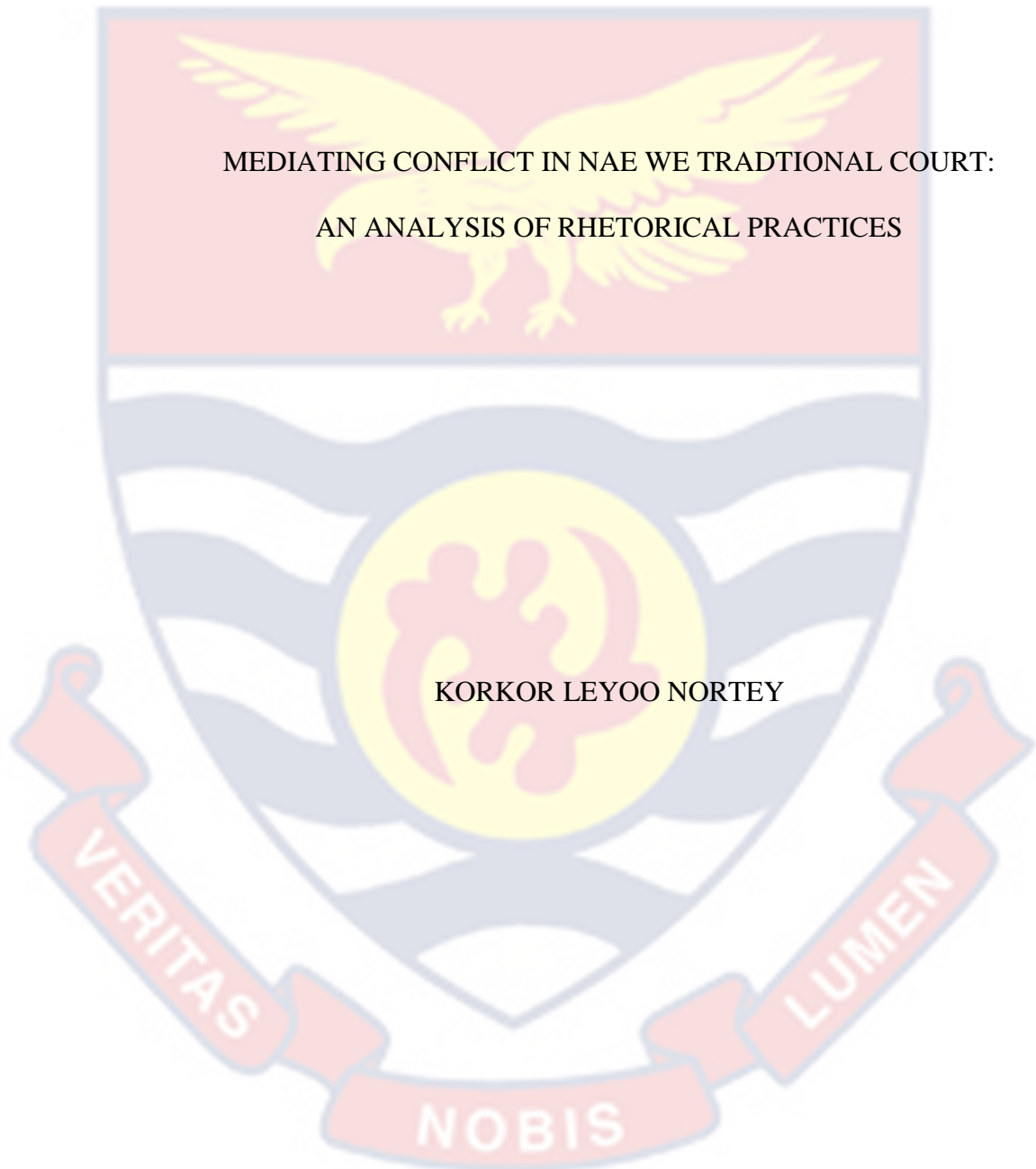


UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST



MEDIATING CONFLICT IN NAE WE TRADITIONAL COURT:
AN ANALYSIS OF RHETORICAL PRACTICES

KORKOR LEYOO NORTEY

2023

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MEDIATING CONFLICT IN NAE WE TRADITIONAL COURT: AN
ANALYSIS OF RHETORICAL PRACTICES

BY

KORKOR LEYOO NORTEY

Thesis submitted to the Centre for African and International Studies, Faculty
of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy degree in African Studies.

AUGUST, 2023

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I, hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: Date:

Name: **Korkor Leyoo Nortey**

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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Co-Supervisor's Signature: Date:

Name: Professor Anke Graneß

ABSTRACT

Traditional modes of communication encompass varied forms of transmitting and sharing information. African traditional communication has, over the years, used rhetorical practices on different platforms for different purposes.

Researchers such as Yankah (1997) has dealt with the Okyeame in traditional Akan Royal Oratory when the mediator thus Okyeame is praised for his oratorical competence an art which earns him the title as the mouthpiece of the Chief. However, the rhetorical practices in the Nae We traditional court has not been studied when it comes African Traditional Communication. The study dealt with the rhetorical practices within the context of the traditional court at the Nae We Traditional Court at Gbese, Jamestown, Accra, Ghana. The practices identified, however, do not only cover the use of language but also communication via symbols and visual rhetoric. These practices come alive during conflict mediation processes at the traditional court.

The research design was partly phenomenology and narrative analysis situated within the context of Afrocentricity and Afrocentric Paradigm. Data gathered for analysis was acquired through qualitative methods such as interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation in the Nae We Traditional Court.

The sampling procedure was purposive for key informants and actors who played diverse roles at the traditional court. Using the Rhetoric, the Symbolic Interactionism Theory, the Muted Group and Cultural Sustainability Theory, the study revealed that the position of women in the traditional court is silenced considering most protocols observed by audiences present at the traditional court. It was also revealed that, gradually, tradition is giving way to the modernization of these practices as a way of ensuring continuity, trust and

sustainability of most of the traditional and rhetorical practices for the generations to come. The study recommends that for the preservation of culture, full inclusivity should be encouraged in order to amend the way of traditional practices. The use of traditional symbolic language should be encouraged, and its interpretation be given a universal phase across cultures within the country. It also recommended that actors within the confines of traditional institutions, such as the traditional courts should be given periodic training by the legal courts to serve as checks and balances.



KEYWORDS

Conflict

Communication

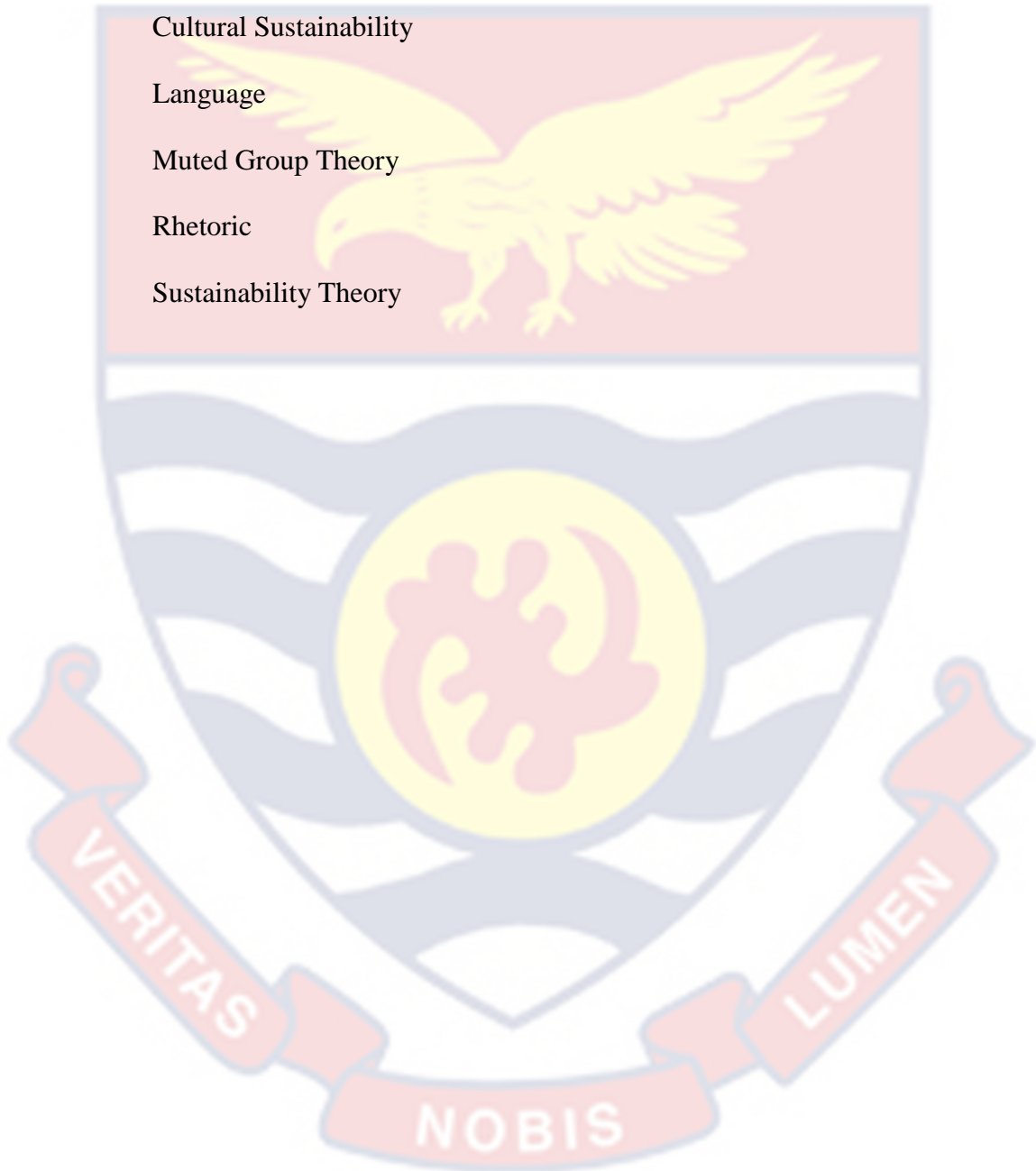
Cultural Sustainability

Language

Muted Group Theory

Rhetoric

Sustainability Theory



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My unending appreciation and gratitude to God for His infinite mercies and protection throughout this journey.

I express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Dora Francisca Edu-Buandoh, Professor Eric Opoku Mensah and Professor Anke Graneß, University of Hildesheim, Germany.

My profound appreciation to Professor Raimound Vogels, University of Hildesheim, Germany and Director, SDG- Graduate School of Performing Sustainability, Cultures and Development in West Africa, Dr. Eric Debrah Otchere. I thank my Coordinators at the SDG- Graduate School, Dr. Eyram Fiagbedzi and Dr. Sabina Appiah Boateng. My appreciation to the Directors and Coordinator of the University of Maiduguri, Nigeria. Long live the Ghana-German-Nigeria collaboration. Long live the SDG-Graduate School.

I am grateful for the support of Professor Sarah Darkwa, Dean of Graduate School, Professor Peter Grant, Dr. Alex Wilson, Professor Yayoh and Prof. Saboro for their encouragement, support and guidance from the beginning of this academic journey to its end. I specially appreciate Dr. Madinatu Bello for the special favour and guidance. My appreciation also goes to Dr. and Mrs Opoku Darko, Dr. Cecilia Kotey and Mr. Samuel Kobiah. I will forever be grateful. My love to Bismark Ackom, Catherine Antwi Boasiako, Anastasia Boateng, Gloria Ahima Baffoe, The Okae- Anti at Pomadze, Professors Chris Mtaku, Saliba James and Peter Sale at the University of Maiduguri, Nigeria. To Lucky James, Susan Tanwie and Dr. Zainab Shallangwa. I am extremely grateful. My Ghanaian cohorts, Gloria, Harriet, Espera, Richard and Richardson, I found a family in you.

To Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III and the Council of Elders at the Nae We Traditional Court, Gbese, Jamestown, Accra. I grateful for granting me access to the traditional court. I wish to express my appreciation to my dad, mum, sisters for their prayers and support.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Glory of God. What He cannot do does not exist.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Motivation for the study

The idea of preserving what we have in terms of culture and its associated values come in diverse ways. Through all walks of life, individuals be they intellectuals, bourgeois and proletariats have what they find worth keeping. Africans in their respective countries and beyond as sojourners carry little of what they describe as home with them everywhere they go. These include but not limited to language, costume, symbols, practices among others. Our elders say 'the best way to lift an alien and oppressive culture is to embrace your own.' By embracing our own is to find means of sustaining them for future generations.

As a young academic from the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, I did not have the luxury of being called any other name than my Ghanaian name. The meaning of my name speaks volumes from its continuity over the years in the family in which I belong to the prominence it exudes anytime it is mentioned. My interest to know more about my name and other practices that call for sustaining such African practices grew each day. I have always questioned how, why and to what extent my femininity as embedded in my name can speak for me in relation to the practices in an African setting.

When the call came for an opportunity to embark on doctoral studies, I saw it as an opportunity to find out how some of these practices have been maintained and preserved. Thankfully, the funding gave me grounding because of the theme of the project thus *SDG Graduate School- Performing Sustainability. Cultures and Development in West Africa*. I realised that this call to pursue doctoral studies is an avenue to gather academic knowledge using the ideas I have already. The

opportunity to nuance the African perspectives from my experiences led me to find out how the forms of rhetorical practices represented in the Nae We Traditional Court. A traditional court that has existed for generations. Headed by a spiritual head, this court has resolved a number of cases (not criminal related) within the Accra Metropolis in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. In order to deal with how these processes appeal to Aristotelian proofs I asked the ways in which rhetoric functions during mediation of conflicts in the Nae We Traditional Court.

With my position as a female, I sought to nuance how gender influences the mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court. Spivak (1985) presents the woman as the subaltern in *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Like a question that needs a response, the end of her essay provides a subtle response that answers that ‘the subaltern cannot speak.’ The symbolic use of the word Subaltern which describes the Subaltern class as put forward by the Marxist, Antonio Gramsci to represent the lower ranks of the Soviet Army. Spivak (1985) showcases the subaltern class to be the voiceless in the developing world. In agreeing with Spivak, I allude to the Ghanaian myth of the Wisdom of the Old Woman who is only heard during conflict mediation and resolution processes. The expert knowledge of the old woman to unravel mysteries and resolve conflict is hidden in language in Ghanaian discourse during conflict mediation and resolution. To present day, the line ‘let’s consult the old woman’ has not gone extinct. The symbolic use of language among other practices have been maintained over the years. This led me to investigate how rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability are related to the conflict mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court.

I assumed an interpretivist viewpoint because interpretivists are interested in people and how they react with one another, what they think about their

environment and how their world are constructed. I needed to involve myself in the research and to pay critical attention to individual behaviours in the traditional court. The reason for which a woman must cover her head, what makes the spiritual head walk bare footed and the reason one cannot cross legs whilst present and sitted at the traditional court to listen to proceedings. Conflict provides an avenue which showcases how individuals relate with one another in the midst of tension. Although the Nae We Traditional Court has existed for years, individuals have different viewpoints of its mandate as a traditional court.

In order to blend theory and practice, I approached the thesis with my background in communication research. With communication being interdisciplinary in nature, I explored some communication theories in addition to Afrocentricity and Afrocentric Paradigm because of the nature of the research work resting within the discipline of African discourse and practices. The thesis sits within phenomenological and narrative scholarship. It focused on Existential Phenomenology and Hermeneutic Phenomenology because the research needed to understand the audiences' experiences through their perspective and also to create meaning from the experiences through the audiences' perspective. Also, as a way to describe the individual's phenomenon in its universality, phenomenology aided my study to provide a grasp of the nature of things (van Manen, 1990. p. 177).

I use the term *tradition* to mean indigenous thus a practice or an idea in its originality. And for modernity, I situate its meaning in the light of current trends of innovative practices where a touch of newness is given to the old ways of continuing best practices. The desire to blend rhetorical practices in traditional courtroom discourse with cultural sustainability tenets and identify the female inclusion in the traditional court during conflict mediation led to this study.

Background to the Study

Rhetoric

Definers of modern rhetoric, the classical tradition and particularly Aristotle, defined man as a 'rational animal' who dealt with problems of the world basically through logic or reason as well as one who lived within a period which dealt with values, social cohesion and a unified cultural ideal (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1958. pp. 8). Modern rhetoric presents man as a 'rhetorical', 'symbol-using' or 'communal' animal who constitutes the world through shared and private symbols. Cooper (1996) mentions that Rhetoric had been neglected in the research on Aristotle. However, there has been a growing interest in rhetoric, which cuts across varied disciplines, including philosophy, classical studies and politics. Jorke (2010) establishes that studies into the area of rhetoric have mostly been on democratic governance. They were specifically focusing on the relationship but the rhetorical and argumentative aspect. To this, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958) indicate the orator's stance to adapt himself to the audience. Once there is an alteration of change in the audience denotes a switch in the appearance of the argumentation. Hence one must not lose sight of the quality of the thoughts that have been altered convincingly through argumentation.

Some forms of rites and traditional practices contribute to the study of rhetoric. These rites may include forms of prayers, sitting positions, gestures and particularly the use of language in most instances. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958) argue that the art of public speaking in a persuasive way concerns itself with the use of spoken words in a conversation among an audience assembled in an open area. Here, the sole role of oratory is to adhere to the thoughts addressed, which is highly linked to argumentation. Blake (2009) discusses rhetoric from the angle of

some traditional practices. In an attempt to unearth an understanding of rhetoric, Blake (2009) mentions how feasts of typical dishes made from African cuisine served as a means of communication. In the same vein, after celebrating with family with the feasts, there was communication with the dead, the ancestors. Two kola nuts are split into four pieces and dropped on the ground at the ritual's site or at the departed's gravesite. The manner in which they lay on the ground leads to an interpretation as to whether the dead agree with or decline the requests. The ritual is repeated until the family is satisfied with a positive response. The communication medium was verbal, but kola nuts were and still are used as the medium to receive feedback from the dead.

Traditional Court Institutions and their Protocols

Conflict Mediation

Conflicts and how they are resolved take diverse forms in African society. It is worth noting that not all conflicts may be negative. Isola (2020) agrees that without conflict, some people may never advance, and some communities are prone to become stagnant and, possibly, underdeveloped. Conflict, in this instance, is one of life's essentials. Conflict occurs at all levels; in families, among friends, in offices at workplaces and within the community as a whole. Due to this, Conflict has varied definitions, especially from the perspective of Africans and the dynamism of cultures existing in African societies.

Poku (1998) identifies two types of conflicts as interpersonal conflicts relating to person-to-person and intercommunal conflicts referring to person-to-community and nation-to-nation. Conflicts have catalysed social interactions (Ajayi and Buhari, 2014). To them, conflict appears to be a tool for networking, whether in a good or bad way. Although Ajayi and Buhari (2014) admit that

conflicts can give way to misunderstanding, wars, public rage and insecurities, conflict may as well be a means of bringing parties together, although the circumstances may not be favourable. African Traditional Mediation may be explained as that type of mediation mechanism used by traditional African societies in the resolution of conflicts within those societies. Bercovitch (1997) defines mediation as “a process of conflict management, related to but distinct from the parties’ own negotiations, where those in conflict seek the assistance of, or accept an offer to help from an outsider (whether an individual, an organisation, a group or a state) to change their perceptions or behaviour and do so without resorting to physical force on invoking the authority of the law” (p.125). Pre-colonial days presented guiding principles for conflict resolution in traditional African societies. Individuals who expressed the desire to resolve their issues or conflicts must have confidence in the ‘tribunal’ that would resolve the conflict (Ajayi & Buhari, 2014). By this, one would include elders, chiefs, priests, and priestesses, among others. The disputants must have some confidence in these individuals at the forefront of the conflict resolution. That is to say, a complainant must be readily available when called by the elders, chiefs and priests to resolve conflicts.

In the mediation and resolution of conflicts, truth as an element is the catalyst that speeds up and cements the mediation process. The mediator is expected to be truthful. Truth is not static (Ajayi and Buhari, 2014). In that regard, the mediator, judge, and the arbitrator must be well prepared. Ajayi and Buhari (2014) are of the opinion that the presence of ancestral forces is also a factor which aids in instilling truth and enforcing it accordingly. They continue to say that truth is a covenant logo the individual at the centre of a conflict must convincingly not

ignore. For one of the disputing parties to appear before the tribunal suggests that the party is ready for and desire to resolve the existing conflict, although this may not always be the case.

On the issue of truth, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958) mention the idea of 'self-reliance' as an element of reason that must be present if reason must be a component in leading the actions and inactions of individuals. Here, self-evidence is considered a force to everyday thought that one must succumb and a sign of the truth of that which establishes itself. Ajayi and Buhari (2014) continued to identify some methods of performing conflict resolution processes in some traditional African societies. Among the methods they outlined are Mediation, Adjudication, Reconciliation, Arbitration and Negotiation. Of these, parties charged to be at the core of any of these methods of conflict resolution may employ extra-judicial devices and other legal modes as a means of persuasion or a tool to convince disputants about the aftermath and repercussions where necessary.

The principle of Conflict Resolution rests on the idea that all persons are equal. Divisions among individuals are not encouraged. It is common in Africa to hear the saying, 'we are the same people, we are one.' In Swahili, the term 'utu' means 'humanness.' This term is found and is reflective in the southern African term 'Ubuntu.' This study finds relevance in the term 'Ubuntu' because of its relatedness to the slogan of the traditional court under study. The slogan of the traditional court under study captures that 'moko sane le, moko sane ni.' To wit, one is expected to share in another's problem. The slogan sits within the confines of the term 'utu', which admonishes one to be interested in the well-being of another person.

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Statement of the Problem

Language serves an important function in conflict resolution. Different conflict mediation mechanisms have been employed by actors at the core of the conflict mediation process. The court, being a diplomatic institution during conflict mediation, calls for rhetoric. Rhetoric which is considered as mere words, were spoken without action to back them. In Ghana, individuals in daily conversations, particularly on political platforms, have ascribed rhetoric to be words spoken with no evidence of productivity.

However, Rhetoric, as a persuasive term in speech delivery, creates a conducive atmosphere by managing emotions in the conflict mediation situation when tempers rise, and individuals fall on emotional appeal (Pathos). It should help resolve individual differences by employing critical thinking and reasoning skills (Logos). In all, persons present at the court consider and weigh the credibility of the mediator who uses rhetoric in the conflict resolution process. Therefore, the mediator's integrity and ethical values (Ethos) are important. Rhetoric is the most preferred in the traditional Ghanaian cultural setup, especially in conflict mediation contexts. Work on the 'Rhetoric for Peacebuilding in Afghanistan explored the use of Aristotle's theory as a persuasive tool in communication in tribal Pashtun (Ghulam, 2011). With a qualitative approach, Ghulam (2011) explored and discovered some assumed importance of persuasive communication in the Pashtun tribal setting. The findings showed the importance of persuasive communication in future conflict resolution attempts in Afghanistan. To Nims (1997), mediation should not be only a solution to problem-solving strategies but a form of empowerment that enhances the conflict mediation process. Using rhetoric as a

form of mediation and empowerment, her study looked at concepts, literature and mediation practices.

The study by Brown (2014) argued that the process of mediation is mediator driven rather than ‘disputant- centered.’ Brown (2014) discussed the line of political rhetoric by looking at how the framework of rhetorical theory influences the decision to go to war in early American political discourse. Comparatively, a political rhetorical discourse such as Opoku Mensah (2014) looked at the specifics of political speeches focusing on the rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah, who, through oratorical competence, led the then Gold Coast to be liberated from British colonial rule (Opoku Mensah, 2014. p. 2). The primary data of the study comprised audio-recorded and five volumes of selected published speeches of Nkrumah. Anumel (2017), in qualitative research, assessed the effectiveness of the conflict resolution mechanism used by the National Peace Council in resolving the Alavanyo/Nkonya and Hohoe Conflicts in Ghana. Although the research by Anumel (2017) was not based on rhetoric, it centred on mediation mechanisms aimed at conflict resolution. It concluded that the conflict resolution mechanisms do not consider the individuals at the centre of the resolution process. Similarly, Edu-Afful (2010), using qualitative research methods such as interviews and focus group discussions, assessed the roles and importance of traditional authorities about government systems. His study revealed that traditional authorities perform different roles, from settling disputes to executing community projects. Other research works have looked at the tangible physical aspects of the conflict. Aspects of conflict mediation and resolution, which deal with emotional reasoning, ethical values and practices, are a part of the task of this study to contribute to existing literature from other perspectives.

Identifying that the study of traditional practices contributes to rhetoric which is lauded within traditional communication, this study was conducted using Nae We as a traditional court setting to unearth the rhetorical practices employed. Furthermore, researchers have looked other aspects of traditional communication, symbolic use of language but those researches never considered rhetorical practices and the sustainability of these indigenous forms of communication in traditional let alone in Nae We Traditional Court which could fill the gap of paucity of rhetoric in Ghanaian traditional communication. For this reason, this study sought to explore and analyse how the culture and sustainability of rhetorical practices contribute to the conflict mediation process with reference to the Nae We Traditional Court in Accra, Ghana.

Objectives of the Study

The study is guided by the following objectives:

1. To explore the forms of rhetorical practices represented in the Nae We Traditional Court.
2. To examine the functions of rhetoric in the conflict mediation process Traditional Court.
3. To investigate the place of gender in the mediation process in Traditional Court.
4. To explore the role of rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability in the conflict mediation process in Traditional Court.

Research Questions

The research will provide responses to the following questions:

1. How are the forms of rhetorical practices represented in the Nae We Traditional Court?

2. In what ways does rhetoric function in the mediation of conflicts in the Nae We Traditional Court?
3. How does gender influence the mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court?
4. How are rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability related to the conflict mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to explore and analyse the rhetorical practices in the Nae We Traditional Court in Gbese, Jamestown, Accra-Ghana. These practices are embedded in language, symbols with respect to artefacts and colour. The usefulness of these rhetorical practices is nuanced in the protocols observed at the Nae We Traditional Court. At the traditional court, the rhetorical practices come alive during the process of conflict mediation and resolution when actors are in action. This study unravels the forms of rhetorical practices and adds to the existing literature on the use of rhetorical practices as a tool for mediation in traditional communication and its relevance in the traditional court; whilst supporting the sustainability of indigenous forms of communication in the light of modern forms of communication and its practices. The study further situates the position of the woman during conflict mediation and resolution in the Nae We Traditional Court.

Significance of the Study

The study expands the frontiers of studies on rhetorical practices in traditional social discourse especially in relation to conflict mediation and cultural sustainability. Second, it will bring to the fore the use of rhetorical practices as a diplomatic tool for conflict mediation and resolution in the traditional courts such

as the Nae We Traditional Court. The study relates to the Sustainable Development Goals 5, which seeks to eliminate gender biases and promote equality as a driver for progressive development and economic decision-making processes. The study is also situated within the clause of the Sustainable Development Goal 11 and its related topics which aims at developing and making urban life sustainable in terms of access to information, education, capacity building. The SDG 16 is dedicated to the promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development and access to justice for all, holding institutions accountable at all levels. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was adopted by United Nations Member States in 2015 to provide a plan for peace and the well-being of individuals and the plan as a whole for now and future generations.

With the SDGs as a part of this study, the study aimed to unveil women's participation in conflict mediation from the point of view of mediators of royal communication. It sought to strengthen the activities and efforts of cultural communication in the royal setting to sustain the heritage of traditional communication. With the rule of law as part of the targets in Goal 16, the study aimed at promoting effective unbiased cultural communication policies to promote sustainable development.

Delimitations of the Study

The study sought to explore the rhetoric practices in the conflict mediation processes in the Nae We traditional court in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. Individuals living in this area are predominantly Ga and Ga Damgbe speaking people. The study area does not cover the whole of the Greater Accra Region but just the section where the Nae We traditional court is situated. The study focused on the various rhetorical practices used and observed by the actors during the

mediation and resolution of conflicts amongst individuals at the Nae We Traditional Court, Gbese, Jamestown, Accra.

The study does not cover all other alternative dispute resolution methods but rather focused on the rhetoric content and practices which traditional mediators and audiences employ at the centre of the conflict mediation and resolution processes in the traditional court in Nae We. The study rested on primary data collected at the traditional court through observation, interview and participatory approaches.

Limitations of the Study

The study had a few limitations. First and foremost, during data collection, some visits were cancelled because of the observation on the Ban on Drumming and Noisemaking and the Traditional Homowo Festival. During those times, hearings and resolution of cases were on hold because individuals were expected to observe moments of solemnity and peacebuilding. Those, among other occasional traditional practices, put certain visits and appointments on hold. Also, getting to the end of the year, especially the last quarter, the hearing of cases was adjourned into the new year. Few cases, as well as pending cases, were given attention.

However, after the ban was lifted, the pending cases were recalled, and the study continued uninterrupted. Cases that were on hold were recalled. This led to a continuity of what was halted as a result of the ban. It is worth noting that those lapses did not affect the findings of the study. This is because, although cases were not called at the court, the study continued with interviews with some key informants. Lastly, the study had permission at the initial stages to record all interviews, including proceedings at the traditional court. Later, there were

directives to take notes of proceedings rather than record them on a recorder. The study pictures were also requested to be blurred to conceal the faces of some of the actors, and participants consulted for the information gathered in the study. These limitations, however, did not affect the outcome and results generated out of the study because the pictures taken were at the premises of the study area.

Definition of Terms

The definitions given include general and operational ones as they shall apply in this study:

- **Conflict**

Conflict has been put forward to occur in mixed-motive relationships and interactions where individuals possess both competitive and cooperative interests. (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981; Kochan and Verma, 1983; Walton and McKersie, 1965)

- Conflict is a situation whereby individuals, groups, or countries are involved in disagreement over an issue. (Peter, 2006)

Conflict in this work represents the issues arising two opposing parties which causes unrest and demands resolution at the traditional court.

- **Sustainability**

It can be explained not only as a universal goal to be achieved but as a procedure or continuously evolving “imaginary world” (Soini and Dessein, 2016).

