduction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><strong>Ubukulu bwankoko maso</strong></td>
<td>A chicken is known as big by seeing the number of chicks it has</td>
<td>The bride’s side was stating the importance of their children. Hence the bride to be could not be given away without the bride price requested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><strong>Mulilandya tabanamulandu</strong></td>
<td>One who wants to eat has no problem</td>
<td>Since the groom’s side seek the bride’s hand in marriage, they should have no problem paying bride price requested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>Apakomaila nondo:pali ubulema</strong></td>
<td>Something that someone is focusing on, there is a problem.</td>
<td>The bride’s side wants the groom’s side to pay bride price mentioned as they will not reduce the amount suggested.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>Translation 1</td>
<td>Translation 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><em>Icuma ca mushi babika no mukaya</em></td>
<td>The wealth of a village is entrusted to a native</td>
<td>The wealth of the bride’s household is with the bride. Hence the bride’s side cannot give her away as though they have spent nothing on her upbringing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td><em>Umwaise uko atola fulwe, tabulako</em></td>
<td>A child who finds a tortoise will frequent the place he found it</td>
<td>The groom wants to be with his bride so he needs to find means of settling the bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td><em>Akaya myabo takelilwa</em></td>
<td>One returning home is not stopped by darkness</td>
<td>Even things that normally stand in one’s way do not appear to be obstacles when one wants to achieve something important. The bride price should not be of consequence to the groom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>Shiwalliwa onta ubuta bwakwe</em></td>
<td>One who is overtaken by nightfall makes firewood of his bow</td>
<td>Necessity make people go out of their way to the extent of even selling their most precious possessions to get what they want. The groom’s side should equally go out of their way and pay the bride side.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><em>Inkalamo nga yapelelwa ilya ne fyani</em></td>
<td>A desperate lion eats grass</td>
<td>As one in need groom should do all he can to settle the bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><em>Umufwi mumulu ulungafye, panshi epamwabo</em></td>
<td>An arrow only goes into the sky to hunt; the ground is its home</td>
<td>Life is short, if you like something i.e. the bride, go for her and stop debating on the bride price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><em>Akafumbe, kantu kali pa bwali</em></td>
<td>The relish(rat) worth having is one accompanying the meal</td>
<td>A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. Moral is that its better the groom’s side settle for what has already been chosen, one who is readily available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><em>Akashama, pakufuka</em></td>
<td>The ground bean is eaten during harvest</td>
<td>Urging the groom’s side to make the best of the opportunity before them. The opportunity to marry a very good girl instead of complaining about the bride price</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Explanation</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td><em>Pa cabu, betapo uo wishibe</em></td>
<td>At the ford, you call someone you know</td>
<td>Asking and getting information from the right people is important when undertaking something you know little of. The bride’s side accusing the groom’s side of not knowing the true value of the bride.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td><em>Ca mulinso, aciba camu mona nga twacifyona.</em></td>
<td>It’s in the eye, were it in the nose we would have blown it out</td>
<td>Used when bide and groom’s side find it difficult to reach an agreement, implying that when a problem is among family it becomes difficult to resolve because of certain factors as the relationship between bride and groom’s family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td><em>Ubwafwilisho bufuma pana numa</em></td>
<td>Help comes from behind</td>
<td>A child is carried on the mothers back. Bride’s side alludes to the importance of the bride who is to help her parents later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td><em>Akashama kali kamo, twasangwike tubili</em></td>
<td>There was one ground beans then there were two</td>
<td>The bride is valuable as she will bear many children for the groom</td>
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<td>Page</td>
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<td>Swahili Phrase</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mwana ushafyala, mukulu mubiy</td>
<td>A child you haven’t given birth to is your equal</td>
<td>Bride’s side cannot expect the same duty from the groom as from their own child. That is why the bride is so important to them, hence the suggested bride price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Uwaikete fibili, afwile ku menshi</td>
<td>One who held two things drowned.</td>
<td>Bride’s side urging the groom’s side not to bring in other factors not important in the negotiations but to focus on the value of the bride as a wife to be and mother of the groom’s unborn children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Wikabala muko, taulalila</td>
<td>Do not provoke your in-law before enjoying yourself.</td>
<td>When bride’s side feels like the groom’s side are delaying in making a decision. So they warn the groom’s side not to insult them before the conclusion of the pre-wedding customs have been done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Umweni wa kolwe, alyo uto Kolwe alyako</td>