Sustainability in this work is used to mean a continuity of procedures, practices, customs and cultures evolves whilst maintaining the core of its existence.

- Cultural Sustainability

The term is used to describe aspects of culture deemed necessary for consideration from the point of view of sustainability as well as studies in which cultural processes and institutions are preserving human communities, societies and natural-cultural situations (Kagan, 2018).

Cultural Sustainability in this work is a continuity of known and adopted ways of practising and interpreting procedures for development and innovation.

- Culture

Culture, considered as two elements: human-made elements and social behaviour, deals with the norms, attitudes, beliefs, roles, social structures, self-definitions and values that may determine social behaviour. (Triandis, 1994).

Culture in this work refers to the ways and practice of performing daily roles in society with respect to practice, the use of language and interpretation of symbols.

- Indigenous

A people within societies who have historically resided and continue to exist in certain geographical regions for long periods, to some extent even for thousands of years. They often possess unique cultural, linguistic, and social norms and customs that distinguish them from the prevailing cultures that may have established colonies or settled in the same region. (Cunningham, C. & Stanley, F., 2003. pp. 16-17)

For this study, Indigenous is an original way of practising and performing roles and procedures accepted by a group of people with a common goal.

- Mediator

Mediator in this work is an individual (usually not trained but inherits the art by observing overtime) who serves as an intermediary during settling disputes between two opposing parties in the traditional court.

- Mediation

An old method of conflict management surrounded by secrecy involves the non-coercive intervention of the mediators referred to as third parties tasked to reduce conflicts or bring the conflict to a peaceful settlement (Orunbon, 2019).

In this work, Mediation is the art of playing the role of the mediator in the settling of disputes between two opposing parties in the traditional court.

- Speaker

One who speaks: the producer of an utterance. In rhetoric, a speaker is an orator who delivers a speech or formal address to an audience. In literary studies, a speaker is a narrator who tells a story (Nordquist, 2020).

A speaker in this work is used to mean an act of turn-taking not meant for an individual but for one who has been granted permission to speak.

- Audience

The assembled spectators or listeners at a public event such as a play, film, concert or meeting (Oxford Languages).

Audience in this work refers to individuals gathered at the indigenous court to witness a case or settle their cases.

- Court

Any official tribunal presided over by one or several judges to hear and determine legal issues and claims (Cornell Law School).

Court in this work is a place or an indigenous compound where a council of elders settles cases. Unlike the Civil Court, this court may have special arrangement.

Organization of the Study

The study is organised into seven chapters. Chapter One captures the Introduction, Background to the Study, Statement of the Problem, Objectives of the Study, Research Questions, Significance of the Study, Delimitations of the Study and the Organization of the Study.

Chapter Two deals with the Literature Review placed under the headings Rhetoric, Conflict Mediation, The Sustainable Development Goals vis-à-vis Conflict and Mediation and Sustainability and Sustainable Development. The chapter also discusses some empirical studies in the areas of this study. It further deals with Theoretical Approaches under individual theories, including Rhetoric, The Muted Group and Symbolism Interactionism.

Chapter Three discusses the Methodology used. It elaborates on The Research Design, Philosophical Underpinning to the Study, The Study Area, The Study Population, Sample and Sampling Procedure, Data Sources, Data Collection Instruments/ Techniques, Data Collection Procedure, Data Processing and Analysis and Ethical Considerations

Chapter Four will be related to the first phase of the thesis analysis. It discusses research questions one and two of the study, relating to data gathered on the field.

Chapter Five is the second phase of the analysis. It discusses the gender element of the study analysing research question three.

Chapter Six discusses Cultural Sustainability and Traditional Courtroom Rhetorical Practices.

Chapter Seven is the final chapter dealing with Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations. The sub-headings include Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations and Contributions to Knowledge



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a selective reference to literature to give a clearer understanding of the different concepts associated with the research topic. The chapter reviews literature under various headings: Conflict Mediation, Rhetoric, The Mediation Process and Female Factor, Communication, Style and Language, Court System and Cultural Sustainability.

Conflict Mediation

A Conflict is generally defined as a situation in which two or more parties strive to have the same uncommon resource at the same time (Wallensteen, 2002). By this, Wallensteen (2002) explained that individuals in the middle of a conflict have interest in one item or resource out of which the conflict arises. It is undeniable that anywhere humans meet, there is the likelihood of another form of conflict. This may be because individuals, in most instances, chase goals, values, status in society, interests, resources and positions that may lead to disagreements or conflicts. (Aigbovbioisa, 2018). In agreement with this, Coser (1967) defines conflict as “a struggle between values and demands of statuses, power and resources in which the opponents aim to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals” (Coser, 1967: p. 8). That is to say that conflict situations arise in the wake of individuals struggling to possess a thing of interest that one may not be in support. Mediation is a process that develops the possibility of substituting another person and takeover feelings, neutrally, without judging or imposing a vision by accepting the evolution of the other, giving dignity and respect (Gherga & Gherga, 2000: p. 89). In these situations, the parties involved may come to terms to agree that the

cause of the conflict is relooked and resolved. Wallensteen (2002) points out that the resources that may lead to the conflict may not only be economic. The term broadly relates to the environment, human security, historical issues and economic orientation. He further mentions that in several instances, a conflict is not linked to human attitudes and behaviours but rather on the parties' perceptions. By this assertion, he proposes that perception be added as a central concept since 'the conflict and the opponent's intention often are defined according to subjective perception' (Wallensteen, 2002). Considering that there could be enough room for compromise or agreement in a conflict, parties at both ends of a conflict harbour intention of unresolved conflict even when resolution is possible due to trustworthiness.

Goodman (2004) provides a detailed overview of mediation from the pre-mediation conference through all stages of the mediation session. One will learn to establish one's authority as a mediator, organize the mediation session, deliver the mediator's opening statement, prioritize issues, preside during joint sessions, conduct private caucuses, identify hidden agenda and 'throwaway' items, deal with parties who lack settlement authority and aid parties to achieve a viable settlement. The communication process organized in the mediation process follows some stages. Each stage is crucial to resolving conflict and may not be overlooked. The forms of rhetoric in the mediation process may not follow stringent stages but are organized to arrive at a meaningful resolution. That is to say that there may not be laid down structures to attaining smooth mediation processes when the forms of rhetoric are used. However, the forms assist in the mediation process as they help organise the communication existent during the mediation of conflicts.

To this, Beer and Stief (1998) take readers through each step in the mediation process concerning a large toolbox section detailing professional mediators' skills and approaches. There is also a section that looks at informal mediation. Her work presents a flexible mediation process that tends to fit into any environment or situation within which it is placed. The means of informal mediation is evident in the study because the mediators, although retirees from active service from the civil service, do not have formal education in arbitration but rather employ the use of traditional forms of arbitration and mediation in conflict resolution. This explains that personal experiences and long-term practice help in the mediation process. Overtime, individuals who have witnessed a plethora of cases presented can relate and follow due process to facilitate smooth mediation.

Bukari (2013) presents an empirical study using traditional actors' views to examine how indigenous mechanisms in the Bawku Traditional Area can be explored in resolving the ethnic conflict in the area. Considering that conflicts will exist due to economic, political, social and cultural reasons, his work admonishes that the resolution of conflicts using traditional methods makes the process herculean. In the traditional court, the most prominent medium of conflict resolution is to win the two sides, both complainant and defendant, through meaningful communication. Mediators hold the responsibility of artistically convincing yet persuading the parties to agree to terms. The process becomes challenging when mediators at the centre of the mediation process must use tactfulness to dwell on these traditional methods and practices in the mediation processes. Since the parties at the centre of the mediation may both expect fair play, dwelling on varied methods assist in easing the process. To a minimum extent, traditional methods hardly come with manuals or policies. Conventional

procedures may guide them, but the execution may only deal with traditional modes of mediation.

Davidheiser (2007), writing on intercultural mediation, explores various intercultural mediation theories and practices. Davidheiser (2007) adopts a phenomenological approach to develop the article by using his experiences as a mediator and a researcher to frame and analyse intercultural practices. He mentions that mediators are called to be impartial facilitators who use a structured process model to create an opportunity for productive communication and problem-solving. He further draws his ideas and alludes it to the maxim 'trust the process,' a saying familiar to many mediators. As a way of trusting the process, individuals at the centre of the mediation are expected to allow procedures to be observed accordingly. Disputants are expected to be kept focused by the mediators, whilst the mediators are expected to keep the discourse on 'reasoned problem-solving.' The quoted indicates that, the resolution of cases must rest on thoughts and fair play among the parties involved.

By means of cross-comparison, Ross (1993) presents a cross-cultural approach to conflict management. The author identifies key features of constructive conflict management societies and evaluates three strategies of conflict management: self-help, joint problem-solving and third-party decision-making, exhibiting how each succeeds or fails in addressing issues concerning both disputants' interests and interpretations as causes of conflicts. In resolving conflict in the traditional court, the two parties involved in the issue are admonished to adhere to ethics, use of logic or reason and emotions. However, when each party meets the other at the centre of issues, resolution by mediators becomes less difficult. The reference text agrees with and supports addressing the research

question relating to the role of rhetoric in the conflict mediation process. If the resolution of conflict should succeed, there is the need to call on the use of rhetorical approaches and practices, not only embedded in language but in the use of symbols and other means of communication.

On the other hand, Cloke (2001) explores how to reach beyond technical and traditional intervention to outer edges and dark places of dispute resolution, where risk-taking is essential and fundamental change is the desired result. It means opening wounds and looking beneath the surface, challenging comfortable assumptions and explaining dangerous issues such as dishonesty, denial, apathy, domestic violence, grief, war and slavery to reach a deeper level of transformational change. The text by Cloke (2001) is relevant to this study because traditional forms of interaction will also need some modern and technical approaches. In the wake of modernity and the advent of technology, old methods and approaches to varied phenomena are embracing new ways of dealing with issues whilst maintaining the originality of the old practices.

Rhetoric

Rhetoric is the faculty of discovering the means possible to persuasion in any reference (Gowland, 2002). It is a practice that focuses on persuading an audience, and thus presenting a piece of information to win the attention of the audience to the side of the speaker. The result of any speech delivered is for the audience, who are listeners, to eventually be the judges of what was spoken. Being judges of lectures delivered may be addressed from three angles: Judicial, Deliberative and Epideictic. When audiences judge speeches per the events of the past, it is categorised as Judicial- also known as forensic rhetoric. Judicial rhetoric seeks justice and further lays blame and accusations. It is the type of rhetoric that

is done in the civil courts. It is also relevant in speeches when an individual attempts to defend or justify their actions. Deliberative rhetoric is found to be persuasive in intent. Speeches such as political speeches, campaign messages, and presentations leading to contracts, among others, aim to win audiences' thoughts and support to further push or dissuade them from making certain decisions. Speeches are epideictic when it moves the audience not to judge or take any action but rather praise or blame one's accomplishments. Speeches or letters of recommendation, obituaries, and nomination speeches are epideictic because of the purposes for which they are made or spoken. This study rests mainly on Judicial and Deliberative kind of speeches and focuses its concerns within the confines of the two kinds of speeches. Ceremonial speeches are not relevant for this study since no praise speeches were purposefully performed during the hearing and mediation of cases.

Kennedy (2007), however, has a wider opinion on Epideictic speeches. This, he expresses within the category of discourses that aims not to praise but rather to improve one's moral values, practices and beliefs. This form of the dimension of speeches birthed the ideas of Cicero and Quintilian, opening the discourse on Classical Rhetoric. Distinguishing between Classical Rhetoric and Modern Rhetoric, Ede et al. (1982) outline to establish the differences between the two. Identifying their stance, Ede et al (1982) refer to the distinctions that place 'four related heads' into sub-sections. Ed et al. (1982) identified these as 'images of man and society,' 'logical argument,' 'speaker-audiences relationship' and 'persuasion versus communication.' Among these four, 'images of man and society and 'logical argument' were identified as placing man as a 'rational being and logical proofs' are superior in the classical terms of rhetoric. The other two,

‘speaker- audience relationship’ and ‘persuasion versus communication’, were identified to dwell within the confines of persuasion and dependent on emotions and manipulation.

For centuries now, rhetoric has occupied the quotidian lives of individuals.

In our local settings, the tradition of using rhetoric is far entrenched in conflict mediation. Rhetoric has become a means of using hot speeches to drum home a meaning within a specific communication context and situation. One may highlight there must be a common ground of understanding between two parties for such an approach to work. Different approaches to rhetoric, from the point of view of the message to decoding the message embedded, adds that rhetoric serves as a carrier where the message carries the shared meanings of traditional custom and values of a people such that the message is easily accessible. The earlier mentioned opinions are particularly important to this research in that the approaches to rhetoric and its uses occupy the crust of this study. The approach allows the study to focus on the parties in the conflict mediation process. This approach permits the research to probe what is important to the two identified parties at the centre of the mediation process. On the other hand, the second idea raised speaks to the fact that this study equally emphasises the message. Thus, reviving strategies to understand and investigate messaging effectiveness and its corresponding uses.

One of these strategies is the use of proverbs which are perceived as a tool of the speaker's service. It is seen to be applied, moulded or transformed to augment speaking aesthetics (Yankah, 1986). Speaking in proverbs is valued, applauded and respected in traditional African societies like Ghana and Nigeria. He argues that proverbs are used to ‘supplement prevailing arguments.’ The author admits that speaking in proverbs like the use of all verbal art, does not build an automatic

realisation of the speaker's wish, even where all the felicity conditions for delivery are satisfied. The use of proverbs and metaphors, including symbols, fall under rhetoric, and through these, speakers find means of driving home their thoughts and ideas to listeners and audiences present in varied public speech situations. The mediators at the traditional courts, being attributed to being versed in speech delivery, will need some skilful verbal arts such as speaking in proverbs to satisfy some 'felicity conditions' during the mediation of conflicts among parties. The use of these verbal arts, coupled with picturesque representations, form parts of rhetorical practices that aid in the mediation processes in the traditional court under study.

Blake (2009) discusses some ethical and moral principles related to traditional African rhetoric practices found in ancient African text called, *The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep* (ca 2388-2356 BCE). It provides moral grounds upon which Africans could stand when dealing with governance issues. The research considered the ethical values of delving into issues of personal interest concerning the research participants, thereby considering the moral values of speakers and building trust in the audiences. To an extent, Blake (2009) considers the *ethos* of the rhetorical appeals. For interaction at the traditional court, the research merged the ideologies of Blake (2009), especially the ethical and moral principles, to be a part of the building block for the rhetorical practices in the traditional court during the conflict mediation processes.

As a performative way of communication, Finnegan (1970) describes varied approaches, including content and plot in literature and oral literature, to be precise. She gives an insight into performance, originality and authorship. Some forms of art, such as riddles and proverbs, are dealt with and considered to be part

of the communication compositions of oral communication. In the study concerning court mediation and conflict resolution, artistic language use is an added advantage when mediators have to appeal to the logos and ethos of participants at the traditional court. These appeals are further detailed in subsequent pages when the Rhetorical Triangle is discussed.

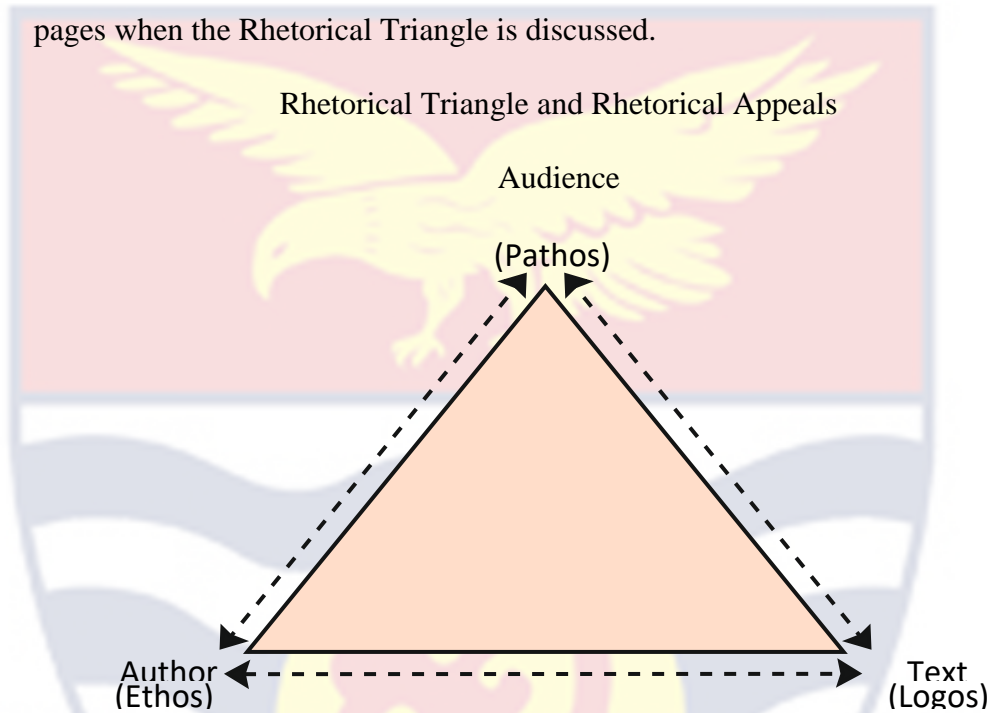


Fig. Rhetorical Triangle and Rhetorical Appeals

Source: Modified from Aristotle's Triangle

In short, the Rhetorical Triangle, otherwise known as the Rhetorical Appeals, capture Aristotle's explanation of what is existent during communication with persuasive intent.

Whilst taking a close look at the sociocultural significance of oratory and formal speaking among the Akan of Ghana, Yankah (1991) presents an in-depth discussion of various stylistic and rhetorical strategies used to expose how to face a threat that occurs in formal interaction. The Akan style of formal speech comprises proverbs, metaphors and honorifics which control the power of the spoken word and add strength to the present social and political order. In the conflict mediation process, the mediators (Akyeame) employ the art of using

proverbs and metaphors to exchange communication in the court. Okyeame, with its plural form as Akyeame in Ghanaian terms, is explained as the linguist. He is identified with a staff of authority known as the 'Akyeame poma' (linguist's staff). In Akan culture, an Okyeame mediates communication processes between the chief and the audience. He is privileged to polishing and embellishes words spoken to and from the chief. Yankah (1995) describes the Okyeame as the 'chief's wife.' To wit, a chief seated may not be alone but will be accompanied by an Okyeame, who, in most cases, acts as the mouthpiece of the chief. This art shows the prowess each mediator possesses.

Goodman (2004) provides a detailed overview of mediation from the pre-mediation conference through all stages of the mediation session. One will learn to establish one's authority as a mediator, organize the mediation session, deliver the mediator's opening statement, prioritize issues, preside during joint sessions, conduct private caucuses, identify hidden agenda and 'throwaway' items, deal with parties who lack settlement authority and aid parties to achieve a viable settlement. The communication process organized in the mediation process follows some stages. Each stage is crucial to resolving conflict and may not be overlooked. The forms of rhetoric in the mediation process may not follow stringent stages but are organized to arrive at a meaningful resolution.

In presenting ideas on Oral Rhetoric, Arnold (2007) argues that 'rhetoric' is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to an object by creating discourse when changes fact through the mediation of thought and action.' Whilst agreeing with Arnold (2007), Bitzer (1998) maintains that rhetoric, whether written or oral, is pragmatic because it comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself. Emphasis is placed on a situation found at the centre of

persuasion. This posits that without a situation, one cannot make mention of a rhetorical state. This is to say that it is the situation that gives birth to a reaction and response within a communication context. Among the literary histories and theoretical works that fall within rhetoric are ‘oral literature’, ‘speeches’, ‘oration’ and ‘public addresses’, of which communication exchanges in the traditional courts are no exception. Arnold (2007) supports the many features of spoken rhetoric embedded in resolving and mediating the conflict process.

The Mediation Process and the Female Factor

There is a notion that in Africa, particularly in Ghana, individuals with the skill and ability of self-expression during public events and gatherings are revered and shown love. One who is bold to stand before a large audience and present ideas, speak for a party or negotiate in the face of resolution of issues is seen as extraordinary. To some, this individual is seen to be old. Oratory is closely related to eloquence; thus, societies look on such skills to appoint individuals to hold certain positions, even at the political levels.

The position of the mediator and the art of mediation in the traditional court is not one which is underestimated in traditional royal communication. Yankah (1995) offers a profound insight into Akan Royal communication, thereby laying subtle but detailed emphasis into Akan Royal communication, emphasising the usefulness and strength of words in African societies. He argues and draws on interdisciplinary modes of sociolinguistics and ethnography of speech. More of a traditional-political content-oriented book, the author opens up on verbal processes useful for speakers in the public domain. The relevance derived from the arguments he raised is paramount to the purpose of the study because the mediator at the traditional courts are the *Akyeame*. Their role is crucial in the traditional setting

and may not be side-lined during traditional court proceedings. In his contribution to the *Legon Journal of Humanities*, Ansu- Kyeremeh writes, ‘Africans in general delight in effective public speaking, whether as litigants in courts, members of a jury, participants in public debate or general conversation.’ Finnegan (1970) agrees with the art of oratory when she describes the various situations in which oratory is employed. She says:

The art of oratory is in West Africa carried to a remarkable pitch of perfection. At public palavers, each linguist or official spokesman stands up in turn and pours forth a flood of speech, the readiness and exuberance of which strikes the stranger with amazement, and accompanies his words with gestures so various, graceful and appropriate that it is a pleasure to look on, though the matter of the oration cannot be understood (Finnegan 1970, p. 444,)

It has been identified that males play the dominant role in the mediation process in most local traditional royal discourse. The female is most of the time in the background. The study's task is to identify the motive behind the rather muted role of the female by establishing some cultural conditions, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters of this research. Tannen (2001) argues that misunderstandings between sexes often arise due to how women connect emotionally in conversation. Conversely, men aim at imparting knowledge and most often do not attach emotions to their conversations. The author focuses on how communication styles either facilitate or hinder personal interactions. She exhibits how men and women are a product of different cultures because of their way of approaching conversations. The female gender may attach more emotions

(pathos) in the conflict mediation process when made a primary mediator in resolving conflicts. Women aim at considering the emotional aspects of issues rather than the reasoning (logos).

Badcock (2003) argues that due to socialized behaviour, women hardly request what is due them in society. Due to some societal norms, women do not ask for what they want and need. The author examines culture and gender and further shares their evidence about how women can counter the culture from business to the home. In my research work, the study explores the isolated role if not neglected, of women being marginalized in the mediation process. If women are the core of home and peacebuilding, they should equally participate in conflict mediation process. Badcock (2003) guides the research to address the issue related to this aspect of the project work where the case of the female though important, may for some traditional beliefs, customs and practices, be relegated to the background and left unmentioned.

Individuals in a communication situation may possess characteristics that reflect low status in one cultural situation but reflect high status or convey no status information in another culture or situation (Carli, 1990). In this article, the author being a woman, classified women to speak tentatively and to be more influential than men. Male speakers were equally influential in certain conditions. However, the language did not affect how influential men were in a communication situation. On the other hand, Edwards (1998) describes the interpretation of messages as a mental process that accompanies communication. It is theoretically related to relational communication but includes denotative and connotative meanings as well as the speaker's intent. The author initiates a program of research on message interpretation by exploring the role of gender, gender role and values of

interpreting messages. The gender of a subject, gender of the source of the message, communal gender role and masculine values interact to influence message interpretation. Still, the type of interpretation depends on the situation. In that, gender processes are linked or connected with the difficulty of same-sex communication. Despite gender interpretive difficulty, the project addresses the female gender to play a key role in the conflict mediation process to fruition. It is worth noting that communal gender role is key in communication.

Biologically and psychologically, it is believed that women and men have been the subject of intellectual speculation and pronouncement (Rakow, 2006). Women and men have been the basis upon which customs, manners and laws have been constructed and justified and where research has been conceptualized and executed. To Rakow (2006), the concept of sexual differences and the types of communication research it has encouraged suggests that 'gender is a verb' created by communication which also creates communication. All in all, women's involvement in issues is vital for developing a community and a nation as a whole. Women, in their usual sympathetic and emotional nature, in many ways, help calm down tension in the wake of conflicts when they are involved in the resolution of such issues.

Prah (1996) discussed the position of the woman from the angle of economic and business development in the society and the nation as whole. She compared their contribution to the development of a nation especially in the line of agriculture, food processing as well as buying and selling of food. Considering the percentage of women population and their influence on a nation, it is impossible for woman's position to be underestimated and even side-lined. The study revealed that women contributed to a more significant percentage of the bread basket of the

nation's food crops (Prah, 1996). With these statistics, it is evident that the woman's visibility is obvious and may transcend into other fields and disciplines. Besides, the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic in Ghana admonishes, emphasizes and ensures that all persons be given equal opportunities and provides adequate directives in all sectors to achieve balance with gender. Prah (1996) supports this directive by explaining that woman is fused into the economic development and growth of Ghana as directed in the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, Chapter 6, Clause 36, Section 6. Despite all these sacrifices made by women in the growth and sustenance of the nation's welfare and economic benefits, the woman has yet to receive any proper recognition as she is not treated fairly compared to their male counterparts.

This is to say that, comparatively, the larger population of women in Ghana are privileged to enjoy relevant benefits despite the huge burden of supporting the nation's welfare (Prah, 1996). To add more to this, their representation in the sector of business and economic development largely rests on petty trading, retailing and basic buying and selling of cooked and other processed foods such as local oil, and gari, among others, a point which is supported by Prah (1996). For these reasons alone, the woman's visibility is obvious in the society. However, until recently most women hardly had formal education, although the percentage of women in education is relatively small. The Government of Ghana has given women opportunities to rise in certain areas to support the move for affirmative action. Notable among such positions are giving women appointments as Vice Chancellors of public universities at the University of Cape Coast and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, all in Ghana. This move has

empowered other women to work harder to achieve the equal feat in their respective societies.

Wall and Dewhurst (1991) explored differences between male and female mediators' use of communicative behaviour, specific formulations in resolved and unresolved mediation. It was deduced that there were differences in formulations used by females and males. Females used more controlling formulations, just like their male counterparts. Formulations were seen to preserve meaning, delete unnecessary details and transform information. Formulations also manage roles and imply a decision from the recipient through confirmation or 'disconfirmation.' The authors comment that females used more formulations than males. There was also the issue of gender perception relating to mediator competence, clarity and fairness. The authors classify some forms of formulation as Reframing, Paraphrasing and Summarizing. In the mediation of conflicts in the traditional courts, mediators (Akyeame) may employ either or all of these forms of formulation to relay information to and from the Chief and the participants.

Communication, Style and Language

As noted by communication experts, communication goes through a process: the message, the channel and then the recipient of the message. The receiving end of communication in the traditional court, it is believed, may as well have two constituents. Because the listening party is also a group, or has a dignitary who, by suggestion, would be a chief. There is the likelihood of a second *Okyeame* who becomes the receiver of the message. Thus, communication in the royal domain is made formal when it passes through the *Okyeame*, making him the focus of all formal communication interactions in the royal domain, whether social or

verbal. The chief's word through the *Okyeame* may be repeated word for word (Yankah, 1995, p. 108).

The love for the use of language is primarily based on the belief in the spoken word and the ability to move listeners to an action. Speeches and language are rich with witticism, ornate expression, metaphor, and proverbs. Speakers in public forums and gatherings exhibit their verbal art through various means, of which proverbs and metaphors are no exception. These form a mark of exquisite public speech. Listeners gathered to wait in earnest expectancy to listen to what the speaker has to say next because of the art and skill involved in speech delivery. Various occasions define the style in which language will be used. Style is integral to social functions as effective speaking is spiced up with the right style. Style comes with a whole lot of resources of language. Among these resources are tone of voice, choice of words and the ways sounds are pronounced. It has been identified that clothing, traditional indigenous herds and other forms of biological changes in humans, form a core of communication exchanges and customary practices. A means of communicating Style when whistling may be a resource to enhance communication, it may be a hindrance to effective communication practice within the context of the traditional court.

In Africa, proverbs are perceived as a tool in the speaker's service. It is seen to be applied, moulded or transformed to augment speaking aesthetics (Yankah, 1986). Speaking in proverbs is valued, applauded and respected in traditional African societies like Ghana and Nigeria. He argues that proverbs are used to 'supplement prevailing arguments.' In Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, he describes proverbs as the palm oil with which words are eaten. Proverbs form the smooth force that drives communication exchanges if one desires to have 'palatable'

conversations and interesting communication within any given context. By using proverbs, one leaves a mark of self-confidence and evidence of an intelligent and tactful communicator who would let audiences decode the meaning embedded within language built out of familiar situations.

Dainton (2004), quoting Simons (1976), explains persuasion as human communication that is designed to influence others by modifying their beliefs, values or attitudes. He further refers to O'keefe (1990) bringing out his argument that there are requirements for the sender, the means and the recipient to consider something persuasive. Dainton (2004) mentions that persuasion involves a goal on the part of the message sender. Next, communication is the means to achieve that goal. Third, the message recipient must have free will (i.e., threatening physical harm if the recipient does not comply is usually considered force, not persuasion). In the same vein, Persuasion is not 'accidental not coercive. It is inherently communicational.' With theories such as Social Judgment Theory found in Dainton (2004), the project on Conflict Mediation in Ghanaian traditional courts, seeking to weigh the cultural implications and influence on resolving conflict through traditional mediators, will be rife with such theories backing it.

Buzatu & Pipas (2014) argue that the ability to communicate is an essential mechanism in the construction and development of interpersonal human relationships to achieve social integration and to be accepted within a particular community. Because of this, the authors take a stand that communication is the 'main factor of social influence.' Communication, when done effectively, prevents and eliminates barriers. Thus, effective communication, mediation and negotiation are necessary for survival in a period where power relations dominate, and conflict may occur at any step of human interpersonal relationships. My attempt supports

the research question related to how rhetoric practices function in the traditional court and the challenges mitigating the mediation process in the courts. Once the mediators are aware of specific barriers, including linguistic barriers (Logos), and ethical obstacles (Ethos) that may lead to face threatening, the emotions (Pathos) of participants at the courts may be managed. Issues that may escalate will also be addressed at the mushroom stages.

People skills shows how to get needs met using simple assertion techniques. How body language often speaks louder than words (Bolton, 1986). It opens up how to use silence as a valuable and flawless communication tool. The author describes the twelve most common communication barriers and explains how to learn to listen, assert yourself, resolve conflicts and work out problems. In dealing with conflict mediation, symbolic rhetoric has a lot to offer. Some individuals, as a result of 'unknown' body language use, have led to the payment of fines at palaces. Certain gestures have led to unfortunate situations such as warnings, huge summons and even detention.

On the other hand, mediators such as the chief's linguists have used gestures in communicating to individuals or parties whose issues are on the table of discussion. Ideas raised in this text complement some, if not all, of these forms of communication and barriers in the communication process found in the traditional courts in the palace. Gruner et al (1972), comment that how one conducts oneself during the confrontation in the process of communication has a lot to contribute to the success of the communication (p. 137).

If a speaker is smooth, poised, and seemingly at ease with himself, the audience will likewise feel comfortable and poised. If the speaker demonstrates orally and visibly that he is energetic and

sincerely interested in his audience's perceiving his message, that audience will, emphatically, return his energy and enthusiasm as active listeners (Gruner, et al, 1972, p.137).

Communication is a dynamic interactive process that considers the effective transmission of facts, ideas, thoughts, emotions and values (Grunig, 2000). Communication situations change because it absorbs different forces, procedures and systems. This is to say that communication exists in a sequential process, if not in chronological order. As individuals communicate and interact with each other, they build common meaning, which is paramount to the positive effect of the communication process. To Grunig (2000), through communication, individuals develop a form of relationship as they involve in continuous and sustained interaction with each other. It is worth noting that symbolic communication involves not only words but symbols and even gestures and other expressions that make spoken language worthwhile.

Bourdieu (1991) presents a classical approach to language, including linguistic theories. While arguing that language should not only be seen as a means of communication, he also emphasizes that it should be seen as a medium of power through which individuals pursue their interests and display their practical competence. To this, the Spiritual Head at Nae We weilds a level of power by virtue of his position. He makes use of artistic language thus metaphrs, proverbs and anecdotes as means of communication during conflict mediation. Language plays a crucial role in the mediation process. The use of language may show competence, but it should not fail to achieve the purpose of its artistic usage. Whilst using language for communication exchanges, the spiritual head and by extension the elders, use varied means of communication as their 'ways of being'. Unlike

Bourdieu (1991), Langmia & Haddad (2015) analyse Communication Theory as explained in Craig's (1999) 'socio-cultural' and 'rhetorical' communication traditions from the perspective of the African/ Black thought. In their argument, they agree that socio-cultural and rhetorical communication traditions can gain a stable foothold on the African continent in 'glocalization.' By 'glocalization' Robertson & White (2007), is elaborate the idea of empowering local socio-cultural and value systems simultaneously and moment globalization is spreading across the world.

Littlejohn & Foss (2005) expose readers to a wide range of communication theories available in the field of discipline. They further organize them according to the scholarly traditions and contexts from which they are derived. Since some theories must be used to back the study, this book presents a plethora of theories, among which useful theories may be chosen. Some of them are the Face Negotiation Theory, Expectancy Violation Theory and the Rhetoric, just to mention a few. Developed by Ting-Toomey (1999), the face negotiation theory assumes that people in all cultures work to maintain face in all situations. It further elaborates that the basis of conflict is a result of self-management at the level of the individual involved and the cultural level. In simple terms, everyone looks forward to respect and recognition. However, the ability to manage the techniques of maintaining, keeping, saving and showing honour to individuals may not be the same across cultures. By this, what is recognised in one culture may not be recognised or revered in another. The negatives of this may be a violation of one's face when one's culture, beliefs and expectations are not met. What may be deduced here is that each culture has its own rules about which behaviours are acceptable and which ones may be an infringement on the rights of others.

Maintaining eye contact and getting close to a speaker or listener in a communication situation may vary from culture to culture.

Madonik (2001) reveals what it takes to understand, analyze and utilize nonverbal communication to enhance the mediation process significantly. Signs, symbols and gestures play a significant role in communication. Because one's eye movement can say a lot more than words in a given moment, individuals are admonished to adhere to and to be aware of some of these forms of nonverbal communication. Concerning the forms of rhetoric in the mediation process, these forms of nonverbal communication are inevitable.

Rosenberg & Chopra (2015) present four things to be integral to Nonviolent Communication. They mention Consciousness, Language, Communication and Means of Influence. If violent communication may result in harm, then one can consider racial bias, blaming, speaking without listening and political rhetoric as violent communication. The four integral points identified by the authors are connected to the research since it relates to what will not hinder the flow of the mediation process in the traditional court. Similarly, passivity in communication causes frustration, feeling of stress and tension, which may lead to physical or emotional self-isolation. The passive communication style is a style in which individuals develop a communication model that avoids expressing opinions or feelings, trying to protect their needs and 'rights' (Buzatu & Pipas, 2014). One can speak of effective management of an impression by an individual when actions meet the functional requirements of the communicative act, not only when the 'interlocutors' correctly receive the real and distorted message the transmitter sends (Buzatu & Pipas, 2014). Whilst agreeing that communication may not be straightforward, Buzatu & Pipas (2014) argue that the complexity and dynamism

involved in communication result from the people interacting with each other continuously whilst changing different channels, be it verbal or non-verbal.

Transferring information to and from the chief in the traditional court by the *Okyeame* in the royal domain aids in enhancing the exchange of information with an attribute of clarity. Ansu-Kyeremeh (2005) comments on the characteristics of audiences in the communication process. To him, ‘the characteristics of the audience and the community, or the sociocultural system, in which a medium operates, are paramount in every communication process.’ Ansu-Kyeremeh (2005) agrees with Manuwuiké (1978) when he refers to Manuwuiké concerning rural African communities. According to Manuwuiké (1978), ‘African communities in general are ‘orally articulative’ in their communication processes’ and continued to say that ‘the written word becomes the least effective means of disseminating information’ (as cited by Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005, p. 21). In effect, apart from what is written, other means of communication may serve similar purposes of disseminating information, if not better. Symbols, objects and even colours may be amazing tools for communication when written words fail or are compliment.

Language is a system of acceptable speech by social group members and actors in a particular culture express themselves. The primary function of language is for human beings to share and receive information within a given communication situation. These situations may range from formal to semi-formal and informal situations. In sharing this information and using language, different modes of registers and vocabulary are required. Individuals may decide to narrate by telling a story, describing by creating a picturesque view of events, explaining or even interviewing to share and receive information.

Amberg and Vause (2010) reflect on the ideas of language and identity. They argue that language looks back to an individual's significance and the 'beliefs' and 'practices' within the community in which the individual lives. This supports the idea that the way language functions in one society may not be the same in another because of the dynamism existing in culture and the practices of culture. Parikh (2001), argues that language is used to communicate information. He identifies that language has a communicative and informative function; the two functions are interdependent on each other and make communicating information effectively.

Court Systems

Some scholars have presented modern federal district courts in their academic pieces. Boyd & Sievert (2013) argue that federal district courts delegate vast decision-making powers throughout criminal and civil cases to magistrate judges- judicial actors. The goal of his research sought to rectify the relative 'paucity' of systematic work on the judicial actors by using original filing and motion-level district court data to examine magistrate decision-making empirically. The authors' results support expectations that magistrates are often constrained by the district judges' preferences and their districts' institutional characteristics whilst issuing reports and recommending and serving as assigned judges by the parties' consent. They argue that the creation of magistrates came about through legislation. Individual district courts' task is to choose how and to what degree to use these judicial actors. It was further mentioned that the task of making the decision was delegated to magistrates. Although traditional mediators do not have the veto power to make final decisions in conflict mediation in the traditional courts, their involvement in the mediation makes a huge contribution in

that their absence may halt the mediation process entirely. This is because, in the traditional court, the Chief and the participants can only speak through the mediators (Akyeame) in the traditional courts.

Bwire (2019) agrees with the premise that present African cultural life is still family-based. In that, families link up to form clans, clans link up to form tribes and tribes together form the nation. In view of this, disputes and, for that reason, conflicts are resolved mainly in a way to promote reconciliation and restitution since both offender and victim continue to live within the same community. In this regard, community members look up to elders to adjudicate personal disputes. This argument links to the ethical aspect of resolving conflicts (ethos), relating it to rhetoric. In order to manage emotions (pathos), community members are encouraged to consider seeing each other as one despite the existing conflict. When the parties recognise each other as such, the task of conflict mediators becomes less challenging.

It is to take customary law in African societies into consideration, by looking at many factors, including bringing change in the local context and customary practices without distorting them. Obatusin (2018) advocates that one needs to be aware of the system and its practices. Obatusin (2018) reiterates that African Human Rights and governance principles as a tool for promoting socio-legal reforms should be seen as ‘cleaning up the house as opposed to destroying it.’ In the same vein, mediators in the traditional courts are encouraged to employ modern means of mediation but maintain the traditional protocols that aim at achieving desirable results. Obatusin (2018) supports the study's choice of cultural situations (Nae We, Gbese in Greater Accra Region). The author concludes that

women's rights serve the purpose of lighting situations where customary law in Nigeria harbours practices that could be 'discriminating.'

In Africa, the citizens uphold customary law, Ndulo (2011) admits that customary law in the African tradition is executed following reformations in legislation and common law. Whilst considering the role of legislation, the author argues that customary law has a great impact on matters concerning marriage, inheritance and traditional authority. It is clear that in many instances, African systems of executing justice consider traditional forms and do not ignore human rights. One sees reflections on colonial times and forms of executing justice whilst looking beyond to consider women's rights. The study on conflict mediation in traditional courts in Ghana seeks to inculcate women's involvement in conflict mediation as a right in the traditional courts.

The Structure of the Court System in Ghana

Gold Coast, now Ghana, has always been a country of laws, even before the advent of the Anglo-Saxons on her shores. The Chieftaincy system was the custodian of those unwritten types of law prior, which is now referred to as customary law. The traditional leader's role before the colonial era was characterised by protecting, defending and providing for the needs of the society under his jurisdiction. In Addis Ababa on 12th October 2004, His Royal Majesty Otumfuo Osei Tutu II discussed with other chiefs and traditional leaders the role played by way of the functions of the traditional leaders. The roles earlier mentioned, thus protecting, defending and providing for the needs of individuals in the society, made a leader multi-functional. He also mentioned that the leaders served as the mediator between the living and the ancestral spirits and the unborn generation. This is because the leader served as a religious head, military

personnel, legislative authority, executive and judicial expert, and repository of social and cultural practices. It is worth noting that these multifunctional roles were embedded in traditional ancient customs. The role of leadership was premised on a 'set of well-articulated norms and mechanisms.'

However, credit to the written and well-structured legal system today can only be attributed to the inherited Common Law from the Anglo-Saxons. With such a written law comes a new custodian of the law, known in legal parlance as the Judiciary. The Judiciary is one of the three arms of government. Its main objective is to apply, interpret and enforce the law and the powers they draw from the 1992 Constitution through Article 125. More importantly, Article 11 of the Constitution states the hierarchy of laws in Ghana, which depicts how the Judiciary, in adjudicating its powers, can operate within these laws, whether original, appellate or supervisory jurisdiction. This shows that even within the judicial system, there are still checks and balances which limit the powers of those entrusted with the same. For a country with its fair share of coup and political instability, such mechanisms must be embedded in our Constitution. The 1992 Constitution has nonetheless not always been the grundnorm through the historical antecedents of the country.

The Judiciary is the branch of government given the authority to interpret, apply and enforce the laws of Ghana. The legal system in Ghana was built on a foundation of Anglo-Saxon common law, statutory law and other documents. These laws and documents began the legal presence of varied military regimes. In Ghana, the Court System appears to have exhibited unique freedom and strength since 1957, heralding the period of independence. Led by the Chief Justice, the autonomy and supremacy of the court system appears to stand unquestioned. The

Court Act of 1971 drew the structure and autonomy of the courts, which established the Supreme Court of Ghana, the Court of Appeal with two divisions thus, the Ordinary Bench and the Full Bench, the High Court of Justice, a Court with both appellate and original jurisdiction. The Act of 1971 also established the supposed inferior and traditional courts. In addition to the Supreme Courts and others earlier mentioned, these courts made the Judiciary of Ghana according to the 1960, 1979 and 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

Appearing to be a law imposed on Ghana, there exists a plethora of undocumented customary uses and practices of the law. These customary uses and practices form an integral characteristic of the current legal system in Ghana. Not only the Anglo-Saxon common law but also some religious laws, particularly in marriage and inheritance. The clauses of marriage and inheritance situations of the present and the past have been instrumental in redesigning the legal system of Ghana. This also includes the impact of British Colonialism as well as constitutional evolution.

During the Pre- Independence era 1859 and 1872, the foundation was laid for the active British Administration of Ghana. The Dutch then transferred all their forts to the British and left Ghana. Ghana then became one of the first territories outside of England to benefit from the English reforms introduced by the Judicature Act of 1873-75 Structure of Court System (Judicial Services of Ghana). The Divisional and District Commissioner's Court, recognized by the Supreme Court Ordinance (1876), also acknowledged as the lower tier of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court remained the highest tribunal in Ghana during the colonial era. During these times, Ghana joined the West African Court of Appeal (WACA),

which was first formed in 1866, dissolved in 1873, and re-established in 1928. Ghana then withdrew from the WACA after independence in 1957.

After independence in 1957, there were few changes in the Court System until the first military coup in 1966. The National Liberation Council (N.L.C.) passed a decree abolishing the Supreme Court and vested Judicial power in two sets of courts: The Superior Court of Judicature and the Inferior Courts. The Constitution of the Second Republic created a Supreme Court, Court of Appeals and High Court of Justice (as Superior Court of Judicature). In 1972, the Supreme Court was annulled again, this time by the National Redemption Council (N.R.C.). The military government that followed the Second Republic debunked the idea that by suspending the 1969 Constitution, there was no relevance for a court to interpret and enforce it. The functions of the Supreme Court were then transferred to the Full Bench of the Court of Appeal (Judicial Services of Ghana).

Then came the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (A.F.R.C), which handed over power to an elected government, the Third Republic and had the Supreme Court re-established. The same court structure of the 1969 Constitution was reintroduced. It followed the Superior Court consisting of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal and the High Court. The Circuit Courts were introduced in 1960. These, along with the District Courts, constitute the Inferior Courts. Now there are five levels of court: District Courts, Circuit Courts, High Court, Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court.

The 1992 Constitution outlines and assigns powers to the Supreme Court, High Court and Judicial Council. The Supreme sometimes functions as a supervisory body in the delivery of its duties. It states,

‘The Supreme Court shall have supervisory jurisdiction over all courts and over any adjudicating authority and may, in the exercise of that supervisory jurisdiction, issue orders and directions for the purpose of enforcing or securing the enforcement of its supervisory power.’ 1992 Constitution (132) (4)

By this, it presupposes that the inferior courts, which encapsulate the traditional courts as well, has independence to operate under the supervision of the Supreme Court. The 1992 Constitution, 141 (5), admonishes that the High Courts shall act as a supervisory body with jurisdiction over all lower courts and any lower adjudicating authority. It states

‘...the High Court shall have all the powers, authority and jurisdiction vested in the court from which the appeal is brought.

The High Court shall have supervisory jurisdiction over lower courts adjudicating authority; and may, in the exercise of that jurisdiction, issue orders and directives for the purpose of enforcing or securing the enforcement of its supervisory powers.’

Presently, the court is made up of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal, the High Court and Regional Tribunals and such Lower Courts and Tribunals as the Parliament may establish shall have the Chief Justice as the Head. The Chief Justice shall be in charge of administrating and supervising all issues of the Judiciary. The amendment of the Court Act (Act 620) 2002 established the Circuit Courts, District Courts, Juvenile Courts, the National House of Chiefs, Regional House of Chiefs and every Traditional Council. The National House of Chiefs, Regional House of Chiefs and Traditional Council were established as a part of the

Act regarding the jurisdiction of any House or Council to sit over any cause affecting chieftaincy and other lower courts as Parliament may establish by law.

The Annual Report of 2018 captured two main categories of courts in Ghana. The Superior Courts and the Lower Courts emphasise that the Superior Court shall be the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal and the High Court. It further captured that the Lower Courts are presently made up of the Circuit Courts and the District Courts, which, when constituted differently, will function as the Juvenile Court and the Family Tribunals. The Gender-Based Violence Court, also known as the Domestic Violence Court, has existed since 2009. (Judicial Annual Report, 2017-2018). With its core mandate set to resolve domestic violence cases in fast mode, the court also deals with matrimonial and adoption cases. Judicial committees of the different houses and councils constitute the traditional courts. Of all the courts recognised by the judiciary, the traditional court cannot adjudicate civil and criminal matters. Instead, the traditional courts have exclusivity of power to adjudicate cases related to chieftaincy and its related matter as enshrined in the Chieftaincy Act of 1971.

The African Traditional Context Before Colonialism

The issue of Democracy is paramount to the rulership of many states regardless of the practice embedded in running that state. One way or another, there is an element of democracy in the affairs of that state. One may find several means to conceptualise democracy. However, the concept is culturally induced because each state existing within a particular culture, found in a certain country, may have varied and unique ways of doing things, thereby establishing the uniqueness of culture. In Ghana, the enstoolment of chiefs debunks the concept of democracy. In that, if democracy is a system of government in which people or individuals choose

their rulers by voting for them in elections: then this concept does not hold in traditional rulership. This is because citizens do not get to vote for a chief in their respective traditional jurisdictions. One becomes a chief by virtue of being in the lineage of royal inheritance, regardless of one's age; although certain requirements will endorse his acceptance of being the chief. There is no form of having the citizens' ideas or opinions added to the communities' laws or statutes. Rules that govern these communities continue what existed in the olden days. In Ghana and several parts of Africa, chiefs are probably the most recognizable local personalities because of the myriad of religious, social, administrative, and judicial functions they perform. The knowledge that peoples, particularly non-natives, have of chiefs comes mainly from the ceremonial public functions they see them perform. In their practice of rulership within their jurisdictions, it is worth mentioning that democracy is an attitude or system that treats everyone equally. An example of a democratic society is a group of people who make decisions, with each vote counting equally. This is found not in traditional rulership because citizens belonging to different traditional sectors do not hold the voting right to choose a chief. The right lies in the lineage of the traditional or royal sect. The study considers the issue of rulership within the traditional court and the reasons for why this traditional court has the spiritual head (Wulomo) as the 'in-charge' of the court. With this, the work considers and discusses some ethical foundation for the ideas and practice of democracy which lies within the space and jurisdiction of an African Traditional Context.

Democracy and African Tradition

In the first place, democracy fosters competitive elections, which flattens morality and ethics, because sound ethics are challenged in an environment of

competition. One may operate in a monopoly when no individual challenges how processes are managed and approached. In most African communities, chiefs represent the most authoritative use of executive power. They are in the realm of the power base of the village in which every extended family is represented. They are the heads and leaders of ethnic groups and the hub around which traditional allegiances have been built. (Bamfo, 2000).

It cannot be forgotten that the idea of opposition in Western democracy also creates bitterness, resentment, and hostility. Before the arrival of the Europeans, traditional leaders had their unique ways of ruling through their local executive bodies. In those times, local chiefs were in charge of their various community administrative duties through well-established governmental systems. Concerning local government administration, the chieftaincy institution is one of the well organized and orderly represented institutions at that level. Bamfo (2000:149) refers to the Akyem of Ghana. In their respective roles as traditional representatives of their towns or villages, he mentions that Chiefs epitomize local government at its most practical and democratic form. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the trends that have evolved over the years. Recently, some chiefs have managed to become drunken with power; others have grown to be tyrannical, but citizen groups have always tried to maintain vigilance over chiefs to ensure that they do not abuse their power. The system of checks and openness that is exhibited in traditional government has been an integral part of the system from the beginning. However, recent discussions of African politics hardly recognize those values in local government administration or even attempt to separate them from the despotic tendencies some leaders have earned from their devalued respect for basic human rights. Ohachenu (1995) suggests that African people's idea of democratization is

essentially derived from their historical knowledge, experience, values and capabilities. The author goes on to say that the wealth of knowledge, experience, values and abilities are essential for mass mobilization in articulating an African discourse and program on governance and democratization.

It is unavoidable to mention and elaborate on how partisan politics as a feature of Western democracy has polarised Africa. By talking down on African traditions and practices as being primitive, superstitious and savagery, Europeans achieved the goal of loosening the strength in these practices and eventually undermining them. This led to the transformation of several Africans to Islam and Christianity (Manning, 1988)

The Indigenous Political System

One cannot ignore our indigenous political system, highlighting its consensual democracy. Among the Ga of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, chiefs rule. These chiefs are made based on royal lineages depending on which royal family had its turn to ascend the throne. However, the people of the Ga Traditional Area believe in the rulership of the High Priest, who they refer to as 'Wolomo'. He oversees most traditional and spiritual affairs of the Ga Traditional Area. Although African societies with the chieftaincy institution present chiefs not as rulers but rule through an elective council of elders, their decisions are not disregarded. These elective councils of elders play significant roles which equally pass as a democratic form of rulership. Suppose democracy means government by the people which is aimed at the recognition of the opinions of the people within the community. In that case, one can say that democracy exists in a way within the traditional contexts because each individual is given a chance to have an opinion.

Even though chiefs were not elected as a civil right of the community members, the chief in indigenous politics was not the totality and embodiment of power, as absolute political power rests with the ancestors. So, chiefs could be destooled when they abuse their office. Largely, among the Akan and Ga in Ghana, a chief may be removed from office should he be found guilty of some crime or breach of traditional statutes. The shameful act of having his sandals removed from his feet in public outrightly demotes his status and eventually reduces him to the level of a commoner.

‘People expect their chiefs to diligently observe local traditions and uphold high moral standards in their personal lives. A chief who repudiates the trust his community has vested in him risks having destoolment charges brought against him. Destoolment is equivalent to presidential impeachment and conviction and is the ultimate humiliation a community could bring on a recalcitrant chief.’ (Bamfo, 2000)

The foundation of the indigenous political system was sound ethics, as chiefs were the custodians and guardians of ancestral values. In the same vein, Democracies understand that one of their prime functions is to protect such basic human rights as freedom of speech and religion; the right to equal protection under the law; and the opportunity to organise and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society. In Ghana, it is ethical to protect the laws, properties and other things relating to community development even the community’s cultural practices and customs.

Colonialism and the erosion of power

Colonialism led to the erosion of the power of the indigenous political system. Before the coming of the Europeans to Africa, traditional leaders had their means of ruling and governance. In Ghana, among the traditional leaders, there were branches of leadership. Information reached the citizenry through the 'town-crier'. Other means of information was through drum language. The Europeans' coming into Africa and Ghana led to the 'Europeanisation' of most practices, including the language of the indigenous Africans.

Before colonial administrators came to the shores of Africa, local chiefs were already in charge of well-established governmental systems. Over the years, some chiefs managed to become despotic, but citizen groups have always tried to maintain vigilance over chiefs to ensure that they do not abuse their power. The system of checks and openness that is exhibited in traditional government has been an integral part of the system from the beginning. (Bamfo, 2000. p. 150)

When the British settled in Ghana, they sought to impose their laws on the people. It is worth noting that some sections of the people or citizenry opposed some of these laws. But, arguably, the people had their traditional laws which were working for them. These laws served as their unique checks and balances.

The first law the British passed in the Gold Coast colony to improve local government was the Native Administration Ordinance of 1927. It had to undergo considerable changes because it was fiercely opposed by the small educated community, the so-called intelligentsia, on the grounds that it promised to

increase the powers of chiefs and hence could potentially make them more autocratic (Bourrett, 1969).

Currently, it appears that chiefs had found ways to use their position to control the citizenry even when they opposed the practices of the Europeans then.

Chiefs adorn their traditional institutions to represent their various communities and inadvertently use their position as traditional rulers to their own advantage. Whilst subscribing to foreign aid, some of these traditional rulers end up resting on the remnants of colonialism only to continuously colonize the members of their communities. Democracy, in this instance, is not in practice because the people's thoughts and consent are not considered. In Africa, especially Ghana, the authority or decisions of chiefs or traditional leaders are not questioned. They hold an office considered and held sacred because they are seen as the representatives of their ancestors. In the olden, a commoner who asks a chief is likely, if not most of the time, bound to be banished and sometimes executed to serve as a deterrent to others.

In most communities in Africa, chiefs represent the most authoritative use of executive power. They are at the realm of the power base of the village in which every extended family is represented. They are the heads and leaders of ethnic groups and the hub around which traditional allegiances have been built.

(Bamfo, 2000. p. 153)

Even though chiefs had autonomy to rule, they relied on the strength of their various communities for survival in terms of protecting its territories, fends for themselves and even for the popularity and fame of their respective communities. The chief would hardly be at the war front when there is war.

Therefore, the onus lied on the community to protect first its chief and its community as a whole. In the same vein, the chief is also expected to be accountable to the community. Whatever decision is taken must not put the community in danger, even when the community is not included in the decision-making process.

...an important function of Ashanti chiefs is custodianship of the land. The popular expression, "The land belongs to the stool," means that the chief has the right of jurisdiction over the land, sees to it that the land is never sold, and recognizes also that his subjects, grouped according to lineage, have rights in the land too (Busia 1968, p. 45).

Present-day traditional democracy has been abused as a result of the effect of colonialism. Chiefs no longer rely on the thought of protecting their own. The language of the community used to be a check anytime there should be a decision to be made.

As a means of ensuring all-inclusive governance, the chief may have autonomy, but some sub-chiefs represent the various families that form the community in its entirety. This is a subtle means of checks and balances. A chief is, therefore, remotely accountable to the heads of the various families whose heads are represented as sub-chiefs in the traditional setting. This is clear that before the arrival of the Europeans, the Africans had a means of ruling, protecting their culture, and even governing their jurisdiction through these chiefs. One may then say that colonialism brought a form of radicalism into the traditional setting of democracy. This is because the whole community is involved in the decision-making process, but presently, chiefs go individually without consulting the sub-

chiefs. In some communities, pieces and portions of land are sold to more than three people. This is because one is unable to question the dealings of some leaders in the sale of community lands and resources.

A 1927 by-law of the Okyeman council made the sale of stool land by chiefs without the consent of their elders an offense punishable by destoolment (Addo-Fenning, 1987, p. 104).

The Act has become a means to check and protect stool lands to some extent, it has restricted the sale of lands without the consent and subsequent approval from other stakeholders. A chief who is destooled suffers stigma in the society.

Morality and Democracy

One may have their will, but it is expedient to note that the basis of will in the case of traditional democracy is clouded in morality and ethics. The desire to do something must be morally and ethically guarded. The idea of personhood is called to play in this instance. A chief or a representative who serves as a traditional leader must be responsible to the community he does. The oath that he swore to uphold and protect his territory is bound on ethical grounds. As Wiredu and Gyekye posit:

Now, the moral significance of 'denying' personhood to a human being on the grounds that his actions are dissonant with certain fundamental norms and ideals of personhood, or that he fails to exhibit certain virtues in his behaviour is extremely interesting and is worth nothing. It means that human nature is considered in Akan culture to be essentially good, not depraved or warped by some original sin; that the human person is basically good, can and

should do good, and should, in turn, have good done to him/her. It means, further, that the human person is considered to possess an innate capacity for virtue, for performing morally right actions and, therefore, should be treated as a morally responsible agent.

(Gyekye & Wiredu, Ed., p. 110)

Among Ghanaians, an individual is described as a 'human being' because of the level of moral values seen. Some of these include honesty, virtue and goodwill towards others. It appears that the autonomy given to chiefs makes them not accountable to the community within which they serve. To Wiredu and Gyekye, such persons hardly possess inbuilt traits of virtue and moral will to be good people.

Cultural Sustainability

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in September 2015, having adopted *'Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'*, looks forward to a global agenda on sustainable development until 2030. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), being a global concept pursued from 2000-2015, birthed a new 2030 Agenda including 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 specific targets. A global agenda which considers all the regions, countries and cities in the world.

In 2017, the Committee on Culture of United Cities and Local Government (UCLG) used Agenda 21 for Culture to develop a founding document. The Committee on Culture of the UCLG is the platform of cities, organizations and networks that foster the relationship between local cultural policies and sustainable development as recorded in the Culture in the Sustainable Development Goals, A Guide for Local Action. Similarly, The United Cities and Local Government

(UCLG) represents and defends the interests of local government on the world stage, regardless of the size of the communities they serve. The 2030 Agenda further amounts to a minor step forward in considering cultural aspects in sustainable development. This led to a campaign under the banner ‘The Future We Want Includes Culture’ calling for adding and integrating one specific goal ‘devoted to culture’ or for the fusion of cultural aspects across the SDGs. In view of this, four documents were produced between 2013 and 2015. These included a manifesto, a declaration on the inclusion of culture in the 2030 Agenda, a proposal of possible indicators for measuring the cultural aspects of the SDGs and an assessment of the final 2030 Agenda. It is worth noting that none of the 17 SDGs focuses exclusively on culture. However, the Agenda's outcome has several explicit cultural components. For instance:

Target 4.7 refers to the aim to ensuring that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for global citizenship and the appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development.

Target 8.3 addresses the promotion of development-oriented policies that support productive activities as well as, among others, creativity and innovation.

Targets 8.9 and 12.b refer to the need to devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism, including through local culture and products, and to the need to develop suitable monitoring tools in this area.