<td>A monkey’s visitor eats what the monkey eats</td>
<td>Visitors (groom’s side) should not be too demanding or expectant of special treatment.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td><em>Nsala tayaba na matwi</em></td>
<td>Hunger has no ears</td>
<td>Just as one cannot appeal to hunger to loosen its pangs, the bride’s side are fixed at their decision so the groom’s side should just agree to settling the bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td><em>Icilobololo muntu, ni nsala</em></td>
<td>What reveals a man’s value is hunger</td>
<td>How much the groom is willing to pay as bride price reveals who he really is and how much he values the bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><em>Fulwinyemba, aliwa pa kantu</em></td>
<td>A chameleon is eaten when there is a reason</td>
<td>The groom must do all he can to prove that he really wants to be with the bride and this includes paying the bride price suggested by the bride’s family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td><em>Aka owele, takashika</em></td>
<td>The one who swam did not stop</td>
<td>Since the groom is in need, they should show willingness by not giving up on discussions pertaining to bride price negotiations</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td><em>Akalimba ka kwashima, takapwa musango.</em></td>
<td>A full musical repertoire can’t be played on a borrowed musical instrument</td>
<td>If the groom’s side does not agree to paying the full bride price it will be like they are borrowing the bride hence the bride price needs to be paid in full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td><em>Ing’ombe ku Ilala, shaba na bene</em></td>
<td>The cows in Ilala kingdom have their owners</td>
<td>The groom needs to pay the full bride price suggested by the groom otherwise the bride will not be his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td><em>kapekape, takanka pa kupela</em></td>
<td>A generous person is one that shows no hesitation when giving</td>
<td>The bride’s side pointing out that one who is generous will not hesitate even when it comes to settling the bride price. The groom needs to show that he is generous by not begging for a reduction in bride price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td><em>Uwakupe calo, talabwa</em></td>
<td>One who gives you a country is not forgotten</td>
<td>If the groom shows generosity his deeds will not be forgotten by the bride’s family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td><em>Umweni ashifumba, no ko atula tafumba</em></td>
<td>A visitor who is not giving, is not giving even in his own land</td>
<td>If the groom does not show willingness to pay the suggested bride price it may mean that even in his home he is not giving. He needs to</td>
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<td>S. No.</td>
<td>Phrase in Shona</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td><em>Mupelwa takanga mutabo</em></td>
<td>One who lives on alms does not smoke meat</td>
<td>If the groom always wants to negotiate even when the bride’s side feel the bride price is fair it means he will always miss out on the finer things in life. He just needs to settle the bride price without requesting for a price reduction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td><em>Ukutangalila kubili, kwaipeye cimbwi</em></td>
<td>Placing his legs in two places killed the hyena</td>
<td>The groom’s side should not focus on two things at once. They should focus on the bride and not trying to see how little they can pay for her. She is worth far much more than money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td><em>Ukcile nshila, kutangalala</em></td>
<td>Stepping over a path requires stretching out one’s legs.</td>
<td>If the groom wants to achieve something worthwhile like marrying the bride he and his people need to put in effort. Lots of effort to settle the bride price. Without effort one cannot achieve what they desire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td><em>Lalilali alalike bala</em></td>
<td>Procrastination laid the field to sleep</td>
<td>The groom and his side should settle the bride price as quickly as possible, if they drag they might lose out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td><em>Ukfwenena ekuicusha, ukowa ekulomotoka kufiko.</em></td>
<td>Apply the appropriate remedy and effort to a task or else the job will never get done.</td>
<td>The groom’s side needs to stop negotiating for a reduction and concentrate on settling the bride price if they are to get anything done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><em>Nkalya ni mufibolya</em></td>
<td>‘I will eat later’ ends up in an abandoned village</td>
<td>The bride’s side urging the groom not to put off payment of bride price, doing so would not be wise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><em>Ubwacha tabuluba nguni</em></td>
<td>Dawn is always recognized by a bird</td>
<td>The bride is an opportunity not worth missing out on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td><em>Amafuta yakupula, yalabutusha</em></td>
<td>Body oil that is begged dries your skin</td>
<td>The groom should not be begging for a reduction in bride price. He just needs to work for what he desires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td><em>Mupelwa teminika butala</em></td>
<td>One who lives on the charity of others does not build a grain bin</td>
<td>The groom needs to stop pushing for a price reduction because the bride’s side has made up their mind hence the groom and his people will not achieve anything if they continue to negotiate.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>