Target 11.4 highlights the need to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage (United Nations, Department for Economic and Social Affairs)

Over the years, some evidence has indicated that cultural aspects, which include active participation in cultural life, the development of individual and collective cultural liberties, the safeguarding of tangible cultural heritages and the protection and promotion of diverse cultural expressions, are central components of human and sustainable development. The document goes on to mention and emphasize that:

We acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development (United Nations, Department for Economic and Social Affairs)

In relation to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Goals 4, 5, 11 and 16 are relevant to the project's outcome. Goal 4, of the SDGs, 'Ensure Inclusive and Equitable Quality Education and Promote Lifelong Learning Opportunities for All,' refers to Target 4.7, aiming to ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and culture's contribution to sustainable development. Culture is relevant in Goal 4 in the sense that 'educational programmes at all levels need to integrate context related to cultural diversity, art education, languages and the role of cultural aspects in sustainable development.'

In Goal 5, attention is given to ‘Achieve Gender Equality and Empower all women and girls.’ UNESCO published the report on gender quality and culture in 2014 in the context of preparations for the 2030 Agenda. In the report, priority was given in the confines of Sustainable Development with respect to women and girls' recognition in the face of cultural and historical discrimination. As indicated by the UCLG, the goals look to find elements of culture embedded in each Goal. In light of this, Gender Equality is projected to be achieved in cultural life suggesting the need for women and girls to be actively involved in cultural life and take initiative in developing personal projects. The Goal further calls for ‘narratives’ relating to gender discrimination exhibiting the role of women and girls in cultural life.

Goal 11, ‘Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable’, has Target 11.4, capturing that efforts need to be strengthened to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage. In Ghana, the cultural heritage of living together in a community attempts to foster togetherness where individuals see members of a community as a family aimed at achieving a common goal. Bwire (2019) argues that the present African life is still family-based. Citing that families link up to form clans, clans link up to form tribes and tribes together form the nation. Thus, living in harmony with one another in honesty and respect. Culture is found relevant in Goal 11 in that it is linked to traditional construction techniques and related knowledge and materials. These are aimed at informing approaches to renovating existing buildings and designing new ones. In the olden days, a family is used to having members of their extended families on one joint compound. The development of one family is expected to be the development of the other. In recent times, modern architectural designs have made buildings suit individual nuclear families. However, special occasions such

as marriage ceremonies and festivals call for family reunions. The Goal is dedicated to sustainable development in cities. The Goal aims to ensure access to adequate, safe and affordable housing, essential services and transparent systems for all.

The last of the Goals backing the research is Goal 16, 'Promote Peaceful and Inclusive Societies for Sustainable Development, Provide Access to Justice for All and Build Effective, Accountable and Inclusive Institutions at all levels.' Goal 16 focuses on reducing all forms of violence and related death rates, ending abuse and exploitation, and promoting the rule of law of access to justice for all. It further aims to substantially reduce corruption to develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions and strengthening developing countries' participation in global governance. Goal 16 calls for the inclusion of citizens' participation in the design, implementation and evaluation of cultural policies and programmes. It is well crafted because the policies are meant for the citizens. It is only fair to include citizens in policies that are designed to govern them in their communities. Strategies aimed at alleviating violence of peace should integrate a cultural component.

Review of Empirical Studies

This section discusses previous studies on rhetoric, conflict mediation and traditional courtroom communication. The reviewed studies included related literature done earlier. I looked at studies from the global perspective, then continued to some studies in Africa and finally narrowed it down to some in Ghana. I dwelt on the methodology of the studies whilst looking at the themes of the selected studies under review. Also, a review of the use of rhetoric in other contexts

were used in this study. The section concludes by giving a reason to thus to justify the study.

Empirical Studies on Rhetorical Practices and Conflict Mediation

Conflict has existed as a part of human society. Conflicts may manifest in different forms and as a result of different reasons. Mostly, conflicts may also arise as a result of human interaction. In research into interpersonal relationships and witch-hunting, Taye, Sinha, and Barbhuiya (2021) investigated the role of semantics and rhetoric in conflict resolution. Using Max Ghechman's analysis of the idea of semantics and rhetoric, Taye et al. (2021) delved into the study of ritual and judicial processes and how judges used culture to manipulate constituted notions. Although Taye et al. (2021) emphasised communication and dialogue, their study revolved around ritual and judicial processes as essential tools for conflict resolution. While considering audiences' desires and expectations in the resolution of conflict, Taye et al. (2021) also considered the feminine gender as the victim in the conflict resolution process. Their study argued that conflict will always be an unavoidable part of culture. The beauty of their study is the blend of semantics and rhetoric used as a tool to resolve social conflict. Their study concluded that a patriarchal society with male ideologies will keep women isolated always; the tool for mediation and resolution of the conflict will be the role played by mediation and language to cure and control society.

To Adegoju (2009), the study on rhetoric in conflict-related Yoruba proverbs enlightened and added knowledge concerning linguistic and rhetorical devices that stress the persuasive elements and finesse of the Yoruba proverbs. Adegoju (2009) drew the underlying rhetorical components and interpretation of proverbs as a means of verbal felicity to resolving conflict situations. The study by

Adegoju (2009) adopted the socio-semiotic approach to discourse studies endorsed by Renkema (2004). The approach by Renkema (2004) admonishes that every discourse must be studied in its social context and in the culture and situation in which it appears. Adegoju (2009) investigated what the proverbs can achieve in terms of ‘prescriptive’, ‘persuasive’ and ‘didactic’ fields. Adegoju (2009) described the three aforementioned as the central point to resolving conflict structuring the analysis into themes, the study further identified the use of some poetic devices such as puns, parallelism and antithesis in Yoruba proverbs.

Another study focusing on rhetoric and conflict is that of Svenson (2016). Svenson suggests a ‘topological’ model analyses three dimensions of rhetoric in conflict resolution and management. In his study, Svenson used as an illustration Martin Luther King Jr’s last speech ‘I’ve Been to the Mountaintop.’ Svenson also proposed the ‘Normative’, ‘Topological’ and ‘Ideological’ rhetorical dimensions that formed as a framework for the study’s analysis. With its unique approach to analysing rhetoric in conflict resolution, Svenson also took snippets of speeches during wars and analysed them in terms of the rhetoric representation. An example is when he mentions ‘the Arab princess,’ a name given to Kuwait during the Gulf War, in the analysis of the work. Drawing knowledge from the three dimensions that he proposes, Svenson appears to have taken war speeches as one of the speeches he analysed in the findings of his research.

In a study on symbolic representation and conflict management, Lamle and Aigbovbioisa (2019) explained the communicative values placed on symbols through qualitative method. Their study revealed that symbols are a means of communicating values and educating individuals. Lamle and Aigbovbioisa set out to explain that symbols facilitated the flow of communication in precolonial Africa.

Their study further revealed that continuity and sustainability of using symbols as a conflict management tool in Africa is laudable and necessary.

The current study relates with some components of Taye et al. (2021) and Adegaju (2009) in the sense that the former utilises meaning and rhetoric in resolving conflicts whilst the latter uses components of rhetoric, thus persuasive use of language via poetic devices to resolve conflicts. This current study derives information that is sub-divided into the theme presented by Adegaju (2009) and the use of some device in its analysis. Compared with Taye et al. (2021), this current research equally considers the ability of the mediator to manage the feelings, interests and information sharing that will satisfy audiences who seek to resolve conflict in the traditional court. This current research also relates to Lamle and Aigbovbioisa (2019) as it derives a connection with using symbols as a means of communication. However, unlike Lamle and Aigbovbioisa, this study adds colour symbolism and communication using clothing and the use of artefacts as a means of symbolism and communication.

Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework

The section discusses four theories; the Theory of Cultural Sustainability, The Rhetoric, The Symbolic Interactionism Theory and the Muted Group Theory. It further discusses a model designed with the theories. The model is the author's construct which conceptualises the study.

The Theory of Cultural Sustainability

Culture and sustainable development are broad concepts which embody varied perspectives of life in present times and the future (Soini et al., 2015). It is undeniable that the issue of culture may present some difficult ideas that may eventually hinder development. Although culture and sustainability may seem

complementary, they are likely to be in conflict. According to Raymond Williams, 'culture' is one of English's two or three most 'complicated' words.

The *Theory of Cultural Sustainability* relates to sustainable development, and it has to do with the maintaining of cultural beliefs, cultural practices, heritage conservation, and culture as its own entity and tries to respond to issues of whether some cultural practices will remain in the context of future for the continuity by generations to come. Many discourses surrounding Cultural Sustainability has emerged; however, no particular authority is attributed to the theory of Cultural Sustainability. Individuals such as Dessein (2016), Soini et al (2015) and Kagan (2012) have shared ideas which appear to underpin some ideas of sustainable development to cultural sustainability. For instance, Dessein et al (2016) looked and analysed cultural sustainability from dimensions which include culture *for* sustainability, culture *as* sustainability and culture *in* sustainability. This idea of their dimensions of Cultural Sustainability is further explained in relation to culture and society.

The research identifies the Theory of Cultural Sustainability as one of its primary pillars concerning the theories within which the research sits. In relation to the study, one may identify language, its unique usage and protocols as a means of cultural preservation and continuity. Using language for the sole purpose of communication may not be enough; however, using language to preserve cultural protocols for specific traditional purposes, such as mediation of conflict in the traditional courts is favourable.

“The culture(s) of sustainability” approach aims to identify the characteristics of cultures that are able to evolve and sustain human development in challenging environments, and especially

able to learn from crises and transform themselves accordingly (Kagan 2012).

An emphasis on Kagan (2012) relates to the idea that language being part of culture is not an exception to the teaching and learning of sustainable values as tools for transforming humans and the environment in which they dwell. Soini & Dessein (2016) discuss the theory as a criticism of being in favour of growth, efficiency and the increase in technology. They mention that Sustainable Development does not necessarily mean the same in all parts of the world and that recent meanings are subject to change over time. In view of this, there may not be a universal definition or explanation of sustainable development of sustainability that transcends all circumstances and situations under which the concept may be used. This is also to say that meanings are couched in 'human-life modes' and by getting used to conditions that evolve worldwide. Therefore, sustainability may be seen as a procedure or a continuously evolving 'imaginary world.'

Culture and Society suggest that Culture is complementary to society. A sustainable society needs to consider cultural elements within the society. Culture *in* sustainability is considered as a general process of intellectual, spiritual aesthetic development. Here, culture is seen as an element for knowledge building as well preservation of beliefs and customs. It may appear as a display of culture and the exhibition of the traditions that a group of people hold in high esteem. This includes reverence for the spiritual head, observance of ethical protocols, and respect for values and customs. Culture *for* sustainability- as a way of life here, looks into the people's everyday practices. Language in the form of verbal communication and symbols is vital when culture is used for sustainability. Language use in its artistic forms also draws a picture of what culture stands for within sustainability. Third,

culture *as* sustainability- opens up the broadest perspective for looking at human and social life and seeking redress for peaceful coexistence within the community and saving faces for the individuals to share their experiences from their points of view. It involves the telling of the historical narrative which forms part of the reasons for its preservation. By this these concepts, thus Culture in, for and as Sustainability, one views the wholistic role of the dynamism of culture for sustainable development.

The Rhetoric

Blake (2009) discusses some ethical and moral principles related to traditional African rhetoric practices found in ancient African text called *The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep* (circa 3100 BCE). It provides moral grounds upon which Africans could stand when dealing with governance issues. In addition, the research considers the ethical values of delving into issues of personal interest concerning the research participants.

Finnegan (1970) describes varied approaches, including content and plot in literature thus oral literature, to be precise. She gives an insight into performance, originality and authorship. Some forms of arts, such as Riddles and Proverbs, are dealt with and considered to be part of the communication compositions of Oral Communication. In the study concerning Traditional Court Mediation and conflict resolution, artistic language use is an added advantage when mediation calls for the art to appeal to the logos and ethos of participants at the traditional court.

Whilst looking closely at the sociocultural significance of oratory and formal speaking among the Akan of Ghana, Yankah (1991) presents an in-depth discussion of various stylistic and rhetorical strategies used to expose how to face threat occurs in formal interaction. The Akan style of formal speech comprises

proverbs, metaphors, honorifics which control the power of the spoken word and add strength to the present social and political order. In the conflict mediation process, the mediators employ the art of using proverbs and metaphors to exchange communication in the court. This art shows the prowess each mediator possesses.

The purpose of persuasion is to transform the attitudes and related behaviours of another side in line with one's beliefs or reasons. Rhetoric as an art of persuasion is the practice and study of the linguistic resources which assist speakers to arrive at their objectives. Traditionally, the study of rhetoric has been explained under three headings. Pathos is generally referred to as an appeal to emotions and includes the ability to engage the sympathy and imagination of one's audience. Logos related to the appeal to reasoning or reasoned argument involves the use of words, the careful arrangement of logical thinking and sound deliberation and argumentation. Ethos is most related to the speaker at the centre of the discourse or communication. Ethos appeals to the good character of the speaker, the credibility, experience, knowledge and authority wielded by the speaker. It also centres on the speaker's genuineness to their interests and objectives and the nature of their proof.

Rhetoric, within modern perspectives, identifies the classical tradition and particularly Aristotle's definition of man as a 'rational animal' who handled problems of the world basically through logic or reason as well as one who lived within a period which dealt with values, social cohesion and a unified cultural ideal. From a different angle, modern rhetoric presents man as a 'rhetorical', 'symbol-using' or 'communal' animal who constitutes the world through showed private symbols.

Reiterations in rhetorical practices have a major characteristic of paraphrasing to modernise Aristotle's rhetoric. In the first place, rhetoric is a method for inquiring into and communicating about the realm of the contingent. Inquiry and communication are two areas of a single practice of managing contingency. Second, the inquiry into contingency yields opinions of variable validity and ability but not certain knowledge. In this manner, it is clear that opinion is the material. Third, the proper mode of working with opinion is Deliberation, involving dialogue and debate that relies primarily on probability as in poetry. Fourth, rhetorical deliberation and decision-making is audience centred. It seeks to persuade or gain the adherence of an audience that is neither 'universal' as philosophy nor imaginary.

Although Rhetoric has existed for as long as language, most scholars agree that it is self-conscious practice and study that began in classical Greece in the Fifth Century BCE. One could argue that African Rhetoric's motive in ancient Egypt was to use speech to promote and sustain a moral life grounded in some principles. Johnstone & Eisenhart (2008) agree that discourse in context is one of the most fundamental disciplinary practices in Rhetoric. Aristotle was said to have discussed the components of a speaking situation and vividly drawn the connection of rhetoric to public and civic discourse.

Sloan et al. (1971) advocated the study of rhetoric to include subjects which have not 'traditionally fallen' within the jurisdictions of spoken and unspoken perspectives. It was suggested that rhetoric be applied to any human act, process, product or artefact that may tend to 'formulate, sustain or modify attention, perspective, attitudes or behaviours.' Burke (1966) posited that 'symbolicity' included not only talk but also all other human symbol systems. He encouraged

analysis of symbolic in all their forms, including mathematics, music, sculpture, painting, dance, architectural styles and so on. However, Ehniger (1972) held a varied opinion whilst considering the thought behaviours of humans. To him, attitude and behaviour through the strategic use of symbols are necessary for the study of visual rhetoric.

Gellrich (1990) identifies that Aristotle's rhetoric claims that the motive of rhetoric is to show 'the facts, what is or what is not, what has or has not happened.' However, the view of language represented is hidden in the text by the rhetoric of Aristotle's argument and by His analyses of specific categories of rhetoric. In effect, language is a part of the significance of rhetoric and other related practices. Theorizing rhetoric implies an attitude that Aristotle endorsed and left as a legacy concerning the art of discourse. He admits that listeners and audiences deliberate about issues that effectively communicate otherwise.

Consequently, things that have been, will be or are now to be other than what they are during discourses and communication exchanges. In furtherance to this, Rhetoric by explanation becomes the study of language that relates to the conditional, not the absolute (Gellrich, 1990). This does isolate the fact that Rhetoric is concerned with persuasion.

The three Rhetorical Appeals are specific to Rhetoric and the persuasive process. According to Aristotle, these appeals denote ways by which people are persuaded. First is Logos, a Greek word with varied meanings such as Facts and Logic. Also meaning Reason, relates to how people are persuaded by thoughts, evidence and cognition. Here, anything used to appeal on an individual's rational side of thought, conscience or intellect is termed Logos. Second is Ethos, which is best described and linked to authority and credibility. An appeal to Ethos is that

which demonstrates an author's and, in some cases, a speaker's honesty and trustworthiness. It also looks to the author or speaker's expertise. By this, the author and/or speaker's action are of high interest. This is because these actions place the speaker in a position which must be positive in the sight of the audience.

These positive actions pass as an appeal to Ethos. Again, the Author, who may also be the Speaker or Writer (depending on the context), has built expertise from previous experiences. These experiences make the Audiences accept that the Author is an expert on the subject matter under discussion at a given time—finally, Pathos can be described as the opposite of Logos. Loosely translated as emotions, Pathos is an appeal to an audience's feelings, be it sadness, joy, anger, sympathy or all other emotions. To Aristotle, Logos is the most important of the three appeals because it is the most reliable. It is reliable in the sense that it provides evidence and ensures credibility. That notwithstanding, the most effective persuasion occurs when all three appeals are used in the communication process. The study chose this theory for reasons that Rhetoric and its appeals relate to traditional discourse and practices in the traditional court. This is so in the sense that, through the observance of the traditional court protocols as well as the practices employed during the court proceedings, the appeals come to play. Thus, the reality of the appeals are embedded in the practices during court discourse in the traditional court.

The Rhetorical Triangle and Rhetorical Appeals

The three agents involved in the Rhetorical Triangle are present in everyday communication during human interaction. The Author, the Audience and the Text make up the three categories that help explain how communication works in any given situation. The various categories denote the roles played in the communication process. The Author is the bearer of the text. In other words, the

Author is the one communicating the text or the message. The Audience is the person or persons who receives the text or message. Ideally, the Text is the message transmitted between the Author and the Audience.

Rhetorical Triangle and Rhetorical Appeals

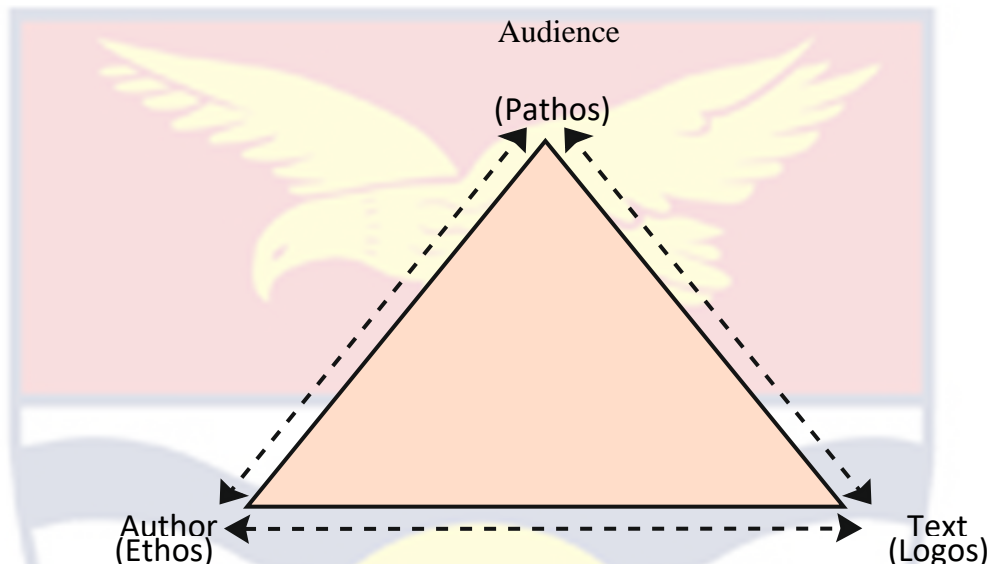


Fig. Rhetorical Triangle and Rhetorical Appeals

Source: Modified from Aristotle's Triangle

The Rhetorical Triangle and the Rhetorical Appeals help structure and distinguish rhetoric into well-identified and manageable parts. The Rhetorical Triangle and Rhetorical Appeals may appear unreal, but to a large extent, they help to label the communication process by adding meanings to the study of Rhetoric. As seen in the figure above, each appeal maps to an item. The appeals are not represented in isolation because each has its explanation within a given communication context. The arrows indicate an unending communication exchange process within any given communication process. With reference to this study at the traditional court, the primary audience (Complainant and Defendant) must be present at all proceedings. If one fails to appear, proceedings get cancelled. The message, which is the text (logos), is expected to be in a particular style which is further discussed in subsequent chapters. One needs to consider the author's

credibility (mediator) because the audience must trust his ways of carrying them through the proceedings.

Symbolic Interactionism Theory

Symbolic Interactionism is a social science theory that lays claims that ideas and facts sit on and focus on symbols. The building block of this theory is 'meaning' creation with respect to the symbols they present to humans. The theory examines the meaning derived from the everyday interactions of individuals within a social environment focusing on the meaning shared among individuals concerning which symbols and meanings are developed uniquely as these individuals or groups of people interact. Having its foundation from Mead and Blumer, the new symbolic interactionism posits a more synthetic idea which Fine (1992) refers to as the 'Post Blumerist.' Interactionists such as Mead (1934, 1938) among others, share a common notion that human interaction is the centrality of the theory of symbolic interactionism (Stryker & Vryan, 2003). As the founder of the theory, Mead argues that symbols develop the mind, which is the source of thought processing and communication for humans (Ashworth 2000). Korgen and White (2008) dwelt on how people interact in their day-to-day activities and generate meaning through their daily interactions. LaRossa and Reitzes (1993) argue that Mead never published any work on it, although he was considered the theory's father. This theory suggests that the concept of self is created by three principles: *Meaning*- that one acts towards and things according to the meaning applied to them; *Language*- that one negotiates meaning through symbols and *Thought*- that the idea of thought modifies interpretations.

Symbolic Interactionism implies that without communication, there would not be the existence of self-concept. This is to say that human action and interaction

are understandable only through exchanging meaningful communication and symbols. The study seeks to employ varied means of communication, not only limited to verbal communication but communication involving symbols. This makes the theory a relevant choice among the theories chosen to unearth the ideas the study will generate.

Primary to the idea of Symbolic Interactionists thought is the idea that individuals use language and significant symbols in their communication with others. Symbolic interactionists dwell on interpreting subjective individual viewpoints and how each individual makes meaning of their world from the exquisite, if not unique, standpoints and perspectives. The Symbolic Interactionism Theory answered the perspective on society that influenced sociology, such as Talcott Parson's structural functionalism, being a positivist approach dominant in all ways, the society was examined in a 'top-down' approach emphasizing macro-level institutions and social structures not excluding how they impose on and restrict individuals.

Symbolic Interactionism was developed to expound the ideologies and dealings of society from 'bottom-top', shifting the focus to micro-level processes that arise during face-to-face encounters. The theory has extended to different fields despite limiting its scope to social psychological perspectives as well as sociology. Harre (1992), for instance, lays symbolic interactions at the heart of psychology, showing how selves, attitudes, motives, genders and emotions are discursive results and products of conversations rather than mental abilities and entities. Denzin (1992) mentions how Blumer stressed how the self emerges from joint action. Like Mead, Blumer saw individuals as involved in 'mind action.'

Humans constantly are occupied in mindful action where they manipulate symbols and negotiate the meaning of situations (Mead, 1934).

Using the term 'interaction' places symbolic interactionists to commit themselves to the study and analysis of the developmental course of action that occurs when two or more persons (or agents) with the agency (reflexivity) join their lines of action together into action as earlier mentioned. Giddens's Interactionist Model identifies that every individual is a practical social agent, but human agents are constrained by structural rules, by material resources and by the structural processes connected to class, gender, race, ethnicity, nation and community. Symbolic Interactionism rests on the following root assumptions (Blumer, 1980). Lamle & Aigbovbiosa (2019) exemplify that 'object, humans, conditions and events' represent an in-depth meaning of symbolic concepts and ideologies. However, meaning is linked to the ideologies of objects, humans, and conditions through human interaction.

The theory assumes, first and foremost that human beings act towards things based on meanings that the things have for them. Second, the meaning of things arises out of the process of social interactions. Third, meanings are modified through an interpretive process which involves self-reflective individuals symbolically interacting with one another. Fourth, human beings create the worlds of experience in which they live. Fifth, the meanings of these worlds come from interaction, and they are shaped by self-reflections persons bring to their situations. Sixth, self-interactions are interwoven with social interaction and influences in such situations. It continues with a seventh, which asserts that joint acts, their formulation, dissolution, conflict and merger constitute what Blumer calls the 'social life of a human society.' A society consists of the joint or social acts formed

and carried out by (its) members. Last but not least, the eighth asserts that a complex interpretive process shapes the meanings things have for human beings.

Muted Group Theory

The Muted Group Theory has a firm foundation developed by the Arderners in 1960. The theory developed by Shirley and Edwin Ardener in the late 1960s posits that because language is man-made, women remain reduced and excluded. West and Turner (2010) assert that Kramarae (2014) brings out three assumptions which directly deal with communication. To Kramarae, the three assumptions outline a picturesque view of the Muted Group Theory. To this, the three assumptions posit that, first and foremost, women view the world differently from men because men and women experience different perceptions. The difference is grounded in the division of labour between men and women. Second, men gain power politically and always keep their political supremacy by preventing women's opinions, ideologies, and meaning, from gaining public acceptance. Third, to be able to participate in society and its development, women must translate their unique ideas, meanings, experiences and exposure into male language or modes of expression. It is quite undeniable that, based on these assumptions, the place of the woman, even in language, sits within the confines of a male-dominated society.

The Muted Group Theory, however, identifies some flexibility in its approach (West and Turner, 2010). The flexibility mentions the underlying differences between the Arderners and Kramarae in applying the theory. Whereas the Arderners looked at the theory through the lenses of diverse cultures, Kramarae used the theory within the context of male and female communication in the United States of America. Because culture is dynamic and may vary from culture to

culture, the Muted Group theory stands to fit within the Ghanaian context accurately or partially. The study then identified a meeting point that places the Ghanaian woman at the centre of society and its development. Prah (1996) argues that women's involvement and contribution in the nation-building rests primarily on economic development. To this, the Ghanaian woman is recognized to be robust in development in the informal sector, identifying the woman as the main bread basket to the nation's economic growth and development. This goes to support Kramarae's first assumption, which posits that women may be different from men by the division of labour. Prah (1996) provides a grousing to accept that the contribution of women in economic development in the informal sector is more readily made visible and acknowledged than their contributions and effort in the formal sector. Since men have created words and norms, women are disadvantaged in public discussions and deliberations. As an anthropologist, Edwin Ardener thought of the male-based understanding of society and their representation as a dominant worldview making other groups silenced and muted. As women become less muted and more vocal, the dominant position of males in society will diminish.

The theory suggests that women are constrained in the sense that generally accepted language practices have been generated by men. Muted Group Theory further opines that people attached or assigned to subordinate groups may have a lot to say, but they tend to possess a little will to say it without finding themselves in trouble. Those in the dominant positions disrespect their speech, and their ideas and views are not considered enough for open or public decision-making or policy-making processes of that culture.

Furthermore, the theory addresses how the discourse of dominant groups is centred in society while the perception and experiences of others are marginalized.

This theory describes the communicative nature of marginalization by examining how opportunities for voice and resistance to being silenced are socially constructed and grounded in cultural identity and group membership. The theory is based on the idea articulated by Edwin and Shirley Ardener that every society has cultural groups traditionally muted, given less access than members of the dominant group to public discourse and to having individual and community concerns.

In some cultures, this theory has most often been used to explain how gender differences in power are perpetuated. It has been applied to other identity groups, including those based on racial identity, age, geography and workplace status. Unlike social scientific theories that aim to predict behaviour, this theory describes the phenomenon of muting. It helps one to understand and interpret situations where not everyone is given an opportunity to participate fully in social discourse. The theory helps to explain the rather muted role of the woman within the traditional court. The theory also explains the idea of the silent role of the woman in the traditional court.

Conceptual Models for the Study

The model below is designed by the author to conceptualise the ideas of the theories used for the study. The model, named 'Model of Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange', presents the ideas of Sustainability and the SDG (Goals 5 and 16), the Rhetoric, and Symbolic Interactionism theories. It discusses the Muted Group theory by hiding the concept in the theory of Rhetoric and Symbolic Interactionism to denote the purpose of 'mute', thereby making the voice of the female 'silent' as denoted in the muted group theory and in effect creating the idea that the Muted Group presents a rather silent woman. However, the model

does not create room for that representation of the ‘muted’ but hides its ideas in the ethical form of traditional court room discourse concerning Nae We Traditional Court.

The conflict mediation process in the traditional court is positioned as the core of the model. The explanation is that the process of mediation and other activities surrounding it calls for the total use of the theories for the study. The concepts such as symbolism, language, ethics and others may occur in other contexts, but for this study, the mediation is the core around which these concepts manifest. The Model in three circled segments has the outer appearing more significant which is marked segment three, inner segment is segment two and the last circled is segment one referring to Rhetoric, Symbolic Interactions and Cultural Sustainability, respectively. The Rhetorical Practices, the Symbolic Interactions, which capture individuals’ experiences and varied meanings, and communication using gestures and body language to ascertain truth, among others, are considered under the process of the mediation.

The Rhetoric appeals thus Ethos, Logos and Pathos appear at the circumference of the model. Each of the appeals explain concepts derived from the traditional courtroom discourse. Logos concerns itself with the use of proverbs and symbols as language, Ethos as the ethical protocols observed at the traditional court and Pathos as the gestures seen during courtroom discourse. The Rhetoric serves to embrace Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Sustainability. At the centre is ‘Mediation’ which is the common idea that all three theories find a focus within the confines of this study.

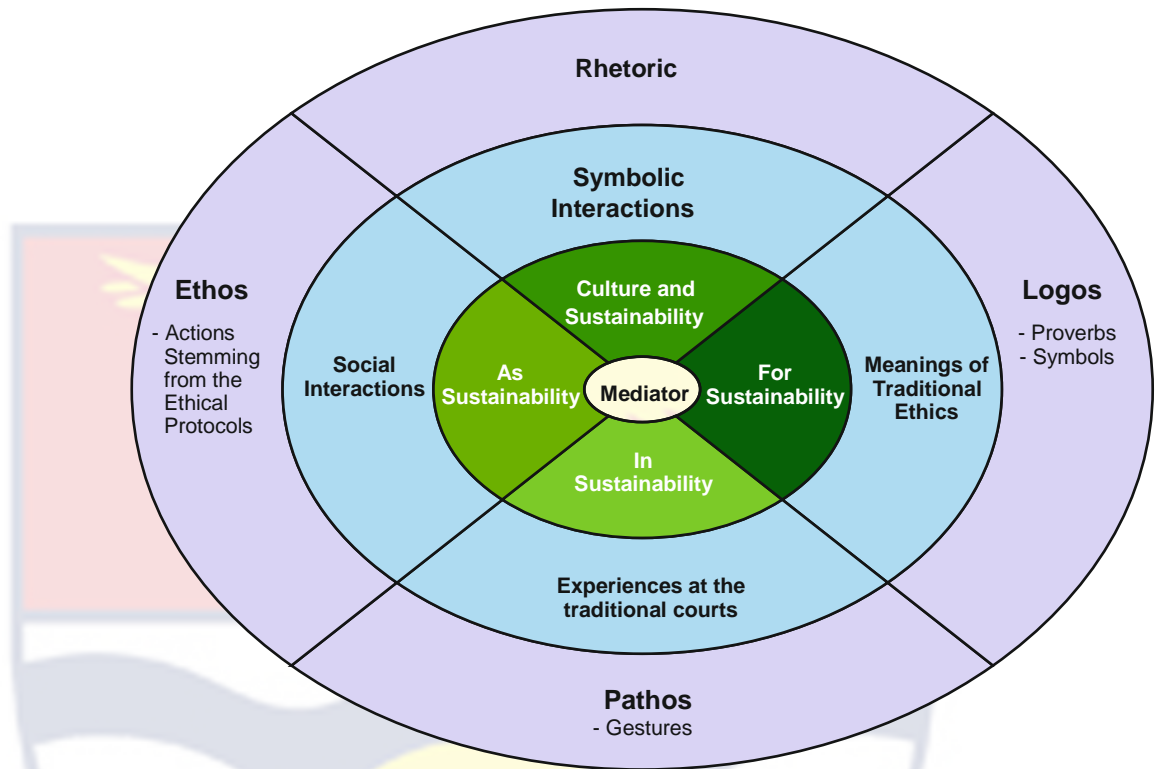


Figure 1: Model of Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange
Sources: Author's Construct (2022)

The model further serves as a bedrock for analysing the research questions in Chapter 1, earlier discussed. The question of rhetorical practices the influence of gender on mediation, among others, was placed within the confines of the model for further deliberations and analysis. This model generates themes for analysis for further discussion in the next chapter. The model is, however liberal to neutral ideas that may not fall under the themes of the theories and concepts of the model. To an extent it is open to ideas that fall within concepts and ideas discussed in the model.

The study discusses another model the author designed, the Cultural Sustainability and SDG Block of Traditional Discourse. Divided into three blocks and joined with arrows, the theory shows the interrelation of Soini et al (2015) idea

of Culture *As*, *In* and *For* Sustainability concepts. The model, however, specifically rests on SDG Goals 5 and 16 as its major bedrock whilst capturing aspects of Language, Symbolism, Civil Society and Traditional Ethics, as well as the metaphor of the Wisdom of the Old Woman, which existent in language during the mediation and resolution of conflict in the traditional courts.

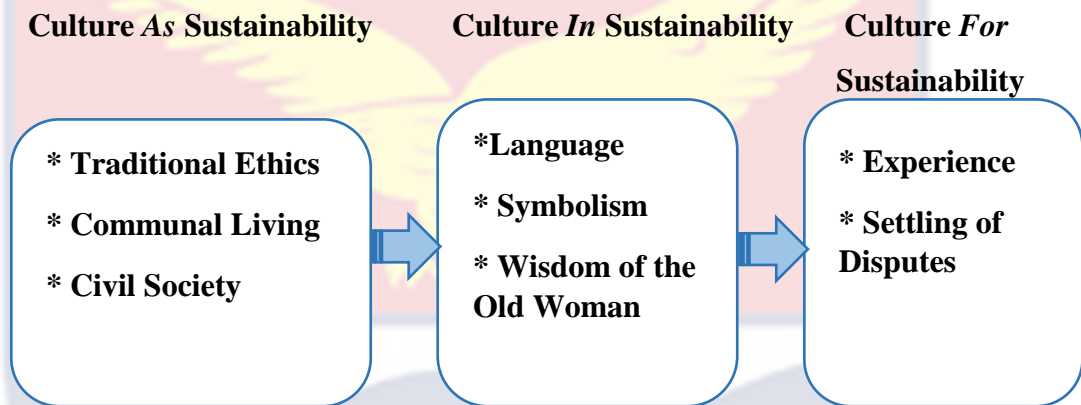


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework: Cultural Sustainability Model

Sources: Author's Construct (2022)

The above model establishes an interrelationship between Culture *As* Sustainability, Culture *In* Sustainability and Culture *For* Sustainability. For each of the blocks in the model above, concepts linked to the research are represented in sub-themes linked to the study's main theme. The ideas arrowed maps to each block to draw the connection between the themes, indicating that for the role that culture plays in sustainability, it does not do so in isolation but has an association which serves to make the concept whole.

To conclude, this chapter discussed the theories, framework and other models relevant for the study. It further explained how relevant the models constructed for the study bring out the ideas to be analysed in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study explored rhetorical practices as a tool for conflict mediation in the Nae We Traditional Court, Gbese, Jamestown in the Greater Accra Region. This chapter focused on the methods and techniques used to carry out the research. The Research Design, Study Area, Population, Sample Procedure, Data Collection Procedure, Data Collection Instruments, and Data Analysis Procedure employed in the study are also discussed in this chapter.

Research Design

The research adopted a qualitative approach, particularly Phenomenology and Narrative Analysis. These emphasized description of communication situations. Priest (2002) sees the qualitative approach in social science research as using general observation, in-depth and verbal description in place of numerical approaches or techniques. To gather first-hand information, observation and participatory method were employed. The observation method assisted in granting first-hand experience of seeing the mediators perform duties. Phenomenology helped to generate an in-depth knowledge and understanding of individuals' lived experiences taking into careful consideration the real mindset of experience, which is embedded in an inquiry that looks into cases in real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident (Giorgi, 2009; Yin, 2003). This approach by assumption enabled the respondents of the conflict mediation process to be understood from their individual viewpoints and perspectives (Todres & Holloway, 2006). The main focus, therefore, on phenomenological research was to retell, and narrate the human experience as lived

by the experienced in a manner that can be used as a tool or reference for qualitative evidence.

Phenomenology does not address the social context of lived experiences (Landridge & Ahern, 2003). Based on this weakness, I added narrative description and observation to generate a storytelling strategy to inform the understanding of a phenomenon within a social context. Observation provided first-hand information to me as a researcher getting an almost equal experience of the respondents' or actors' experiences. Narrative descriptions of fewer cases are dealt with when issues are private. The research used description as a tool to reorganize information into sections during the analyses of data.

Study Area/Population

This study was conducted in Nae We, Gbese-Jamestown in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana.

Greater Accra Region: Gbese-Jamestown, Location and Population

The Greater Accra Region of Ghana is located in the southern coastal stretch of Ghana. The region is surrounded by the borders of the Eastern Region on the north and east by the Volta Region, on the west by the Central Region and by the Gulf of Guinea on the south. The Greater Accra Region occupies a land area of about 3,245 square kilometres which is 1.4% of the least land area of Ghana (GSS, 2012; GSS, 2013b). The 2021 Population and Housing Census by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) reported 30.8 million as Ghana's population figure. Out of the total population figure, the Greater Accra Region was reported to be the most populous overtaking the Ashanti Region, which has been the most populous since 1970. The Greater Accra Region has a population of 5,446,237 which is 17.7% of the total population of Ghana (GSS, 2021b).out of the total population captured,

and the male population was 2,674,192 and 2,772,045 female. It is glaring from the figures that the number of female population outweighs that of the male population in the Greater Accra Region.

The region has the highest population density, with 1,236 ople per square kilometre, over 5.5 times the density observed in the next largest region, Ashanti Region. The concentration of the number of people living in the region results from the rural-to-urban migration due to poor socio-economic conditions in the rural areas. The Greater Accra Region inhabits more urban dwellers than rural dwellers, making the region the most urbanized in the country. As a researcher, I have developed an interest in the communication exchanges in traditional settings such as the traditional court.

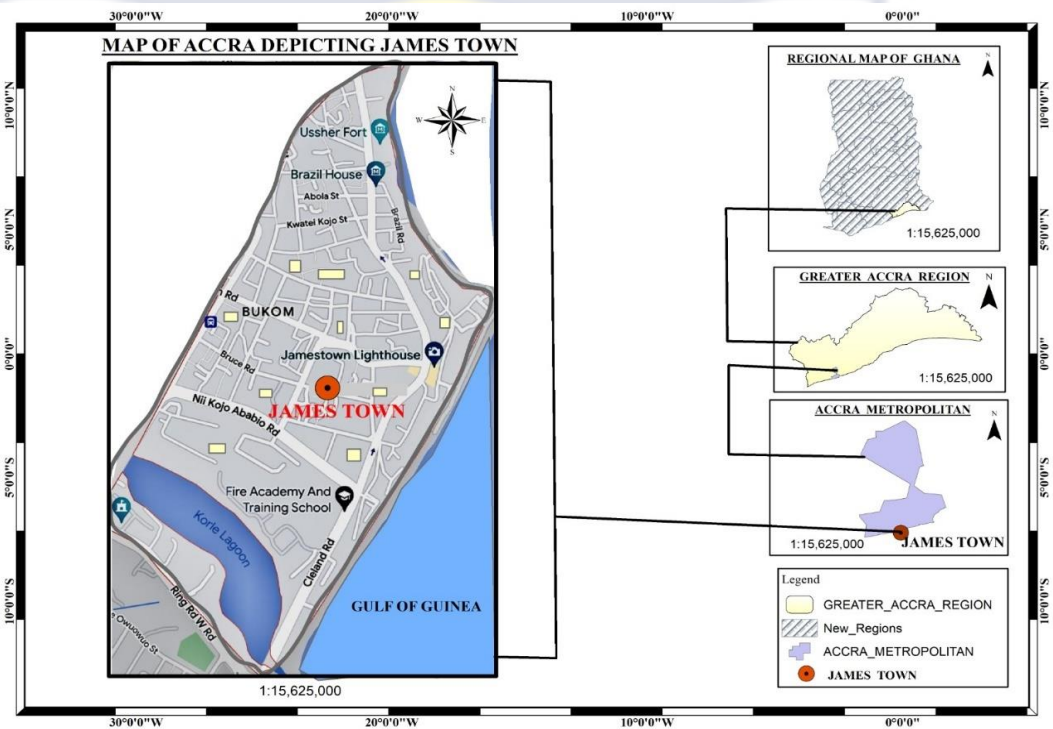


Fig: Map of Accra depicting Jamestown, Greater Accra Region

Source: Department of Geography Education, University of Education Winneba.

The People called Ga

Ga is derived from the word *Gaga* (army ants), the name of the big black ants which bite severely (Reindorf, 1895). Known in Akan as *nkranee*, the aggressive nature of the ants was attributed to the prowess and bravery of Ga speaking immigrant tribes. The inability of the Portuguese to pronounce the name derived a corrupted version of the name Akra. (Watson-Quartey, 2011). The people called Ga belong to the Ga Dangbe group of the Kwa, who inhabit the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast. The Kwa group of Africa include the Ga Dangbe, Ewe, Akwapim, Fanti, Kwahu, Akim and Ashanti. Whilst some people believe that the Ga group of the Kwa migrated from Nigeria, others believe that they were part of Israel that migrated towards the South along the Congo River, towards the West through Cameroon, Nigeria, Benin, Togo and finally settled in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. Amartey (1991) holds a different opinion that Ga were believed to have once resided along the eastern part of the banks of the River Nile during the rulership of Thothmes II, the then Pharaoh of Egypt, circa 1700-1250 BCE, a period when the Israelites had also settled on the land of Goshen from the eastern part of the River Nile (Amartey, 1991). The Ga Mashie settlement, which occupies modern Accra, comprises the seven quarters known in Ga as *Akutseii*. These seven are *Asere*, *Sempe*, *Abola*, *Gbese*, *Akunmadzei*, *Otublohm* and *Ngleshi Alata*.

The small area known as Gbese is situated inside Jamestown (a town with the accolade 'British Accra'). The community is part of Ngleshie (a corrupted name for English) hence the accolade 'British Accra.' As a fishing community, Jamestown is bounded by James Fort and the High Street on the north and by, the

Gulf of Guinea on the south and the east by Ussher Town. One can locate the Nae We Traditional Court close to the Salaga Market in the south-east of Jamestown.

Population

The data collected was purposively sampled at the Nae We Traditional Court. Information needed was sought at the traditional court, where the traditional mediation actors in royal communication were seen in practice. The respondents necessary for the research participation were found in Nae We, Jamestown, within the Ga Mashie in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. Most of these respondents were traditional leaders who were elders at the traditional court. In addition, individuals who have had an experience at the Nae We traditional court were also part of the population sampled within the study area. This study area was chosen because of my linguistic knowledge of the study area and my affiliation as part of their culture and heritage as a Ga Dangme. In view of this, beginning from the known to the unknown will be advantageous. Knowledge of the known was also an avenue to sustain old and best practices which will foster meaningful coexistence among community members. However, my linguistic knowledge though an advantage did not affect the validity of the data sampled and analysed for the study.

Sample Procedure

The study adopted the purposive sampling method, the non-probability sampling method. Purposive sampling is a selection technique which is unique to specific sampling units such as individuals, groups and areas who are specifically chosen due to some characteristics which will enable an in-depth analysis of a phenomenon that a researcher desires to investigate (Kumekpor, 1999). The first stage of the sampling comprised the elders of the traditional court due to their

knowledge and expertise over the years at the court. Though members of the traditional court, they had different backgrounds; some were retirees of the civil service, reverend ministers and family heads. The next sampling stage involved the youth of the traditional court who played administrative roles in the traditional court. They included the messengers and the court bailiffs. The next sampling stage involved purposive sampling of defendants and complainants who had their cases settled at the traditional court. Information needed can only be sought at the traditional palace where the mediators in royal communication may be seen in action delivery speeches to and from the Chief. It is worth noting that criminal cases were not dealt with at the traditional court. Because of this, there are no cases such as theft, murder and other related criminal cases at the traditional court. For this study, all cases were sampled for analysis.

Data Collection Instruments

The research adopted the participant observer method and interviews. The observation method assisted in granting first-hand experience of seeing the mediation process and the actors (mediators and audiences) perform their duties.

Instruments

The instruments for data collection were the interview guide, observation guide, focus group discussion guide, and unstructured interview schedule.

Interview

The unstructured interview has been described as naturalistic, autobiographic, in-depth, narrative or non-directive (Blaxter et al., 1996). The view of the mediators was solicited in a face-to-face interview. Data was recorded however, in most instances, there were restrictions not to record with a recorder, but rather permission was given for notes to be written and pictures to be taken. In

some instances, the pictures taken were blurred to protect the individuals involved, although consent was granted before the pictures were taken. The interview schedule was used for the semi-scripted one-on-one interview with the traditional leaders. The elders, most of them being retirees from Public Service, could respond to questionnaires drawn from the interview schedules. However, I chose the interview because of the freedom to ask and probe further for other information that may be absent from the schedule. The interview scheduled to last for at most 20 minutes per interviewee helped elicit responses as respondents were expected to be relaxed during the process. The traditional leaders, being elders at the traditional courts and experts in the courts, could provide first-hand information to the protocols exercised at the traditional court, not excluding the appropriate language used during the conflict mediation process. It is on the premise of the above that I chose to add interviews (in-depth) to the instruments as a detailed background about the reasons for which respondents gave specific information and answers was confirmed (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Also, I was able to gather detailed data related to the open expression of emotions (through anger, uneasiness, anxiety, etc), opinions, values, motivations, experiences, and feelings of respondents.

Although the language was in the local Ghanaian language (Ga), a few sentences in English were used by respondents during interactions and cross-examination during the mediation processes. Other tools used include a camera, recorder, and notepad. Data collected was transcribed from the audio into text and later translated into English. For the authenticity of data transcription, the transcription was given to an expert in the Ga language to transcribe and translate into English. Another professional was tasked to reversely translate the data from

English to Ga. This was to check the accuracy of the transcription and translation of the data. The key respondents comprising traditional leaders, men and women (who have sought and are yet to seek resolution of cases at the traditional court) responded to questions related to tradition, conflict resolution in the traditional court system, use of language (metaphor, proverbs, symbols), emotional and psychological states before, during and after conflict mediation in the traditional court. Knowledge about these built an awareness between the researcher and the respondents. The convenience attached to using this instrument is that it allowed room for the researcher to observe the non-verbal cues of the respondents. Human gestures, body language and facial expressions may not be written in-depth. Therefore, the face-to-face interview provided an avenue to see the respondents in their natural selves over time as they interacted with the researcher. Though time-consuming, the interview as an instrument gave room to probe further as the researcher and respondents interacted. Over time, the respondent highly forgot about the presence of the recorder and further assumed a relaxed posture during the interview process.

Observation Guide

I used the observation as a tool of reinforcement and emphasis to confirm the responses received during the interview sessions. The focus of issues captured was the sitting protocol at the traditional court, gender distribution, the position of both the mediator, complainant and accused, and other traditional leaders (Spiritual Head/Chief Priest) and symbols. The data from observation aided in confirming the data collected through the interviews. This is because I could reconcile the interview with the sitting arrangement during court sessions. These data were picked with the help of the camera and note-taking. At a point, I was instructed not

to record proceedings with a camera, but I was allowed to watch only. It was quite challenging, and to get a picture after the proceedings at the traditional court, I created a chart to serve as a guide to some of the key things I needed to observe. The chart aided in viewing and recording objectively and recalling after the end of proceedings. I used the chart to raise some questions for further interactions with respondents after each proceeding.

Despite the nine cases that I observed, I realized that, at each stage of the observation process, participants and audiences exhibited similar, if not the same, characteristics each time. The observation assisted me in ensuring that the information gathered on the field was equal to what I observed instead of relying solely on the testimonies of respondents. The chart below captures audiences under observation by the researcher before, during and after proceeding and hearing of cases at the traditional court as indicated below. On the table, the study captured gestures and the ambience observed before, during and after proceedings.

Table 1: Observation Chart for Field Work

	Gestures	Ambience	Remarks
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sitting position ● Body language 		
Before Proceedings	Fidgety	Tensed	Elders opened up the conversation to begin proceedings. This calmed audiences.
During Proceedings	Composed and coordinated	Relaxed and composed	Elders provided assurance to audiences through dialogue.
After Proceedings	Accustomed	Homely	Audience appeared satisfied.

Source: Author's fieldwork 2022.

The table above also captures the outcome of the observation in the remarks. The chart served as a guide to check the gestures and ambiance during observation at the traditional court.

Focus Group Discussion Guide

Unlike person-to-person interviews, which aim at obtaining individual attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) bring out varied views and emotional processes within a group situation and environment. In the FGD, my interest in such a situation was to experience how individuals, when put together for the same goal, respond to each other's views to derive some conclusions from the group interactions (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The focus group discussion covered the use of language during conflict mediation, how symbols are interpreted, how gender influences the mediation process at the traditional court and whether the conventional mode of conflict mediation is ideal in a cosmopolitan community like Jamestown in Accra. Respondents in the group were not less than six (6) or more than ten (10). The Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is a rapid assessment data gathering method in which a purposively selected set of participants gather to discuss issues and concerns based on a list of key themes drawn up by the researcher (Kumar, 2019). As a qualitative technique, Krueger (1998) also defined the concept as a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive non-threatening environment.

After gathering respondents (traditional leaders, individuals at the court (men and women)) to a sitting, I briefed them on the goals of the research and what the research aims to achieve. Their confidentiality to the exercise was also made known.

Community Entry

Before the start of the fieldwork, informal interviews and observations were conducted with elders and other key informants within the study area to familiarise and explain study's purpose. The informal conversation was also necessary to obtain permission to visit the traditional court. For this reason, the secretary to the traditional court at Nae We Traditional Court was Gbese-Jamestown received a bottle of Castle Bridge and an amount of money. The presentation, an act of customary practice, is symbolic of knocking on a home's door. The acceptance of the drink and money is symbolic of permission granted to the visitor, in my case, a researcher in the study area. I then assured them of making the study findings available after the work's completion. Furthermore, the researcher emphasized that the work is solely for academic purposes, even though some individuals may be mentioned. The researcher further explained that the mention of the names was to ensure the authenticity of the data collected. After all these, the researcher once again assured them that the research was necessary and required for the PhD thesis.

Appointments and Visits

In all, the researcher made nine (9) visits. The researcher spent nine (9) days on different days and appointments at the research venue, Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown. These visits were first preceded by telephone calls with some key informants to seek an audience and to confirm their availability. This was necessary because the research site is where most traditional practices are performed. In view of this, the researcher was likely to meet elders who were either unavailable or may be engaged in other duties apart from their responsibilities at the traditional court. Despite these eventualities, the researcher made appointments to visit traditional court sittings to observe and listen to proceedings.

Despite the appointments made before visiting the research site, there were instances in which cases were adjourned because one party refused to appear for a hearing because of one reason or another. Interactions with key informants occasionally followed successful visits and hearings of cases. Visits were made in January, March, April, October and November 2022. In November 2022, the visits were considered as mop-up visits to clarify some information gathered earlier during data collection.

During the first visit in January 2022, the researcher presented a drink and an undisclosed amount of money as the practice for ‘knocking’ to seek permission to access the premises and community entry. In October 2022, the researcher again presented another drink and an undisclosed amount of money to interact with the spiritual head (Nae Wulomo) of Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown. Below is the flow of visits, interviews and activities of data collection for the study.

Table 2: Data Collection Chart/ Schedule

Stage / Duration	Activity	Actors/ Outcome
Community Entry (1) 1 hour 30 minutes	Presentation of Drink and money for symbolic knocking	Acceptance Traditional Court Mediator 1
Data Collection (2) 2 hours 45 minutes	Observation 2	Mediators, Council of Elders Audiences
Data Collection (3) 3 hours	Observation 3 Hearing of Case (Marital Case of Infidelity) Key Informant Interview 1	Mediators, Council of Elders Audiences Traditional Court ‘Warlord’
Data Collection (4) 2 hours	Observation 4 Hearing of Case (Restriction of freedom	Mediators, Council of Elders Audiences Traditional Court Bailiff

	of Worship- Uncle and Nephew) Key Informant Interview 2	
Data Collection (5) 3 hours	Observation 5 Hearing of Case (Verbal abuse) Key Informant Focus Group Discussion 1	Mediators, Council of Elders Audiences Traditional Court Secretary, Mediator 1, 3 Participants
Data Collection (6)	Key Informant Interview 4 Focus Group Discussion 2	Chief Priest/ Spiritual Head Traditional Court Apprentice, 3 Participants
Data Collection (7)	Observation 6 Hearing of Case (Chieftaincy dispute) Key informant Interview 5	Mediators, Council of Elders Audiences Traditional Court Apprentice 2
Data Collection (8)	Observation 7 Hearing of Case (Family Property) Key Informant Interview 6	Mediators, Council of Elders Audiences Traditional Court Bailiff

Source: Author's Field Work 2022

Data Processing and Analysis

The language was in the local Ghanaian language (Ga) or English. Local language data was transcribed from audio to text and then translated into English. Other tools used include a camera, recorder and notepad. Data was recorded, and a backup was taken in written form. The study, a qualitative approach, was analysed under specific themes. Research Data from the field was first cross-

checked and edited to ensure that responses were obtained for all the questions in the interview guide and the focus group discussion guide.

Emerging themes from the data collected were identified for subsequent coding and analysis. The tape recordings of the interviews and the Focus Group Discussion were also transcribed and categorised under specific themes for the analysis. This is relevant because quotations of field events from the data to support the argument was easier to identify when categorised into themes. After the transcription and translation of data collected, data were coded manually. The coded interview data gathered captured the interview venue and the interviewee. Interview with Asafoatse Abrantie is coded NWA 101, NSH 201 refers to the interview with Spiritual Head (Wulomo) and finally, NWM 301 for Asafoatse Mpata. NWA 101 is found in Appendix E, and NSH 201 is found in Appendix F. Some aspects of the data were analysed in a narrative description form, especially those data dealing with historical events and occurrences. The phenomenological aspect of the study equally required some respondents to tell of their experiences at the traditional courts. This retelling was analysed in a narrative and descriptive manner to provide a similar picture of the respondents' experience.

Ethical Considerations

Research of this nature requires ethical issues to be dealt with and managed accordingly. Considering the emotional and psychological implications that arise during the mediation of conflicts, I resolved to adhere to the cultural norms of the research area strictly. In view of this, several ethical directives were outlined and used during and after the study. The study was guided by the protocols spelt out during community entry on the first visit.

Ethical considerations are used to negotiate entry to the field site of research (Hatch, 2002). At the traditional court, I adhered to some protocols to be allowed entry into the premises. Customarily, I was expected to provide a bottle of an alcoholic drink (Schnapp or Castle Bridge) and an undisclosed amount of money sealed in an envelope. This practice symbolized a 'knocking' ceremony to be allowed access to the traditional court premises. As part of clothing, I was asked not to wear dark-coloured clothing to the premises. I was asked to cover my hair with a scarf because of my hair which is dreadlocks with a scarf. Due to the nature of some of the cases that I witnessed and observed, the goal of the research was explained and detailed to the respondents. Respondents were not strictly obligated to respond to questions that violated their privacy. Some of these cases included but were not limited to marital issues. Such cases require the utmost consent from respondents. Also, some respondents and members of the audience wanted their faces blurred in the pictures taken. All these were adhered to because the informed consent was verbal. The venue proved the originality of the information, and the consent of the participants made the findings credible. After the study, the researcher returned to the field to conduct a final check. The check involved participants, thus key informants going through the work to endorse their consent once again. This was to ensure that pictures taken and other information gathered were acknowledged. The study also used the medium to finally solicit the consent of key informants who were interviewed to confirm the information collected as used in the analysis of the study.

The Study in Context of Afrocentricity and Afrocentric Paradigm

Afrocentric theorist such Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Mazama have strong methods and principles which aim at situating African ideas, methods and

phenomena. These serve to interpret and conceptualise the nuances embedded in most cultural appropriate African realities. Pellerin (2012) shares thoughts on Afrocentricity and describes it as a performance. As a performance it functions as a governing tool of vibrant avenues which generate discourse in retelling social phenomena and can eventually help in the redevelopment of researches. This study set to describe a social phenomenon among the people who channel their unresolved cases to the Nae We traditional court in Gbese, Jamestown Accra. As a way of telling their own stories concerning their experiences at Nae We.

Afrocentricity is situated within philosophical and theoretical make up in the discipline of African Studies which conceptualises law generalisations, theories and methods (Pellerin, 2012). Mazama (2003) identifies three facets of Afrocentric paradigm thus 1. Affective, cognitive, conative. 2. Structural 3. Functional. Asante (2007) outlines five basic characteristics of an Afrocentric project. Within the space of a methodological frame, Afrocentricity performs a foundational role of exploratory, explanatory and descriptive research. In building the characteristics to suit African culture, Asante (2007) situates the first of the characteristics in a psychological location. To this, Asante refers to priority given to direction and orientation within which Africans operate. The direction and orientation are determined by symbols, motifs, rituals, signs and language that Africans create within a communication situation (Asante, 2007 p. 42). In this study, the Nae We Traditional Court at Gbese, Jamestown, Accra communicates using signs, symbols, artefacts and the artistic use of language.

The second fundamental quality is to find an African topic to situate it within African context. All phenomena, whether social, political, financial, or spiritual or otherwise, clearly identify Africana people as the primary topic.

Afrocentrists must thus exercise caution in identifying African individuals, thoughts, and ideas as subjects (Asante, 2007: 42). A defence of African cultural components is the third trait. In other words, Africana culture must be fully protected and defended (Asante, 2007; 43). It is important to preserve Africana values, practices, habits, religions, behaviours, and views and to avoid any interpretations that are not authentically African. This study has a component which identified the relationship to blend practice and preserve the cultural heritage of the traditional court. Owing to its long existence, it is evident that Africentricity laud the preservation of culture as one of its tenets as advocated by Asante (2007). Commitment to lexical refinement is the fourth quality. Accordingly, the individual who places Africana reality in context has to understand the subject role that all Africana phenomena play (Asante, 2007: 43) this implies that Africana social-historical experiences and languages are the basis of the names and classifications used to characterise Africana people, rather than being borrowed from other cultures. The dedication to a new Africana narrative is the last fundamental feature of an Afrocentric enterprise. This means writing a fresh, accurate account of African history worldwide (Asante, 2007: 44).

Summary of Chapter

This chapter focused on the methods and techniques used to carry out the research. The Research Design, Study Area, Population, Sample Procedure, Data Collection Procedure, Data Collection Instruments, and Data Analysis Procedure employed in the study were also discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FORMS OF RHETORICAL PRACTICES IN THE NAE WE

TRADITIONAL COURT

Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study under three broad categories. It analysed results by referring to theories which drive the research. In the context of this research, rhetorical practices are defined not simply as appeals, thus ethos, pathos and logos, but also from a wider perspective which embraces discourse, symbolic and visual communication. It looks into a more meaning-making discourse that encapsulates discourse, symbolism derived from the artefacts and visual rhetoric represented in traditional court communication exchanges. The chapter further refers to data gathered on the field for evidence and subsequent explanations.

Rhetorical Practices and the Use of Language in the Traditional Court

This section discusses how the forms of rhetorical practices are represented in the Nae We Traditional Court. It further responds to the “objective to explore the forms of rhetorical practices represented in the Nae We Traditional Court” Research Objective One (RO1) by answering the question “how are the forms of rhetorical practices represented in the Nae We Traditional Court” Research Question (RQ1). The arguments are further expanded with the model of communication exchange as well as the rhetorical triangle.

The Opening and Call to Order

Communication practices are studied to become part of human existence over a period of time. One significant practice that begins proceeding is the *call to order*. Like a welcoming address, the traditional court at Nae We call to order to

begin proceedings by first announcing the presence of goodwill. Here, the Asafoatse known as the 'Warlord', calls '*Agoo, Twa twa twa ni omanyaba!*' The audience present responds '*Hiao*' in agreement. At other times the call is made by the Spokesman/ Mediator seated before the Council of Elders. In traditional Ghanaian communities, '*Agoo*' is a form of symbolic knocking which exudes the response '*Amee.*' To this call, the elder symbolically uses language to knock on the audiences' doors to request their attention for the commencement of proceedings. The elder uses his authority to appeal to the audience; by implication and about the rhetorical appeals, *ethos* is employed in this instance.

As a form of performance, the call equally requires that all conversations or activities that may not be relevant to the gathering must cease to make way for the main agenda at the court. To this, everyone responds that peace and understanding bring everyone together to a sitting. After the call and response of goodwill, the first mediator, identified as Mediator 1, seated in the presence of five (5) Council of Elders, introduces the purpose of gathering with a subtle warning by saying, '*If you do not know and you are accused you may be pardoned but if you know and you do the wrong thing you will not be pardoned.*' Figuratively, he uses this expression to announce the courtroom protocols before the hearing of cases commences. This Call is also made during the pouring of libation. A call to involve the ancestry and to request permission for some traditional proceedings to begin. During naming ceremonies, informal family gatherings and other meetings, the call symbolically assembles all present to be organised to begin the business set for the day.

In the case of the situation at the traditional court, the Call is a way of inviting the spirits to dwell in the meeting to resolve the conflict at hand. The

response reiterates the acceptance of the ancestry to participate in the meeting. This rhetorical practice is in line with Blake (2009) concerning the connection between ancestors and the living. Blake presents a scenario of how African cuisine is used to communicate with the ancestors. The difference is that no food is used during the communication exchange. However, language is used to invite the ancestors to be present. In the same vein, the Spiritual Head is greeted with a wish of goodwill. The greeting is preceded by first calling his title 'Nuumo' followed by '*he omany*', which means 'may you receive goodwill.' For this research, the title 'Spiritual Head' and 'Chief Priest' denotes the same personality. In performing his duties as the 'Chief Priest,' he is superior to eight (8) other priests. They are the Sakumo, Korle, Dantu, Osu Klottey, La Kpaa, Teshie, Legble and Gbobu Wolomei. All these priests pay him homage, making him the 'Chief Priest.' Meanwhile, his sacred office in the traditional court makes him the 'Spiritual Head.' In greeting, the 'giver' of the wish appeals first to the moral values of greeting 'an elderly (Nuumo)' and next appeals to the emotions of the one to whom he is being greeted. The response to this is simply a reverse of the goodwill that was given. The response may be described as an increased form of what is given. This is because '*Omany abla oo*' denotes that 'may goodwill envelope you.' In the traditional court and traditional Ga discourse, this form of greeting is paramount, especially to royals and, for this study, the Spiritual Head.

'*Omany*' means 'goodwill.' In a way, may all discussions, deliberations, resolutions and judgements end in goodwill. By this, it is expected that the two sides should be ready to settle matters by meeting each other at the centre of peaceful resolutions before and after proceedings. The opposing party should be ready to allow peace to exist, and the defendant who may have been accused of an

offence, if found guilty and culpable, should be prepared to pay for all damages and, in effect, concede defeat peacefully. It is worth noting that when the hearing is done for each, the call is once again made to bring the sitting to an end. Unlike the first call which the Mediators did, the final call for the close of proceedings is done by the Chief Priest/ Spiritual Head for cases in which he presides from the beginning. To this, he symbolically hits his palm towards the ground and calls out, ‘*Twa twa twa omanyé aba.*’ Once again, the audience respond in agreement. Once all three calls are responded to, a symbolic rise is done by all present, signalling the end of proceedings. The rise follows a rhetorical question from the Chief Priest; the response in this instance is the symbolic rise by all present at the traditional court.

For instance, in an issue over infidelity reported by a husband at the Nae We Traditional Court, it is expected that having listened to the husband and his wife, the centrality is for the wife to accept that she has been unfaithful to her husband and subsequently apologise.

Mei komei yaa ni enyiee shika be eefo, eeshwie eyiŋ ni ekéé hu
 aké afo ecase’ε nɔ shi ebaafee bo naakpée aké naanyomei ni
 baanyie eséé kéba ké shika ni ole aké ké oje jeme otee shia’a, ooya
 oyafo. shi ké ŋ’bo your side of the story’ε toi ni ŋ’analyse’ε,
 makéé bo aké ona saama néé ké osama obaagbee shi. Hewo oké le
 baawie koni eyakpa mɔ’ɔ fai. Makéé bo. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae
 We, Gbese)

Some people go to the court without money, and they start crying.

They ponder it and don’t suggest that the case be withdrawn from the court. It will interest you to know that they will use a huge

amount of money and friends will follow them. They then go home and cry. But when I analyse your side of the story, I can tell you will likely lose the case, so it is better to plead with the fellow.

I will let you know. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese.)

Extract 1 (Ref. NWA 101)

In the interview, he expressed concern about how some individuals would rather waste money to employ the services of lawyers instead of accepting to settle cases amicably. He went on to describe the people's distress when he says they return home to 'cry' literally not to shed tears but brooding over the thought of spending money when they could resolve these issues peacefully. The research gathered that the elders might be at the court to perform their duties as mediators of conflict. However, they (the elders) unknowingly employ rhetorical appeals in their daily businesses at the traditional court. To have him express concern about the emotions of individuals is an indication of considering *pathos*. He considers the individual's emotions concerning grief when one loses a case in court.

The Call to Order to begin proceedings and hearing, linguistically, appears to be a form of performance with rhetorical practice in effect. It forms part of the *logos* of the traditional court. The call to order, as explained earlier, supports to explain the idea that the individual is at the centre of the mediation process, thus, the mediator explores a range of intercultural mediation theories (Davidheiser, 2007). This is to say that, at the beginning of proceedings, the mediator between the Elders and the audience employs various means to gain the attention of everyone present. To this, the mediator uses his experience over the years to analyse intercultural practices relevant at the moment. Using one's experience is evidence of practising what has been done continuously overtime. The elders at the

traditional court admitted that the cases reported at the traditional court might be from different individuals at different times and occasions. Still, the skill to resolve them hardly changes because they have resolved cases over the years. They are all retirees who have served in the civil service of Ghana; they are educated and have encountered people from all walks of life (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese. (Ref. NWA 101)).

After the call, the Secretary now reads out the case for the day and refers to the Summons issued by the Bailiff. It is worth noting that these terms (Summons and Bailiff), among others, are used by the traditional court solely because the traditional court has the endorsement of the Judicial Court of Ghana. After these protocols are met, the secretary will announce the 'Opening Fee.' This amount is a symbolic representation of the number of drinks the Council of Elders require to receive from both the Complainant and Defendant before the hearing begins. Finally, both the complainant and defendant are asked to present their witnesses. However, these witnesses should have been eyewitnesses but not third-party witnesses who may know the case via hearsay.

The position of witnesses

Knowing that one may have witnessed but not third-party witnesses to support at the court creates assurance among both the Complainant and the Defendant. Vansina (1984), while discussing various aspects of oral traditions, admits that hearsay is 'still news' and, as a matter of fact, 'sensational news' for reasons that no rumours may be generated after hearsays.

As a means of spreading the news, hearsay are also transmitted from 'ear to mouth.' It appeals to emotions and calls for the listener to wait to satisfy their curiosity. The Nae We Traditional Court recognises witnesses to support both

complainants and accused only when they were eyewitnesses to the case under discussion. For Asafoatse Abrantie, the 'Warlord', Hearsays only serve a part of a case under discussion. The party it favours may gain an advantage over the other because of how the case may have been reported. Simply put, the court does not allow third-party witnesses based on hearsay. 'Have you heard?' or 'Have you seen?' as means of sharing news dwells on an appeal to emotions, eventually taking away the values and ethics of analysing both sides of a story (Vansina, 1984, pp. 6).

Considering the removal of hearsay as testimonies and evidence from witnesses, the study gathered that rhetorical practices and oral traditions existed before colonialism. The elders knew what drove the emotions of individuals within specific given contexts and thus had their own laid down rules to avoid such narratives during the settling of disputes. To check the authenticity of these testimonies, the witnesses are first questioned on their knowledge of the case to be resolved. Through these conversations, the elders would identify the stance of the witness.

Apart from the fact that hearsays are not accepted, witnesses, after they have been invited and asked to stand behinds their respective parties, are excused to stay outside the premises of the traditional court. The Spiritual Head/ Chief Priest explained that the witnesses always stay outside the premises to not distort their testimonies or even interrupt during cross-examination of the complainant and the defendant. When the Council of Elders are satisfied with the complainant and the accused, the witnesses are then called inside the premises to re-join their respective parties. Witnesses had no idea of the questions and other events that occur whilst they wait outside to be invited in.

The Use of Language in the Traditional Court

Language use in the traditional court takes different forms from the use of proverbs, metaphors, similes, and euphemisms among others. Some audiences, not only the key members of the traditional court, employ artistic language in telling, presenting and tabling their issues. Some go to the extent of building stories that will finally appeal to the thought of the listener to agree with their submission. Language use for such purposes is marked for speakers who have, over the years, mastered the art of public speaking and the flair for using language to suit their context. Such forms of artistic language develop interest among listeners and sustain their attention. Speakers identified as holding such art and skill always win the admiration of listeners. It takes away the seriousness of a case which is in the process of resolution for a while. Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I of Atukpai, he was displeased with how his nephew had restricted his freedom to worship. When asked about his reason for visiting the traditional court, he said:

Yoo...yoo, hɛɛ. ŋkɛ sane ba biɛ ni ak
wɛ aha mi, sanɛɛ ji, err, kɛ oyɛ ogbɔmɔtso hewalɛ mli haomɔɔ
ooya kɔlebu aloo helatsamɔhe. Agbɛnɛ hu kɛ nɔ ko ŋgba onaa ni
onuuu shishi'ɛ, ooya kɔɔtu. (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I, Atukpai,
Accra).

I have brought up my problem for it to be addressed by him, and
the case is when one has any problem with his health, he visits the
hospital. Also, when you are disturbed by some problem, you take
it to court. (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I, Atukpai, Accra).

Extract 2 (Ref. NWM 301)

In a way to draw his audiences closer and reason with him, he creates this analogy. To argue, one must value winning the other person's support, gaining their trust in agreement and winning their cooperation. As a result, it may be a special honour to be the subject of another's conversation (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1971. p. 16). The Asafoatse begins to address his listeners from the unknown to the known. One is unsure of where his submission would end because he started to talk about 'health' and then further answers where health care would be provided should one need healthcare. He then draws the connection of the 'health' to his 'disturbed' state of mind due to the conflict he is facing with his nephew at home. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971) once again draw the explanation of an allegory or parable to mean that an allegory or a parable enables the audience to 'transfer itself' into the world shown and 'to apply' the reality to themselves.

The allegory Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I used to present his case sought to appeal to the moral values of the audience present. In the allegory he used, he unknowingly placed ethical boundaries, which introduced a level of rhetorical competence for what is morally and ethically valuable to be addressed. Connecting his desire to resolve his case to health issues creates a picture of his dying need to solve his pending case at the traditional court. He continues to narrate the case when he now refers to 'the neck of an elephant.'

Oh, koni shishinumɔ aba, bɔ ni kɛ miiɔa ni le hu ejaa, mɔ ko gbaaa mɔ ko naa. Shi kɛ oosa mɔ ko jamɔ naa pɛ, dani oooleɛ, oyatse shuɔ kue, **oyatse shwuɔ sɛ**. (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I, Atukpai).

But if you are stopping someone from worshipping, before you know it, you will have torn the neck of the elephant. (To wit, you

have bitten more than you can chew (oyatse shwuo se)) (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I, Atukpai).

Extract 3. (Ref. NWM 301)

Here, Asafoatse uses the metaphor of the Elephant to describe the situation.

Written in Ga, a type of the Kwa language, the expression means ‘something unthinkable’—his response to the question about how he wants his case to be resolved generated the metaphor. One can hardly tell the difference between the neck of the elephant from its body. The Asafoatse leaves the audience to picture the elephant’s body and to imagine how the neck could be removed. His expression creates an image that presupposes that it will not be simple to detach the neck of the elephant from its body.

However, a rethink of the expression brings about the reality that it is an uneasy thought, more so, an uncomfortable task to achieve. He could have simply said this, but he engages linguistic competence in using an allegory which is an extended form of metaphor, once again to appeal to the intelligence of the audience present at the traditional court. With the knowledge of the audience on the image he creates with the elephant, the audiences can relate to his idea of ‘something unthinkable.’ Speaking in proverbs enables the speaker to use words to ‘supplement prevailing arguments’ (Yankah, 1989). Proverbs, like metaphors and allegory are spoken in contexts and designed to teach morals. Seen as an exhibition of verbal art, the use of proverbs does not include a quick response to the speaker’s desires. Skilful verbal arts, one of the commonest, which is speaking in proverbs, aims at driving home a message to listeners, and audiences present within a communication situation and in a public speech situation.

Furthermore, other forms of rhetoric are used and identified in the discourse. The use of hypophora has become quite common in everyday discourse. Individuals use it unknowingly during conversations and communication exchanges. It appears to be how most speakers check how listeners follow their line of arguments in conversations. Unlike rhetorical questions, hypophora provides the answers to the questions asked by the speaker. In a conversation, a speaker is identified to have used Hypophora when he gives answers to questions that he asked himself. This makes it different from rhetorical questions because, with rhetorical questions, the response to the question is obvious, and listeners are expected to deduce the reaction by themselves. In the interview, the use of hypophora was identified. It was quite interesting to note how effectively the speaker used this rhetorical strategy to sustain and keep track of the communication. Furthermore, how Asafoatse, the complainant, prepares his argument lies within the case below:

Observation Case 1- Infidelity in Marriage

Maame is legally married to her husband. According to her husband, he did both traditional and civil marriages to honour his wife. After their marriage, he set up a grocery shop for her in front of their home. He has noticed over a period that his wife has become indifferent. In his words, 'I don't understand her anymore. She has everything.' Her husband had caught her with another man in their home. When cross-examined, she admitted to her crime and said her husband also saw another woman. It is the reason she followed him to his place of work to verify if he was working or doing otherwise.

It was during the settling of their case that one of the Council of Elders said:

esani ofollow mɔ'ɔ aahu keya Legon sɛɛ ni eetsu nii ye jɛmɛ?

Enɛ lɛ yoo'ɛ baabasama first ni ni esama nɔŋŋ ni econfined wɔfɛɛ

ake anɔkwale nuu'ɛ eta ehe da. **No hewɔ'ɛ meni otaoɔ ni mafɛɛ?**

..... econfined in wɔ ejaake ele hu ake mɔ'ɔ hu ye ŋa ni eke lɛ

yafɛɛ nɔ ni efee'ɛ. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese)

Must you follow the person beyond Legon where he works?

(he nodded in disagreement). The lady came to sue first and let us

know she was intimated with the man. **So, what do you expect**

me to do? She informed us because she knew the man had a wife

and acted in such a manner. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese)

Extract 4. (Ref. NWA 101)

In the above, the elder, like one of the respondents during the interview, appears to know what he intended his response to the question to be like. Although not a direct answer, he provided the action taken to what was expected to have been done; a response in the form of an action. Although he appeared to have asked a rhetorical question, and the answer to the listener is obvious, he makes the question a hypophora by responding to the questions himself. This is evident in the highlighted text in Extract 4, Ref. NWA 101 above. The bolden texts in Extract 4 above present an example of his question. The rest of the extract is his response to the question. Unlike rhetorical questions, hypophora requires that the speaker or writer provide an answer. The speaker does this in Extract 4, Ref. NWA 101 above. However, his questions get listeners to get into the line of argument and reason with him. By this, listening to his side of conversation leads him to appeal to listeners' emotions and reason with him.

Observation Case 2 – Restriction to Freedom of Worship

Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I of Atukpai reported his nephew a pastor (name withheld) to the elders. Over a period of time, his nephew had restricted him from worshipping because he is not a Christian. To Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I, his nephew allegedly went to the extent of calling the police to arrest him. He appeared and sounded emotional in his narration. He said:

**Nibii fɛɛ, Nyɔŋmɔ kome pɛ. hewɔ kɛ ŋma ŋshia, ni ofee osɔɔmɔ
yɛ ŋshia ni mi hu miija nyɔŋma yɛ gbɛ nɔ ni ŋlɛɛ, mɛni hewɔ
oyatsɔɔ polisi ni aba, aba, amɛbasa ŋnaa? No hewɔɔ, ŋkɛ lɛ eba
Nae We, ni ebatsɔɔ shishi. (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I)**

**So if I own my house, where you hold your service, and I also
worship my God in the way I know how to, do you have to
bring the police to stop me? So I have come to summon him in
Nae We. So he will come and explain. (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I)**

Extract 5. (Ref. NWM 301)

The above refers to the case between Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I and his nephew, the Pastor. Their issue has to do with the right to worship. Asafoatse Mpata reported how the Pastor infringed on his right to worship. He sounded emotional, broken and passionate about his desire to worship and how his nephew always stood against his right to worship. He mentioned and analysed that they may have different modes of worship, but he is also worshipping the same God. He now asks the questions to know why he should be arrested for practicing his religion. His response to this, once again though not direct, answers the form of the ‘effect’ of the action taken. In his use of hypophora, he unknowingly provided the answer to the question.

‘...do you have to bring police to stop me?’

Extract 6. (Ref. NWM 301)

His response to this question appeared as the action the police would have taken. An arrest and a summons call for the ‘accused’ to report to the traditional court. The use of hypophora again allows the speaker to take charge of his thoughts and, to the listener, avoid guessing the real answer or response, as may have been the case in a rhetorical question. This is because, in a rhetorical question, the answer is obvious. However, in the case of hypophora, the speaker provides a definite response to the question he asks in delivering his speech. In Extract 6, NWM 301 above, the speaker was stopped by the police from practising his religion. He responded to the question before the audience realised that the police stopped him. Once again, he gave a brief narrative of how he played a ‘fatherly’ role in his nephew's life. He says,

Yes, esa ni mi diɛntɛ maye. Shi efɛe toigbolɔ. Ermm, ŋbi ni ŋle moŋ ni, jeeɛ akɛ ŋmusuŋ bi moŋ, shi bi ka onɔ, ohie baakpa ohe nɔ. Sukuu diɛntɛ boyaa, taflatɛ, ŋwoɔ bo gbɛ, shi ŋmene... akɛɛ... (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I)

But he is stubborn. Someone that I have raised, though not my biological child, how can you be arrogant to me? Even when you were schooling, I treated you well. Today you say... (Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I)

Extract 7. (Ref. NWM 301)

He questioned the pastor’s attitude towards him and provided reasons for which he thought the pastor had not dealt with him well. Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I displaced some rhetorical competence by appealing to the moral rights of the

pastor. He questioned the values of ‘someone’ he has ‘raised’ and expected the gesture to reciprocate. To an extent, he questioned how his rights have been infringed upon ethically, thereby appealing to the listeners' emotions to be on his side. Here, Asafoatse Mpata appealed to the emotions of listeners. His delivery appears to beckon listeners to side with him and analyse the morals of his nephew, who he describes as having played a ‘fatherly’ role in his life. It is said in everyday Ga discourse that ‘a child is born by an individual, but that child becomes society's responsibility. Asafoatse Mpata I refers to the kindness he has shown in nurturing the pastor and expected that his kindness would be reciprocated. He identified with the pastor's success and present state in the society. In the speech, one could tell that he only demanded to be respected by someone he called a ‘son’ and not to be disrespected. So, it appears in his speech, as he craftily uses emotional appeal (pathos) through his use of linguistic competence (logos).

Furthermore, Asafoatse Abrantie uses hypophora when he expresses his opinion on sustaining some, if not all, of the practices in the traditional court. His opinion on the ‘Wisdom of the Old Woman’ called for a question that he answered by himself. He responded to his question on a note of emphasis and gave an appropriate answer to the question he posed in his explanation.

Yeah tradition must go on. Ni no ji no ni wofeɔ. Ni ke akee aaya ayabi yoomo’ε, is like you are going to share views

Yes, tradition must go on. That is what we do. If we say, ‘we are going to consult the old woman,’ it is just like we are going to share views. What’s your opinion on the issue? No old woman is consulted. (Asafoatse Abrantie)

Extract 8. (Ref. NWA 101)

The research revealed that the use of proverbs and other rhetoric strategies comes naturally. The African, thus the Ghanaian in the indigenous language, has always employed actions and inactions in building language and making meaning out of it. Martin and Rose (2003) agree to the fact that language is used to engage others as well as conveying certain categories of information. They further argue that a speaker's style may change based on the listeners or who is receiving the message.

Style in these instances may appear in simple language; otherwise, plain language is devoid of proverbial interpretations. In Ghana and Africa as a whole, the skill for the use of language is based primarily on the belief in the spoken word and the ability to move listeners to action. For a fact, spoken language is known from experiences to drive individuals to action by responding positively or negatively. Ansu describes these literary devices of communication- Kyeremeh (1998) as the 'constitute of the very core of the aesthetics of traditional communication.' Chika (1982) argues that the idea of style refers to choosing language content to drive social and artistic effects to listeners. She continues to say:

Style forms a communication system in its own right, determining how a social interaction will proceed, or if it will proceed. If it is to continue, style tells how, whether formally or informally. Style may also tell listeners how to take what is being said: seriously, ironically, humorously, dubiously, or in some other way (Chaika, 1982, p. 29)

Ideally, a formal language mode may be used for a person with a high societal status. For this study, the language that is used in the traditional court may be conversational, but it is void of everyday conversational styles. Everyday conversational styles in communication exchanges are interactive and hardly call for the explanation of some utterance from both the speaker and the listener. The use of proverbs is perceived to be used by the elderly who have built mastery in using proverbs over the years. Mostly because of the status of the Council of Elders and the setting of the court, one is likely to expect a display in the artistic use of the language in their interactions with their audiences. They (the Council of Elders) may understand these proverbs, but a speaker should be ready to explain in plain language should there exist any form of ambiguity in the speech wherein lies some proverbial elements. To this, Asafoatse Abrantie advised that one may rather speak in plain language than be troubled in *trying to be artistic and crafty in using proverbs*.

Shi abe ke obu'ε, sa ni onye otsɔɔ shishi jogbaŋŋ, ona. Ke ole ake onyeee otsɔɔ shishi jogbaŋŋ be no'ε kaabu. Taflatse tamɔ bɔ ni wɔta bie nee nɔŋŋ ke owie nɔ ko aloo mɔ ko kebo wie ni mɔ'ɔ kee 'Oh', Oh'ε jemɔ ni Shi mei pii le. Efeɔ ame ake literary nii nee ko ni sa ni akefita wiemɔ'ɔ he shi it's not correct. Shi enemei nibii pii tsa nɔ, nibii pii tsa see. Obaakee ake oh. Meni ootao ni okεε mi'ε shi ke okεε 'Ao', oclear amejwεŋmɔ. Be agbene ootao mɔ attention ni egbala nibii amli etsɔɔ bo jogbaŋŋ, ona shi ke okεε 'Oh'ε' otse le atua.

(Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese)

A proverb is usually used. You should be able to explain the proverb very well. If you know you cannot explain the proverb, you don't have to use it. For instance, it's an insult for someone to say 'oh' to you during your conversation. Many have no idea about this. People think it should be added to the language, but it is incorrect. 'Oh' has different meanings. What do you imply, if you say 'Ao', everyone will understand. You get the person's attention to give you a further explanation but to say 'oh' means you are being rebellious. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, *Gbese*)

Extract 9 (Ref. NWA 101)

Culture plays a role in developing these language categories; in the sense that culture is performative and expressive in language. This is evident in the sense that the use of 'Oh' is considered an insult when it appears in communication exchanges. To this, Asafoatse Abrantie would rather have a speaker to say 'Ao', which is more appealing ethically and emotionally to the listeners and audiences. In conversation, he described the use of 'oh' as 'rebellious' and unapproved in traditional court discourse. What he describes as rebellious he described as an insult, especially to the elderly. A further probe into the use of 'Oh' revealed that it is used when someone says something that sounds disappointing and ridiculous. Though a common interjection, it has a wide range of meanings.

It may denote a form of excitement, but it is unacceptable to use it in the traditional court. In the presentation of an in-depth discussion of various stylistic and rhetorical strategies, Yankah (1991) brings to the fore the style of formal speeches in Akan. It is not different from what was gathered in the field of research in that formal speech comprises proverbs, metaphors and honorifics, which take

charge of spoken words whilst adding strength to the present social and political order. It was then not surprising when Vivian, a defendant used a metaphor in her delivery for a plea to be pardoned.

Observation Case 3 – Verbal Assault

Vivian hails from the Brong Ahafo region in Ghana. She resides with her husband in Mamprobi, a suburb of Accra. They both live in a compound house with other tenants. One of the tenants reported her for an alleged verbal assault. The complainant reported Vivian and accused her of indirect insults and pouring out unpleasant words whenever she saw her. Accused of verbally assaulting her neighbour for allegedly seducing her husband, Vivian had to appear before the traditional court to defend herself. In her little speech delivery, Vivian pleaded for mercy when she was asked to pay a fine. She explained that she could afford but at that moment, *'her mother and sister are lying on the ground.'* Extract 10. (Ref. NWA 111. Observation Case 3). She was quickly prompted to restructure her expression. The elders told her that they did not understand what she meant by *'her mother and sister are lying on the ground'* and subsequently requested that she say it in plain language void of any ambiguity. That was when she said, *'she has lost her mother and sister, and they were yet to be buried.'*

The study gathered that the use of these proverbs comes naturally, especially from the part of the mediators and actors at the core of the mediation process. Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III explained that the audiences, especially individuals who face the court with their issues, are aware of the case and may have, in certain instances, planned what to say before they present it. He gave an example of the Chieftaincy Dispute that was presented at the Court.

Observation Case 4- Chieftaincy Disputes

In Ngleshie Ajumako Dawuranpon, one of the Ga Traditional Council's townships, a chief had already been chosen from among their four Gates. The Gates represent the main families that are known and are considered Royals. These Royals are the ones who may be selected as Chiefs once the rulership leaves a particular Gate. In effect, they were the Princes and Princesses by their affiliation to these Royal Gates of Inheritance. The kingmaker, known as the Dzaase in Ga discourse, is aware of the 'original' chief of the Ngleshie Ajumako Dawuranpon township. The issue which was presented at the traditional court was that another individual was 'parading' as the chief of the same town. This means that the town's elders have divided their union and installed another chief.

With this little scenario of Observation Case 4 above, the Chief Priest mentioned in an interview after the hearing that the parties who summoned the accused are aware of the right thing to be done; however, they want the court to emphasise and declare that one party is wrong. He gave this explanation after he had used a proverb during the hearing of the case. He alluded to the neem tree by saying;

'Nye fee nyekpotɔ kin baa, ni nyɛsaa hiɛ kɛ sikli. Agbene nyemiikeɛ mi ni mita mli, shi nyele ake joomɔ ye shishi.'

'You all have mashed neem leaves into paste and garnished them with sugar. You are now asking me to stir it up, knowing full well that there is bitterness underneath.'

Extract 10. (Ref. NSH 201)

The above quote appeared to have played on the morals and emotions of the parties involved. They appealed to the Chief Priest and Council of Elders that they have faulted and seek peace there and beyond. By explanation, the neem leaves taste bitter and difficult to swallow; sugar, on the other hand, has a sweet and pleasant taste.

With the two combined, having neem underneath and sugar on top as a covering, the consumer is tricked by the surface of the substance, which is, in effect, different underneath. To wit, the underlying case is not what the complainant presented; the ‘truth’ of the case is not what the defendant narrated in his cross-examination. In fact, the two parties are aware of the case which must be dealt with. The study observed that traditional discourse uses known experiences by individuals to create scenarios to form the basis of discourse and communication exchange. The two parties easily understood the use of the analogy to the neem and sugar substance. To that, it appeared that they had been exposed to speak the truth concerning the case to be resolved.

Observation Case 5– Dispute over Family Property

The Quartey reported their family property sharing, which appeared to be causing misunderstanding among the siblings. It was time for the Council of Elders to dismiss the case and call for a peaceful resolution. The family was asked to come to a compromise and agree as siblings to share their properties equally. Whilst cautioning them to adhere to the counsel of the Council of Elders, Asafoatse Abrantie spoke directly to the one who is alleged to have started the misunderstanding among the siblings. He said:

‘Mɔ ni kɛ shɛ baa shia lɛ tseɔ adɔdɔŋ.’

‘The one who brings the sugarcane home invites the houseflies.’

Extract 11. (Ref. NWA 111. Observation Case 5)

The above appeared to have caused a stir of emotions among the audiences who knew the genesis of the conflict. Whilst he persuaded them to put a stop to the fight and resolve to share the property equally, he, using a proverb, explains, not in plain words, the real individual at the centre of the misunderstanding. When sugarcane is eaten in the open, it attracts houseflies primarily because of the sweetness in its juices. Although the sugar is sweet, the aftermath, which is the presence of the houseflies, is unpleasant. In this case, the alleged individual who started the conflict is the one who is accused of the division among the siblings.

The context of traditional communication and rhetorical practices are represented in the model below. Ideas that form the model's concept include but are not restricted to the Rhetoric Appeals. Segment Three, identified below, uses rhetoric and appeals to discuss the strategies and communication practices in the traditional court. To this, Logos captures the use of language both in words and the use of symbols. It is evident in the use of metaphors, proverbs and the symbolic modes of communication employed by actors at the traditional court. Pathos as a model, focuses on how some participants use posture and body language to appeal to other audiences.

The study observed Vivian in the case of verbal assault and realised that posture and body language communicate loudly just as verbal forms of communication do. The interaction of the Nae Wulomo explains how gestures may facilitate or hinder communication at the traditional court. The third of the appeals is Ethos, also captured in Segment Three. It considers ethical protocols at the traditional court. To this, most of them are discussed and tabulated in Table 4,

which depicts Protocols to be observed by women. Although most ethical protocols refer to women, others are universal to both genders.

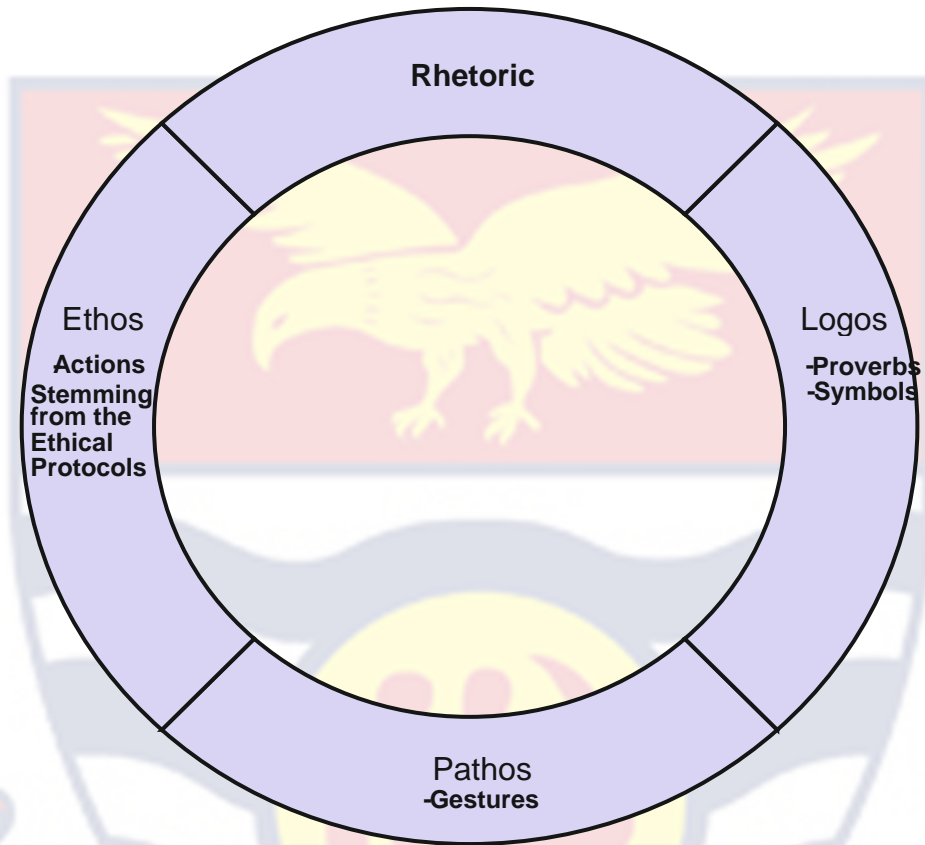


Figure 3: Model of Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange (Segment Three)

Source: Author's Construct 2022

The Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange Model places Rhetoric at Segment Three, at the circumference to envelope and encompass all other concepts. The model, being the author's construct, reflects the Rhetoric appeals of Logos, Ethos and Pathos. With reference to the study, the model interprets Logos as the use of language concerning proverbs, language by way of symbolic representations, and hypophora, among others. The artistic use of language, which come in the form of proverbs, and extended metaphors in even

storytelling, are used by audiences to present their arguments in the traditional court.

The study, in using the appeals as the reference point of the model, expanded the ideas and information gathered on the field as represented in the model. Ethos refers to the credibility and trustworthiness of the mediator at the traditional court. Through the actions, style and even the mediator's tone, he can grab and sustain the audience's trust. The mediator's reputation is affected because ethos is uniquely isolated from the message, thus the mediator's experience on the field of play (traditional court) and his integrity as the mediator. His duty, such as the call to order before proceedings start may appear ordinary. However, that duty is solely meant for an elder who is experienced. As an elder, his level of credibility has increased over the years due to the continuous play of that role at the traditional court. As a result, he has earned the respect of many who appear at the traditional court because of his role.

With Pathos, the mediator connects with the audience through their emotions, identity and interests. The model uses gestures as one characteristic of pathos. This is because one's gestures may be demonstrated as a result of emotions at a given moment. In the interest of the court and audiences present, Complainant and Defendant are made to introduce themselves openly. Here, both Complainant and Defendant, who may not have been open to each other, appear relaxed while sitting beside each other. The study gathered that the introduction is an indication that serves as a tension reliever for both parties. Then there is Logos, a form of appeal which considers the logic of reasons from logical interpretations in communication exchanges during conversation and speech delivery. The mediators' use of proverbs, metaphors and subtle use of hypophora are directly

aimed at calling audiences' thoughts to assess their use of language. The appeals assist the model in projecting a representation of rhetorical practices in the communication exchange at the traditional court.

Considering the cases and scenarios cited from the fieldwork above, it is seen that communication exchanges unknowingly produced elements of these rhetorical elements by the actors and performers identified in the study. As captured in the model, all these describe how Rhetoric is paramount in the traditional court in Nae We, Gbese, Accra. It is also worth noting that, whilst reflecting on all these appeals, the model situates the mediation process as the core which creates the enabling environment for the use of rhetoric and other rhetorical strategies. The study identified that the rhetorical practices do not exist in isolation but are in sync with the actions of the actors and performers during conflict mediation processes and communication exchanges at the Nae We Traditional Court.

Communicating Rhetorical Practices in Gestures and Body Language

Gestures or movements of the body can be analysed at the language level. Gestures, identified as a form of language, are situated to appeal to audiences emotions. Although it is recognised to be more listener-based in the traditional court, it can switch to be focused on the speaker as well. One may argue that the gestures that may accompany communication may result from the one delivering the speech. To this, Sproule (1991) considers attitude a key to enhancing rhetorical competence. A speaker in the delivery of speech is expected to be confident. The speaker must possess positive interest and enthusiasm in sharing with listeners and audiences the exhibition of confidence as he takes charge to initiate communication.

Furthermore, attitude towards speechmaking should be positive to bring the skill of speechmaking to the audiences. In the same vein, Wolvin et al. (1993) share a similar opinion that speaking in public is accompanied by some notable components, including the source, code and attitude. It can be said that the gestures accompanying speech delivery in these traditional courts may not consider these opinions.

By observation, it appears that speakers on the side of the 'jury' thus the Council of Elders, appear composed and confident in their speech delivery. There seems to be less tension on the side of the Elders than on the side of the audience. In the case of Maame (the only name provided by the complainant), she reported a husband and his wife, accusing them of verbal assault. On the day of the hearing, 19th April 2022, at 10.15 am, their case was mentioned by the secretary of the traditional court. Whilst the elders deliberated before the official commencement of proceedings, Vivian, the defendant, was spotted seated with her right hand supporting her chin. Her body language was questioned, corrected and she was asked to assume a neutral sitting position. To this, she complied but appeared fidgety in her seat. After gaining her composure, she was again spotted seated with her legs crossed at the ankle, a unacceptable posture. The secretary to the traditional court called her to order to assume a neutral sitting posture once again.

After proceedings, Asafoatse Abrantie explained the reasons for the corrections in Vivian's body posture to the researcher. He cautioned that it is culturally not accepted. He described the 'chin on the hand' as denoting problem and anger; with the crossing of legs, he explained that it appears as a laid-back attitude. It is assumed that once someone sits with the chin resting on the palm, the individual may have issues or appear to be angry at another person. Ideally, it is

acceptable to sit with the hands resting freely. Sitting with hands resting freely on the body is considered a welcoming sitting posture, whereas the former denotes a closed form of sitting posture. He further said that crossing the legs means the individual in question is challenging the elders' authority. In another explanation, he mentioned that the defendant's sitting posture does not connote an open way to communicate with her. He added that the body language is a factor that assists them in determining who is telling the truth. In further explanation of how truth is linked to posture, he mentioned eye contact, and fidgeting, among others, to be some clues that may determine how truthful an individual is towards the council of elders during cross-examination. After the hearing of the first proceedings, the researcher discussed with Vivian. She admitted that she does not belong to the Ga traditional group and can not explain some of their traditional protocols. However, she admitted that she had an idea of the sitting position because it is also not accepted in her town. Considering the diversity yet similarity in culture, one can admit that some of these gestures and bodily language appear questionable. The study looked at the situation where the sitting posture may not necessarily mean the intention communicated by the actor. This is because Vivian described her sitting as involuntary, and she can not tell why she did it.

Considering these similarities in culture and its diversity, it appeared that the accused in the cases mentioned above, thus, Vivian was not ignorant of some meanings that accompanied these gestures and body language in the traditional court. To be enlightened on these, Nuumo Akwaa Mensah had something to say about it. He mentioned in the interaction that elders make it a point not to appear domineering before the audiences. To achieve this, they educate the audience as proceedings progress.

Bei pii ke amɛba lɛ, alongside ni w ɔmiiye sane lɛ nɔŋŋ lɛ, wɔtryɔ
ake wɔbaa educate amɛ

Most of the time, when they come here to settle cases, we educate
them alongside. We do not want to give them rules for them to feel
intimidated. (Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III, Nae We, Gbese)

Extract 11. (Ref. NSH 201)

To him, giving rules in the form of a list or even reading out rules will not be favourable. He mentioned that giving out rules may eventually appear intimidating to the audience at the court. The study observed something different in the case of Vivian because she appeared frightened and, in effect, ‘intimidated.’ The study further went on to probe after noticing body language of Vivian. When asked, she admitted that she only smiled and shook her head. She then explained that her sitting position did not communicate what the elders interpreted. For that reason, she admitted that she was worried for a moment.

Visual Rhetoric and Indigenous Symbolism as Forms of Rhetorical Practice

As a term used to describe visual imagery within the discipline of rhetoric, Visual Rhetoric addresses a branch of the school of thought which concerns itself with the study and use of symbols as a means of communication (Foss, 2004. p. 141). The analysis of symbols permits the study to trace the historical background of the people of the Ga Traditional area and how these varied forms of symbols are represented in the Nae We Traditional Court. In light of modern trends in communication and the use of technology, one would expect that some of these forms of rhetorical practices would go extinct. However, the study revealed that whilst embracing modernity and current trends in communication, these rhetorical practices are still revered and held in high esteem, a means of sustaining cultural

heritage and continuity of affiliation to traditional symbolism. Despite the natural relationship between rhetoric and visual symbols, making visual imagery a part of the study of rhetoric has been a daunting task (Foss, 2004. p. 142). This is to say that rhetorical practices are only linked to the use and interpretation of discourse (Braden, 1970). In criticising this, Braden (1970) argued that critics of rhetoric lacked insight and training to handle images and other forms of ‘non-discursive rhetoric.’

Whilst Postman (1985) supports the argument that visual imagery and the idea of beliefs and school of thought destroys public communication and further leads to contribute to lack of clarity in the value of ‘public discourse’, others like Zarefsky (1992) support that rhetorical forms dealing with visual images are open to ‘complex realities.’ That is to say, one’s ability to tell the meaning of images easily is complicated and less conscious than the ability to process the meaning embedded in verbal discourse and everyday conversational interactions.

Contributing to symbolism and what it represents, Ejizu (1986) posits that symbolism forms part of the foundation of human communication by man being a ‘homosymbolicus.’ In diverse ways, man searches and derives meaning from symbols, builds a concept around symbols and finds meaning, thereby making man a ‘meaning- seeking animal’ (Ejizu, 1986, p1). Generating meaning is connected to objects, humans, and conditions, all of which manifest through human interaction (Lamle & Aigbovbioisa, 2019). Relating this idea to some objects in the traditional court at Nae We, the study cites the broom. In most Ghanaian homes, strands from palm fronds are used to make brooms for sweeping. These strands are held in a bunch with a rope to make a mushroom-like head easy to handle. The primary purpose of this broom is for sweeping however, in the traditional court at

Nae We, the broom is prohibited. It symbolises authority given to the bailiff to summon someone to the traditional court. Looking at the day-to-day experience surrounding the use of the broom, one is likely to find it a standard practice to carry a broom bought from the market to the traditional court premises.

On the contrary, as part of its protocols, the court holds different meanings to the use of the broom. It can then be established that in a bit to understand and explain how humans exhibit meanings and attitudes towards some symbols they show, meanings and processes developed by humans need to be examined (Lamle & Aigbovbioisa, 2018, p195). The Nae We Traditional Court in Gbese, Jamestown British Accra, provides a myriad of symbolic forms of communication, the meanings attached to each symbol, and what the symbols represent. Below is an engraved artwork on the Nae We Traditional Court wall.



Figure 4: Engraved Symbol of the transfer of authority from the Dutch to Nii Boi Tono

Source: Author's Fieldwork 2022, Nae We, Jamestown, Gbese, Greater Accra.

An interaction with Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III revealed that symbolism had been part of the court since its inception over 500 years ago. For some of these symbols, individuals who have ever visited the court easily understand and could interpret the communication intent. He explained the engraved image on the wall at the traditional court. In his explanation, he narrated the stories behind the engraved image, which narrates a part of the history of the traditional court. The images identified on the engraved image included a staff. The staff symbolises authority of the traditional court which is also a tool used by the spiritual head as part of his regalia. The two hands- an African hand on the left and the hand of European on the right symbolises solidarity and goodwill. At the point when the Europeans were leaving the Jamestown. The Dutch, after several fruitless efforts to see the spiritual head, decided to leave. Meanwhile, there is no record which shows that the European court system existed among the people of Gbese. In addition, there are two brooms in the middle. Till now, the broom serves as the symbolic tool for summons. Anytime someone is served a summons with the broom, it is considered as urgent and liable to attract a fine if delayed to honour the summons. For cleansing, the sacred leaves in the basin, scientifically known as *Momordica foetida* is used to bathe individuals who desire sacred bath. It is also used when cases involve curses. The name of the leaves in the local language is Nyanya in Twi and Nyanina in Ga. It is known for its cleansing qualities and medicinal values. Another image identified was the traditional accessory 'komi' and the traditional hut, a symbol of a sacred room for the Chief Priest.

By way of explanation, Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III began with the staff in the middle, held by a black hand on the left and a white hand on the right. He said the staff symbolised the historical transfer of authority from Jan Pranger a Dutch,

to the indigenes of Boi Tono We. In a narrative, the Chief Priest told a story about the experiences of colonialism and the positives it had on the people of Boi Tono We. It was told of how the Dutch tried effortlessly to have the Wulomo of Boi Tono on their side. However, he must remain unseen until during ceremonial occasions. Then, he was seen performing traditional rites and prayers (libation).

His occasional appearances were not helping effective communication hence the transfer of authority in order for him (Wulomo) to continue leading the people of Boi Tono We. The two brooms (now separated) on the engraved were on the left side. To this, Nuumo Akwaa Mensah explained that it symbolised ‘friendship’ and ‘equality.’ In an interaction with Asafoatse Abrantie, the ‘Warlord’ Nae We, Gbese, he explained the meaning of the engraved object by referring to the relationship between the Europeans and the indigenes of Boi Tono We through the chiefs. Beginning from the interaction that Europeans desired to have with the people to the space that was given to them by the spiritual head as a result of his sacred office. He said:

M̄ei pii sumɔɔ ni Gamei baana loo am̄eḡeti into chieftancy.

Wulomei ji m̄ei ni m̄ei

ni no mli l̄e am̄eȳeɔ Gamei anɔ. Wɔk̄e nii n̄e je Israel. Bɔ ni womigrate keje Israel k̄ebaa f̄e, leadership’̄e, wulomoi sɔŋŋ. Nɔ ni baaha ni changes aba into chieftancy ji be ni D̄leshi ablotsiri bii’̄e ba mli eha. Agbene interactions between blɔfomei k̄e wulomei bafee more difficult. Hewɔ nii baba l̄e ake Governor by then, ak̄e ake eeto Gamei taflatsa ni am̄efee easier, easy am̄eha blɔfomei ni am̄ek̄e wɔ ainteracti. Hewɔ like k̄e ate tsu’̄e mli inside k̄e nibii bɔ ni maŋtsem̄ei res̄ponduɔ to blɔfomei arequest k̄e nibii, wɔ bie n̄e

ebe nakai ejaake wulɔmɔ'ɔ, daa nɛɛ eyɛ krɔŋŋ nii amlɪ. Almost everyday indoors. What he does is eesɔle eha maan.

The chief used to be the ruler of the Ga people. It is an inheritance from Israel. We had only chief priests as leaders during our migration from Israel. The changes in our chieftaincy system is as a result of the arrival of the Europeans. Communication between the Europeans and the chief priests became very difficult. Hence, the Governor by then pleaded with the Ga people to help make communication between them and the Ga people easier and effective. We did not have a situation where the chief priest will respond to the request of the Europeans because the chief priest is always holy and often times indoors. His preoccupation is to intercede for the town. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese).

Extract 12 (Ref. NWA 101)

Furthermore, he mentioned that it was difficult to bridge the communication gap that existed then and it was due to the 'solemn' posture that the spiritual head assumed till the present. Once again, he explained:

Ni ona ake no hewɔ'ɔ that was when

ni Gamei ba inculcate neke chieftancy kɛwo wɔ wɔ nii nɛɛ mli shi tamɔ ebaba le ake agbeneGamei ana manɔsemɛi ni amɛ ke blɔfomei ashra. No hewɔ obaana ake Gamei ke ... blema ko'ɛ jee maji atsemɛi, jee manɔsemɛi hewɔ ona, wulɔmɛi ye jemɛ. Ga, Ga shi biantɔnɛ wulɔmɛi, aha amɛ that ceremonial erm erm position. Amɛ amefɛɔ kusumji fɛɛ kusum. Wulɔmɔ baafeɛ kusumi'ɛ dani manɔse baaba le hu ebaabaha speech aloo whatever le hu le etaoɔ

ni afeɔ ahaa le. Nakai nɔŋŋ ji eko'ε mɔ ko ejε eba fresh. Ke abaa receive le ni etee maa mli'ε, wulɔmɔ yeɔ ŋkpai first. Ekεbio jɔmɔ ke gbεgbelemɔ.

Due to these events, the Ga people adopted the chieftaincy system to help them easily interact with the Europeans. Currently, the chief priests have assumed ceremonial roles. They are solely responsible for the performance of rites. The chief priest will perform the rite before the chief will deliver his speech. The same applies to the reception given to a visitor. The chief priest must first pour libation. He seeks blessings through the libation performance. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese)

Extract 13. (Ref. NWA 101)

He goes on to explain that the court has a link to the traditional form of worship to Christian worship. To this, he mentioned that 'gbatsu' is a symbol that serves symbolic purposes during mediation and communication proceedings in the traditional court. Known as 'Gbatsu' in Ga, Altar symbolizes sacredness. These altars are four among seven found within the perimeters of the traditional court. They are used during traditional prayers on special occasions. With this, he mentioned the misconception that people who have never visited the standard court attribute the court to 'idol worship' because of the presence and performance of some rhetorical practices. He was quick to state that there is no bloodshed and violence is also prohibited at the premises, evidence that they do not practice idol worship. He explained that, similar to how Christian worship uses altars, the traditional court led by the Chief Priest equally prays on an altar. Below are images of some marked spaces used as altars the traditional court.



Figure 5: A picture of 'gbatsu' (Altar)

Source: Author's Field Work 2022

In light of the arguments raised above, the Nae We Traditional Court presents levels of symbolism about the sitting position, and clothing, among others. In his way of appearing and observing his forms of prophecy, the Spiritual Head walks bare feet. He explains it serves as a communication medium and connection with the Supreme Being and the Earth. There seemed to be a remote reason why he was not allowed to wear any form of footwear. Apart from his sacred office and the connection of his feet to the Earth, walking without any form of coverage on the feet restricts his movement. In his own words, he explained that one cannot be at certain places where the feet may be hurt. For that reason, he does not honour invitations to every public function. As a result, there are some public gatherings that he cannot attend.

Distance with respect to Sitting Position in the Traditional Court



Figure 6: Sitting arrangement of the Council of Elders

Source: Author's Field Work 2022



Figure 7: Seats for other Wulomei

Source: Author's Field Work 2022

Communicating the sitting position at the traditional court indicated that individuals were allowed freedom. Below is the view of the sitting positions at the Nae We Traditional Court. On the left, facing the audience, are the Council of Elders seats. Next, in the middle overlooking the sacred altars, is the seat of the Nae Wulomo, the 'judge' who sits when the case has reached a point where all must be settled. To his left, he is flanked by sub-priests who appear as a backing to him during the mediation of cases.

The audience equally sits facing the Elders and the Spiritual Head. The Complainant and Defendant sit close to each other, with the witness seated closer to them at the end. As support, the supporters of the Complainant and Defendant sit close behind their respective parties. The sitting arrangement alone communicates a peaceful atmosphere to mediate and resolve any issue at hand. Ideally, an individual with issues to resolve with another party may not want to get close to that party. The arrangement at the Nae We Traditional Court communicates oneness from when a case is reported to the day it is settled. The study observed that audiences who belong to different parties forget where they belong and occasionally talk to each other regardless of their differences.

Sitting Positions at Nae We Traditional Court

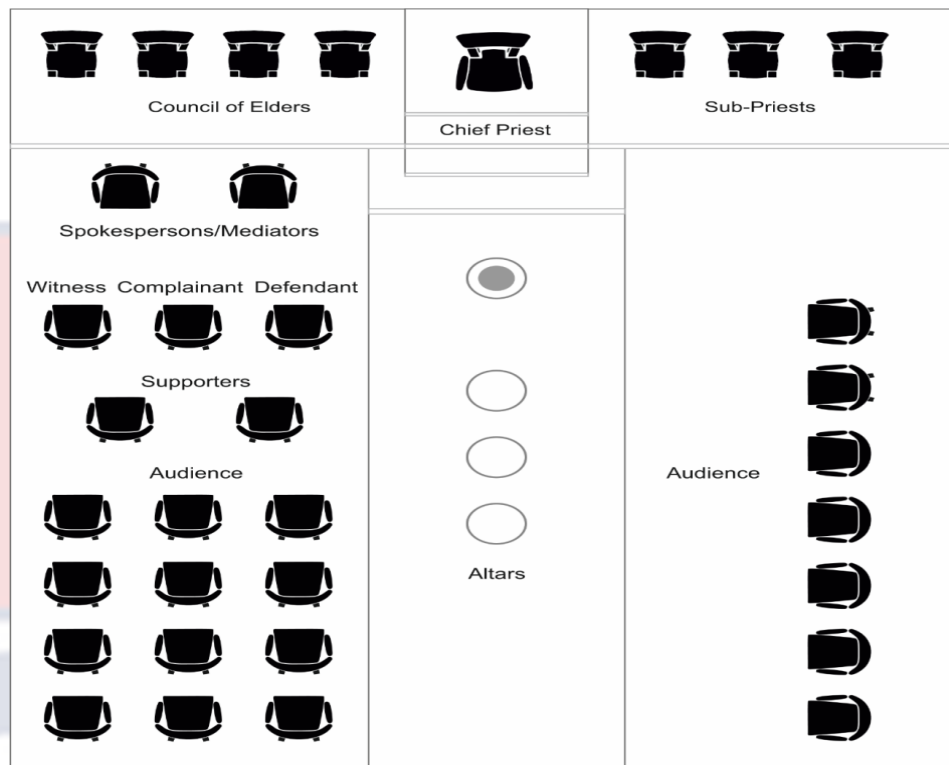


Figure 8: Sitting Positions at Nae We Traditional Court

Source: Author's Construct 2022

For instance, the key parties seeking to resolve their cases sit closer to each other with two others sitting behind them. A key informant explains their sitting to mean that, traditionally, it is not ideal for them to sit alone without 'support' behind them. These two individuals who sit behind the two parties are not witnesses. They are not part of the witnesses that would also testify to support or deny anything concerning the case.

Considering the support given to both the defendant and complainant in the area of the supporters sitting behind them has something to be desired. The idea satisfies the pathos of rhetorical practices; it considers the emotions of both the defendant and the complainant. It serves as a means of not leaving them alone in the mediation process. Thus, providing an avenue to manage their emotions with people who would give that 'moral support' needed at that moment at the

traditional court. They appeared relaxed and ready for the task knowing full well that they had 'backing.' However, they (complainant and defendant) may not consult them (supporters) during their presentation of cases and cross-examinations.

Clothing as a form of Rhetorical Practice and Traditional Communication

Clothing and the way one dresses up silently communicates a piece of vast information about the person, especially when that particular way of dressing is consistent. In Ghanaian society, a chief may be identified with large-sized stringed beads worn on his wrist. Although the wearing of beads around the wrist has become fashionable, and some individuals even customise the bead they wear, some peculiar beads worn by traditional heads cannot go unnoticed. Also, that adorning oneself in beads draws attention to the wearer. Admitting that visual imagery is an action that communicates, the study revealed that clothing worn to the traditional court is of primary concern (Foss, p. 308). This form of rhetoric creates and reinforces emotions and encourages individuals to explore 'self-imposed limitations.' (Ibid). Interaction with the spiritual head, Nummo Akwaa Mensah III and Asafoatse Abrantie revealed no restrictions on clothing that may be worn to the traditional court. To him, Nummo Akwaa Mensah III, he cannot wear anything apart from white. In his explanation, he clearly stated that he has always been in white apparel since his initiation to the office of the spiritual head (Wulomo). Additionally, he admitted that he is never seen with his head uncovered- as part of his clothing, he dresses up with his head covered, but his feet are always bare. In a way, his way of dressing is his way of constructing his identity within the society. In the traditional court at Nae We, Gbese, Accra, the spiritual

head is easily noticed with his appearance, always adorned in white from head to toe and with his feet bare. An overview of his dress code is found below.

Table 3: Chart showing the dressing of the Spiritual Head

Appearance	Meaning
White Clothing	The white clothing represents righteousness and holiness to the sacred office of the Spiritual Head. In addition, it endorses self-esteem and a means of identity construction.
Bead	Symbolises royalty. All others may wear beads, but only royalty wears beads on the right hand.
Bare feet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An expression of mystical beliefs in the supernatural. A belief that the individual was born barefooted and will depart the earth barefooted. - An expression of traditional communication, thus being in directed communication with the Earth - Medicinal purposes. Believed to be therapeutic.
Hairstyle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The head is always covered. It is never exposed to public view

Source: Author's fieldwork 2022

The practice of wearing a cap whether for career purposes or for fashion is not allowed in Nae We traditional court. The court's protocols debunk others who come to the traditional court to wear caps, hats or anything that appears like a cap. Symbolically, these head covering communicates superiority and position. Considering that the Chief Priest is the most superior at the court, individuals are also directed to adhere to this protocol. As an addition, one may not add or enter the traditional court premises with an umbrella. However, they emphasised the colours of clothing that may be worn to the traditional court. Interestingly, these preferences are not only for traditional court proceedings during the settling of cases or mediation of disputes but also for everyday observation of court protocols.

These colours represented may not be universal; they may not form the collective representation of the meaning derived by a wider audience. Colours can symbolise different concepts in different cultures. Whereas some colours may symbolise some emotions and invoke some feelings or traits in one culture, several cultures may use colours to represent various things within different situations.

Apart from the colour of the clothing, the styles in which the clothing are made form part of the rhetorical practice at the traditional court. A typical example was when a defendant was asked to lower his traditional cloth to expose his bare chest (Fig. 9) below. Answering why he was asked to do so, the Chief Priest Nuumo Akwaa Mensah mentioned that it is a sign of respect to the elders he is facing. It is also a way of showing that he is not armed underneath his cloth. For the chest to be exposed to the waist region symbolises respect to authority and acceptance to comply with the peaceful settlement of any issue to be discussed. One's footwear must cover all feet. If not, one is expected to be barefooted before entering the court premises. The civil court premises may have restrictions and protocols that are observed. However, the symbolic protocols and rhetorical practices observed at the Nae We traditional court confirmed why some individuals 'tagged' the court as a place of traditional worship and not a traditional court. A close comparison of the two courts (civil and traditional) brings out some similarities and a vast difference, especially in the preferences placed on dress code (colour, footwear, hairstyle), among others.



Figure 9: Image of a Defendant exposing his chest during cross examination

Source: Author's Field Work 2022

Burke (1974) argues that a man can be his audience, in so far as he, even in his secret thoughts, cultivates specific ideas or images for the effect he hopes they may have upon him.' Man, in this instance is seen and described as what Mead describes and names as "I" with respect to being rhetorical in intent. Here, man appeals to the emotions and intelligence of audiences pleasantly. In view of this, they outline some examples that present his ideas concerning the colour white he always wears as a representation of his sacred office. Although the colour may communicate different meanings in different cultures, white may be considered sacred universally. The Nae Wulomo, among other sub-spiritual heads, are mostly seen in white and barefoot apparel. The study found meaning in the words of Burke (1974) in the sense that the Nae Wulomo, thus the Spiritual Head gave insight into his ways of dressing. He has become his audience by following the precepts laid down for him as the Wulomo. His appearance at social gatherings, regardless of which function, makes him stand out to identify himself and his office as sacred.

**The Rhetor-Nature: Communicating the Use of Sacred Herbs in the
Traditional Court as a form of Rhetorical Practice**



Figure 10: 'Sese', the sacred bowl Nae We (Source, Author's Fieldwork)

Source: Author's Field Work 2022



Figure 11: Nyanyina (Source, Google)

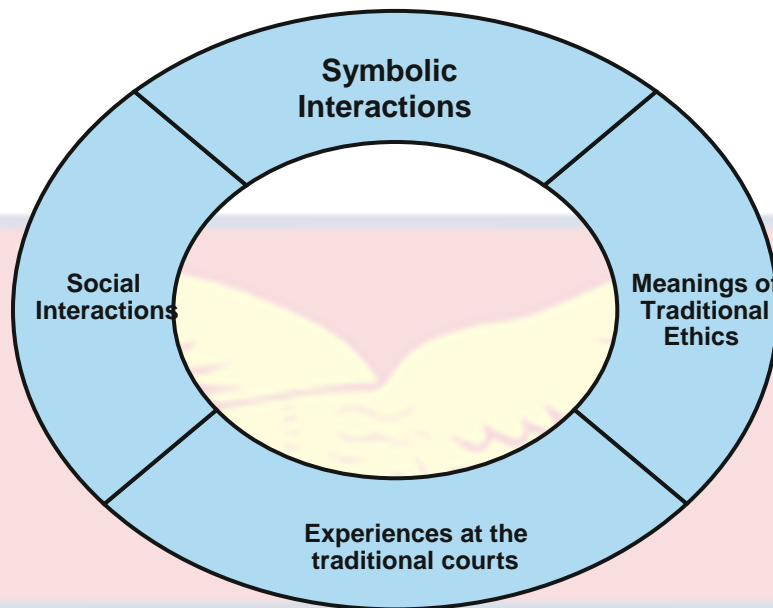
All over the world, people have unique and general purposes of using certain kinds of herbs. In Africa, and in Ghana, to be specific, some herbs are used for prosperity, manifestation of love, and averting evil, among others (Abdullah, 2022). The connection between humans and herbs has existed over centuries, and to date, the purposes of its existence and subsequent uses have not changed.

Admittedly, there are different kinds of herbs and their corresponding benefits to the user or the bearer. However, the collective information on herbs is scattered. One can identify herbs for protection. People desire to be secure and safe throughout their daily activities. It is believed that protection herbs secure the bearer and ‘guards’ from ‘any psychic, or physical attacks, accidents, injury, poisoning, evil spirits, lightning strikes, evil eye and so on.’ (Abdullah, 2022)

The herbs for protection may be or are ideally preservatives. However, it is not guaranteed that the bearer or the user may live without troubles, afflictions or other misfortunes. Despite this, a user who has any of those herbs of protection in their possession is likely to escape some adverse, if not deadly, circumstances. The Spiritual Head at the Nae We Traditional Court mentioned herbs as one of the items used in communicating his sacred office. As part of the protocols, he also said that one could not use gold jewellery at the court premises (Ref. NSH 301). Instead, he noted that the court reverse the use of herbs, thus ‘Nyanyina’ scientifically known as *Momodica foetida*. The herb seems to serve similar purposes across cultures in Ghana. The Akan call it ‘Nyanya’, and the Ga call it ‘Nyanyina.’ Its social, cultural and medicinal benefits are similar regardless of the bearer’s geographical location in Ghana. In his elaborate explanation, he mentioned that the herbs come in two types- male and female, with the male-identified with larger leaves and the female growing with smaller leaves. He further explained that the sacred nature of the traditional court would rather have individuals receiving good news. Hence, herbs are used to avert evil, bad luck and unforeseen circumstances. The Ghana Insider shared its results on research into the benefits of ‘Nyanyina’, which appeared to align with the view Nuumo Akwaa Mensah shared during the interactions. Similar to the information given earlier, the Ghana Insider described the herbs as a symbol

of protection and spiritual cleansing. It is used for bathing and administered orally after it is boiled for some time. Before it is used for bathing, the herbs are soaked in sea water; then one can use it after that (ghanainsider.com/spiritual-benefits-of-nyanya-leaves).

Whilst most people may not consider it to be peculiar, the use of most of these items, like the herbs and the preferences for the benefit of particular style of clothing, hold a symbolic meaning and a form of cultural identity among the actors and participants at the traditional court. The study observed that these practices symbolically enabled and facilitated the traditional court interactions. Whilst others were conscious of their ways of sitting and composure, others knew and understood what their sitting positions meant as well as the role they must play in that sitting position. These roles may not be spelt out, but it appeared that participants at the traditional court over time and with lived experiences coach first-time audiences as proceedings advanced. As a researcher, I was coached on what to say, what was said to who and why it was said. It appeared simple to handle from a distance, but when actors and participants were given a chance to speak when it was needed, they were constantly corrected. In the light of some of these ideas and practices, Segment 2 of the Model of Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange below captures Symbolic Interactions. Drawn from the theory of Symbolic Interactionism, segment 2 of the model captures social interactions, the meaning of traditional ethics, and experiences at the traditional court as its core clauses discussing how symbolism plays a vital role at the traditional court.



*Figure 12: Model of Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange
(Segment 2)*

Source: Author's Construct 2022

By situating the symbolic meaning of the objects within the model above, it can be established that social interactions endorse some hegemonic relationships through symbols as a means of communication. Different forms of human experiences create unique meanings for symbols, objects and even human behaviour.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has presented discussion of research question one and two – how the forms of rhetorical practices are represented in the Nae We Traditional Court. The forms are exhibited in the use of language, symbols, traditional anecdotes and proverbs. The chapter also dwelt on the model of traditional discourse to illustrate the forms of rhetoric function in the conflict mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court. Through these, the chapter

concluded that human experiences exude unique language, symbols and behaviour which contributes in the way rhetoric functions in the traditional court.



CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONFLICT MEDIATION PROCESS AND THE WOMAN AS THE MUTED

Introduction

This section addresses and responds Research Objective Three and Research Question Three. It looks at the mediation process and how gender influences the mediation process in the traditional court at Nae We, Gbese, Accra.

The Mediation Process, Culture and Gender Influence

One may question why women are continuously relegated to the background in these times of modernity. In ancient times, the role of the woman has always been domestic. Even when a woman is career oriented and superior, she is expected by society to put the man first before herself. In traditional African societies, many tags have been placed on the woman to make her incapable of standing with the male gender. A common Akan proverb describes the woman as powerless and inefficient. In the proverb, the man is described as the custodian of the gun, which a woman purchases. To wit, no matter the depths of achievements of a woman, she can never match the supremacy of a man. It appears that at certain stages in a woman's life, society designs her to be unsure of her rights and privileges, thereby being unable to demand for what is due her (Badcock, 2003). From the language use, the culture of socialising and the distribution of chores in the home, society designs the woman to appear vulnerable. Badcock (2003) has a point when the idea of society's design of a woman is mentioned.

Culture and gender contribute to providing proof that women may stand firm for their place in their career and even in their homes. Prah (1996) states that women's involvement and contribution in the nation-building rests primarily on

economic development. Their provision to the bread basket of many homes and sustenance of the non-formal sector is mainly visible. Women may be given opportunities to be visible and be seen in these non-formal areas of development more than in other areas such as the formal areas. In the traditional court, the place of the woman is muted, reflecting on how the practice has been in the past till the present.

When the opinion of one of the traditional court apprentices was sought for the study, he expressed his concern about what he has been trained to accept and what his experience over the years has confirmed; he said that tradition would only request for the position of the male before the female is mentioned. He used the traditional greeting as an example. The greeting is arranged to beckon the male before addressing the female as in, *Agoo Ataa meke Awo me*. *Ataa* is an accolade for fathers and mothers, *Awo*. To wit, the permission of the man is paramount. A male's approval is respected and revered regardless of the societal status of the female during traditional gatherings. He explained that some people have corrupted the appropriate manner in which the greeting must be made. With this, he emphasized that traditional practice addresses the male first. As the interaction continued, he again cited one of the names used to describe the Supreme Being, *Ataa Naa Nyomno*. In Ga language, the Supreme Being is addressed as a father and given a female attribute once again. *Ataa Naa Nyomno* is used to describe the masculinity and femininity of the Supreme Being. As masculine, he is seen as strong and mighty and feminine, the compassionate attribute of the female is alluded. Even though the female attribute given to the Supreme Being runs in some other Ghanaian languages, such as Akan, our informant reiterated that the female

exists to be motherly, accommodating and welcoming, but tradition will always revere the strength and authority of the male.

In the Nae We Traditional Court, most protocols that must be observed strictly are women centred. Most of these protocols appear to isolate the feminine out of the practices at the traditional court. A closer examination of the protocols means that the female is restricted from freely ‘enjoying’ the privilege of participating in the affairs of the traditional court. The researcher visited the premises with a female resource person. Knowing the protocols observed at the traditional court, the resource person preferred to wait for the rest of the team at the outhouse of the premises of the traditional court. However, its explanation to some of them sounded meaningful, considering the situation within which these protocols were outlined.

Table 4: Protocols to be observed by women

Protocols	Meaning
A woman in her menstrual period is not permitted at the premises	She is considered unclean
Widows are not allowed	They are considered vulnerable
Nursing mothers with babies (3month babies and below)	The child may convulse
Hair must be covered	The hair is considered as the crown of the woman especially when naturally locked/ It has been the practice

Source: Author’s Field Work 2022

Culture has designed and maintained these protocols to keep these women in check and, in a way entirely enclosed. They, in turn, have lived to accept these protocols and, for a fact, recognised them as normal practice till the present day. In the traditional court, a woman in her menstrual period is not allowed within the

perimeters of the traditional court. The sacred nature of the court disallows a woman who is menstruating because she is considered ‘unclean’ (Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III). He continues to use ‘traditional science to explain how the blood that flows is associated with ‘dirt’ and, for that matter, considered unclean. In fact, two doors have been made for such purposes to keep the females away during such situations. Each room has two doors; one looks outside and can be used by the female to enter the rooms without using the doors within the premises. To this, Asafoatse Abrantie had this to say:

Tamɔ yoo ni eyɛ eyouthful nii nɛɛ, ona, mɔ ni ɲ’ya tsuiaseɛ kɛ nibii, dabi. Hewɔ wɔ woshia nɛɛ wɔyei amlɪ nɛ to the next house. Hewɔ mɛi ni e’attain nakai age’ɛ fɛɛ ja mɔ ni efo erm erm erm kɛ ekpa eni nɛɛ lɛ’ɛ ebaanyɛ ni erm eyɛ hegbe... (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown, Accra)

For instance, a young lady menstruating. All those in this age bracket are not allowed, except maybe you have stopped menstruating. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown, Accra)

Extract 14. (Ref. NWA 101)

Despite the protocols that appear to restrict women within the perimeters of the court, elders grant women equal opportunities to speak when they have to stand up for themselves. It is believed that individuals in a communication situation may have specific characteristics. They exhibit a level of their status in society. Carli (1990) argues that women speak well and are likely to speak well within a given communication situation, making them more influential than men. It can be

argued that some women speak well but are not allowed to do so due to traditional beliefs and customs. Although it was gathered in this study that since the inception of the traditional court, women have not been part of the mediation process, the respondents again admitted that modernism and trends in current practice may allow women to be part of the traditional processes. His words were that women did not start with the practice of mediating and resolving conflicts in the traditional court. This implies that the old practice can not be reversed. In his words, he said:

Erm nɔ ni yɔɔ mli ji wɔkɛ yei ejeee shishi. Nɔ ni hewɔ ni wɔkɛ yei ejeee shishi'ɛ, erm wɔ wɔ wɔnaabuamɔ mli no mli'ɛ hiimeji onaa no mli yeimei amehaaa guidance upon nii nɛɛ akɛ I'm prepared to eheɛ... (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown).

The reason is that females do not start. We do not start with females because they guide during our sittings. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown).

Extract 15. (Ref. NWA 101)

He further mentioned that, even when given a chance, the woman may ignore the main reason for which she was assigned the mediator role in the conflict resolution process.

Ebaaya po ni kɛ akwɛɛ lɛ moŋ eyaasupport mɔ ni abasama lɛ kɛ lɛ moŋ eyafite sane shi nuu nɛkɛ akɛ lɛ akɛ “kɛ otee nɔŋŋ, kɛwo edeŋ nɔ ni oba.” (Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown).

The reason is that females are not attentive. She will edit the whole story. She may end up supporting the complainant, which will not

help, but the male has been told to hand over and get back.

(Asafoatse Abrantie, Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown).

Extract 16. (Ref. NWA 101)

Apart from the women not being actively involved from the beginning, in Extract 16 above, the interviewee mentions that even if a woman is involved, she may not be attentive. He believes that the woman may not be objective in the conflict mediation process. He further explains that the women may take sides, supporting a party against the other party. To him, the men are focused on the task of the women. In an interaction to probe further, he mentions that the position of the bailiff to summon individuals to the court can not be performed by the women. All other arguments go to emphasise that the women may not be actively involved in any stage of the mediation process, from the beginning to the end. The only active role will be their presence as a part of the audience.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958) indicate that depending on the situation, a Speaker may or may not have this quality, without which he will not be encouraged or, in many cases, even permitted to talk. Occasionally, it will be sufficient for the Speaker to come out as a human with a respectable status. He is sometimes expected to wear a suit and tie and be an adult. He needs to be an ordinary member of the group in question within the context of a given situation, be it the spokesperson of an organization previously or in certain conditions. These issues are relevant in some communication fields, and the qualification, to speak is significantly regulated carefully. The qualification here in the traditional court hardly follows any regulations. Once an individual can speak to defend a case levelled against him, the court is ready to listen. Considering all the cases observed, the research identified that only the case on verbal assault had a female as a witness

to support the complainant. All other cases, recorded a high number of men most of the time speaking for or defending a female. Even when the opportunity was given to the female to say something, she either declined or chose a male to speak on her behalf. The practice of public speaking and the rhetorical practice of courtroom speeches are seen to be the speciality of the male, as confirmed by the research.

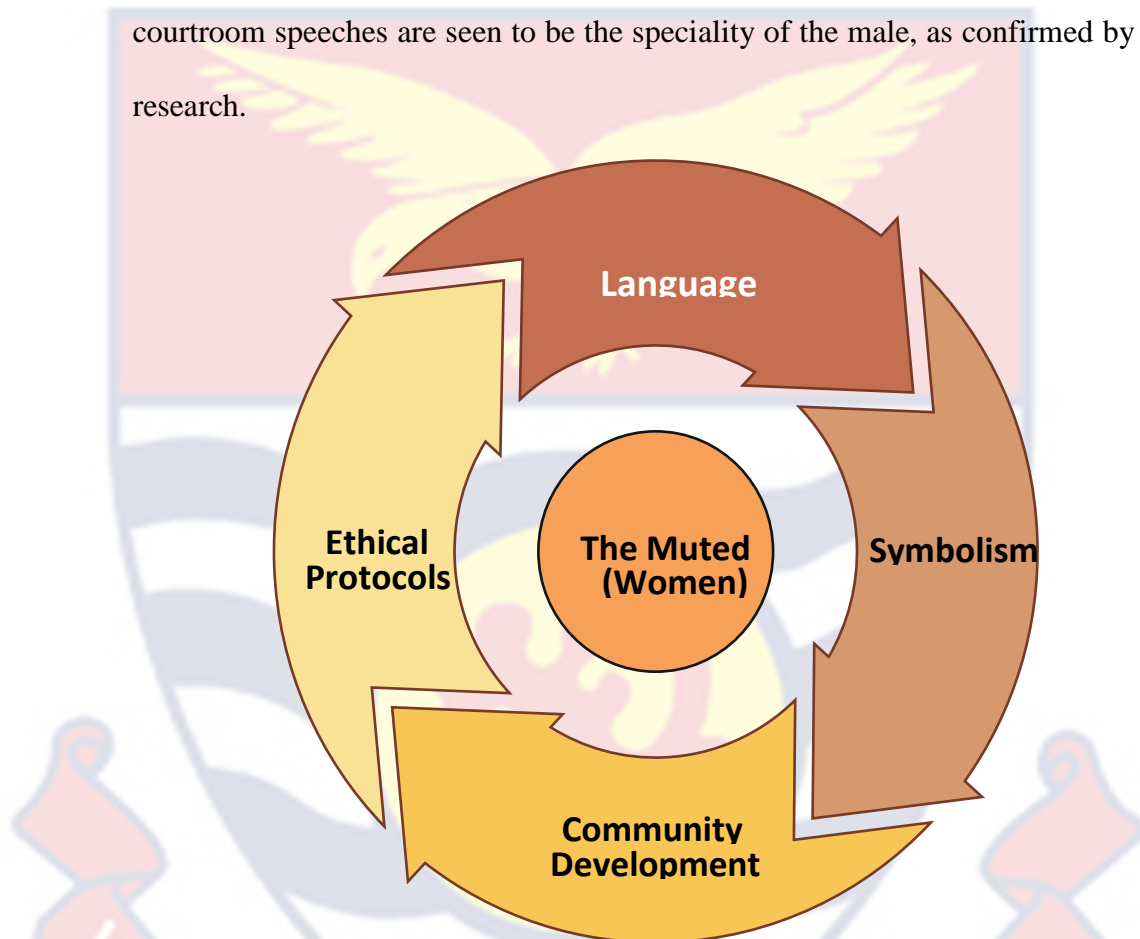


Figure 13: Model of the Muted.

Source: Author's Construct

The above model gives an image of the interrelatedness of all other concepts which evolve around 'the muted' but does not include the ideas and contributions of the muted. The model was drawn on the premise of the language use developed by society in the sense that 'the muted' (the woman) is only seen but not represented. For instance, in addressing elders and audiences, the apprentice explained to the researcher that tradition addresses the male as the primary being and the female as the other. Even in language, it is arranged to

address the male before addressing the female. Protocols about language which pay homage in the traditional court revere the male most irrespective of class or status of the female. Symbolism which follows the language in the model above equally captures the female but hardly involves her in traditional court dealings.

With symbolism, the protocols which need to be observed capture the woman in the majority. However, it appears as a form of restriction that puts the woman in a cage. This cage seems to be a form of restriction rather than adhering to traditional court ethics in the Nae We traditional court. If the woman (muted) is part of the process of the proceedings at the traditional court, whose contribution and suggestions are considered equally as her male counterparts, then some of the protocols may as well lessen the stringency of rules on the woman. It is worth mentioning that these forms of symbolism, which further appear as ‘protocols’, do not allow the woman to operate efficiently. It keeps them seen than heard during traditional court proceedings.

Furthermore, in as much as language and symbolism get connected around the ‘muted’ but do not get her fully involved, they (language and symbolism) draw the contribution of the ‘muted’ in community development. Whilst acknowledging the inputs of the muted in community developments, the elders in an interaction admit that the place of the woman in traditional matters may not be highlighted, but it cannot be excluded. Women are always seen and recognized when it comes to community and national development. The contribution which these women make are duly recognized. This is so in the sense that most responses through focus group discussions are seen to laud the woman’s resilience and persistent push to productivity. Even in the areas of ethical protocols and adhering to them, the women found no issue with the fact that they appeared restricted. It appeared to the

researcher that constant practice has made women accept their situation to be muted as a normal practice. For some reason, they appeared at some point to question why the researcher was examining their muted position.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the mediation process and how gender influences the mediation process in the traditional court at Nae We, Gbese, Accra. To an extent, the chapter addressed the woman's position in the traditional court. The traditional court may have restrictions towards the activities of the woman. The study identified that the protocols relating to the woman can not be isolated. This is because some of them form a part of the woman's biological makeup. It set out to discuss how gender influences the mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court. With the above arguments, it is evident that, although women may be part of the mediation process, they are only seen but not heard. This is because there are no women at the forefront of the mediation process in the sense that all the elders are men only. The chapter also discussed the protocols that govern the traditional court. Most of these protocols are directed towards women, even the biological makeup of women. Although some parts of the language make mention of the woman, their active involvement as key actors in the traditional court is absent.

CHAPTER SIX

CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY AND THE TRADITIONAL

COURTROOM RHETORICAL PRACTICES

Introduction

This chapter “explored the roles of rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability in the conflict mediation process in traditional court” Research Objective Four (RO4) by way of answering “how rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability are related to the conflict mediation process in the Nae We traditional court” Research Question Four (RQ4) It links ideas and responses from fieldwork and data collected through observation, interviews and focus group discussions from the fieldwork. It further identifies the relevance and position of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Traditional Court in the light of the Rhetorical Practices and Cultural Sustainability as raised in the Research Objectives and Research Questions, respectively.

The Cultural Sustainability Model

Dessein et al. (2015) agree that human beings possess culture and are cultural human beings; therefore, there is a need to engage a broader concept of culture that encapsulates the changes existing among human cultures, subjective meanings, expressions and life modes. These will permit individuals to create a distinction between cultures in meaningful ways devoid of prejudice and negative conclusions about one’s culture.

The framework below was drawn concerning the ideas of Dessein et al. (2015) and their explanation of Culture *as, in* and *for* Sustainability. The study analysed the framework alongside the data collected, situating the results in the framework. The discussions are based on the three blocks in the model, each

representing Culture *as* Sustainability, Culture *in* Sustainability and Culture *for* Sustainability. The sub-topics placed under each block further give a sketch of the ideas developed in the framework to be discussed. As Dessein et al. elaborate, the broader concept of culture is not static in the sense that it opens up dynamism. It is liberal and dwells on accepting objectivity, ways of life, language (both verbal and symbolism) and human experiences.

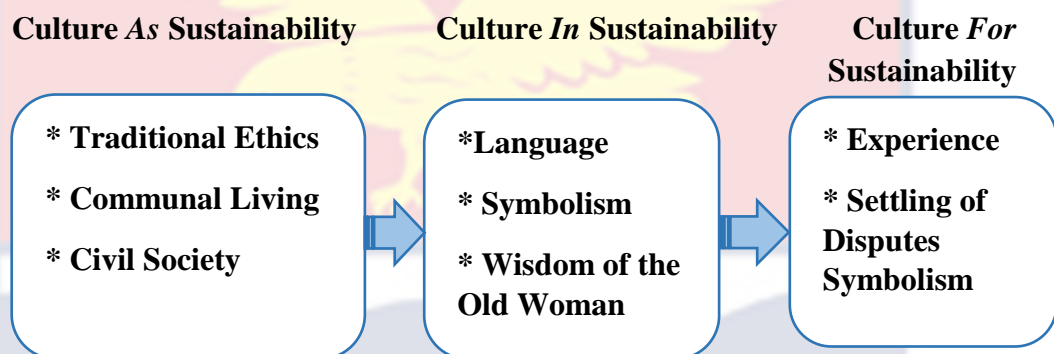


Figure 14: Cultural Sustainability Model of Traditional Communication

Sources: Author's Construct (2022)

Culture *as* Sustainability represents general processes linked to intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development. Within the Nae We Traditional Court, traditional ethics forms part of the people's intellect. Individuals who visit the court are expected to have a basic knowledge of traditional ethics regardless of their cultural affiliation. If nothing may be considered as values in the traditional court, the reverence accorded the elders and the Chief Priest, even in his absence, is evident. One may think that these values will be respected only at the court. In a focus group discussion outside the premises of the court, the mention of that traditional court revealed some of the ethical protocols that were also mentioned by the elders during the interview within the traditional court premises. Because the court is situated in a Metropolitan area within the Accra Metropolis, it is undeniable that people from all walks of life are residents in the city. Situated close

to the Central Business District in Accra, the court is known not only for the settlement and resolution of conflicts but for reasons the study found untrue. Whereas some individuals have learnt the values of the traditional court, others believe it is a shrine.

The study confirmed that it is a traditional court that practices a blend of civil and traditional forms of conflict resolution. Asafoatse Abrantie admits that culture is similar but dynamic; for this reason, individuals may know the values and ethics observed at the traditional court but some variations may exist. Individuals are given a chance to learn new ways of handling issues concerning values and customs. They are equally pardoned for lack of some of these values of the traditional court's rhetorical practices: the rhetorical practices embedded in language, symbolism, and gestures, which are focused towards managing the emotions of both audiences and the participants present at the court at a given time.

Whereas others will believe that the traditional court is solely for the resolution of traditional cases, the study gathered that the court has the endorsement of the Civil Court. In situations where individuals are unsatisfied with the traditional court's ruling, they can further proceed to the Civil Court for redress. The Civil Court swears in the Spiritual Head (Wulomo) as the in-charge of the traditional court, granting him sole responsibility to sit and rule on cases.

Hɛɛ ona akɛ one way or the other mɛi komei yɛ ni hu yɛ ni ame
amɛnɔ amɛ allocatɛɔ powers amɛhaa amɛ fɔ mantse shia ni amɛyɛɔ
amɛ sane shi wɔ wɔnɔ nɛɛ nɛkɛ'ɛ, ɛɛ Chief Justice baanɔmineeti
mɔ ko ni kɛ ni tamɔ ona newly installed wulɔmɔ, abaa swear lɛ in
ni abaa ɛɛrm swear with that oath of ɛɛrm ɛɛrm mɛni secrecy or

whatever it is by neke eerm eerm Judicial Service baaha le powersie ni le eke arbitrate on neke...

There are people who have delegated powers from the chief to settle cases, but in our case, the Chief Justice nominates someone.

When we have a new chief priest, he would have to swear the oath of secrecy, and he will use the powers vested in him by the Judicial Service to arbitrate cases. That is how it is. The Judicial Service has recognised ours. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Gbese)

Extract 17. (Ref. NWA 101)

The spiritual head may delegate to the Council of Elders to hear cases and deliberate on the ruling. Due to protocols that may be observed as the spiritual head, he is hardly seen unless these cases reach a point of tension. Culture and modernism are blended to effect positivity in the wake of current trends in practising both culture and civil duties, as Nuumo Akwaa Menssh III mentioned. He admits that for the sustainability of the traditional court and the values it hopes to maintain, the court will not bend the rules but rather embrace new ways and approaches to proceedings. In an interview, Adafoatse Abrantie mentioned that there is continuity in tradition. He says:

Hee well, ona ake kusum'ε kusum gbooo shi ayε kusum komei ni atsakeo hie. Ayε ekomei hu ni no'ε onyeee ota he, ona.

Tradition goes on, but some traditions can be altered, and others cannot be changed. We can modify some, just like the one we are discussing. (Asafoatse Abrantie, Gbese)

Extract 18. (Ref. NWA 101)

He mentions that traditions can be 'altered' although what is known to be done in practice traditionally and customarily may continue. He further admits that it cannot in any situation be changed. With this, the study deduced that a not-so-complete change in the way things are done but for the issue of sustainability, culture is permitted to develop in the light of modernity. Dessein et al. (2015) consider that culture, in some instances, maybe a 'hindrance to development', thereby affirming the thoughts of the Asafoatse. If culture may be altered at certain points in its practice and execution for development, then it may have been an obstacle in a way.

Culture is often considered a positive cause or result of development. But might it sometimes be a hindrance or obstacle to development, for example, if entrenched traditions, tastes or ways of thinking discourage change or adaptation to new technologies or ways of life? (Dessein et al, 2015)

One cannot ignore the transformation that language brings to sustainable values and practices. Language, as one of the main components of culture, is a tool of identification. It creates an avenue to teach, learn and share experiences all in serving modes of transformation in individuals and their home environment (Kagan, 2012). Although culture is evolving in the Traditional Court at Nae We, Gbese, the people's language remains the same. Hearing of cases and proceedings at the court is done in the indigenous language of the people. It tends to give individuals the liberty to free expression and articulation. An interpreter is provided for those who do not understand the Ga language. The effect of these languages in the indigenous language creates a feeling of affiliation and belongingness.

The model captures Culture *in* Sustainability and identifies Language as one of its components. The study, developing the idea of Culture in Sustainability, also considers Symbolism. This is one of the reasons why the theory of Symbolic Interactionism was chosen as part of the theories guiding the study. The theory posits that individuals create meaning in diverse ways. Here, this creation of affiliation to concepts is guided by three principles *Meaning, Language and Thought*. By this, be it verbal or non-verbal communication, meaning is derived via different modes of communication. For example, in the traditional court at Nae We, Gbese, Jamestown, the use of symbolism comes in different forms, from clothing, colours, and even sitting positions. The spiritual head, Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III, Nae Wulomo, can explain the history embedded in using some of these symbolic forms of communication. However, he quickly mentioned that most of them have started and may be traced into historical narratives passed down through word of mouth by the predecessors.

Symbolism for instance appeared in the use of a metaphor. The ‘Wisdom of the Old Lady’ is used as a tool of symbolism during the settling disputes and resolving conflicts. Ghanaian traditional folklore describes a king who lived in history. Due to his wickedness, he ordered all old women to be killed because he disliked old folks. After all, it was believed that wisdom resided in ‘grey hair.’ With this knowledge, he decided to wipe away all old folks, especially older women in the village. The guards charged to do this obeyed, but one guard kept his old lady in the bush. As time went by, the king needed opinions on pertinent issues to rule his kingdom; his kingdom was falling apart, and the guard always suggested problem-solving solutions. At this this, the guard confessed how he hid his old lady in the bush.

In effect, the old lady always provided the results needed. The guard in turn always presented to the king the needed counsel from the old woman. The old lady was brought back to the village and kept in the king's compound. With her around, the king always consulted 'the wisdom of the old woman' anytime he needed to decide. It is common knowledge when a group of individuals, elders and other panels request to be excused to deliberate on issues in their closets. They always mention to audiences whilst retiring to deliberate that they are going to 'consult the old woman.' The metaphor of the 'Wisdom of the Old Woman' only exists in language, as emphasized by one key informant at the traditional court.

Yes, tradition must go on. That is what we do. If we say, 'we are going to consult the old woman,' it is just like we are going to share views. What's your opinion on the issue? No older woman is consulted.

Extract 19. (Ref. NWA 101)

The study at Nae We confirmed that there exists no 'old woman' anywhere. Asafoatse Abrantie mentioned that in the olden days, oracles were consulted. He said:

I remember telling you at the beginning that our forefathers started by consulting oracles. But the current generation are not learning from the past elders. But the fact is we do not know exactly what they did. (Asafoatse Abrantie)

Extract 20. (Ref. NWA 101)

He clearly expresses concern for the continuity of the practices that are performed in these traditional courts. To him, these rhetorical practices may go extinct because the 'current generation' are not emulating the practices of the elders

but rather considered to be anything far from cultural practices. His concern is the sustainability of these practices in the hands of the generations after them. According to the Sustainable Development Goals, Goal 16 concerns promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development. It further looks to provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. The study can argue that the measures put in place at the Nae We Traditional Court indicates that there is an inclusion of modern trends in performing the practices of the past. Individuals gathered at the traditional court are first invited with a suit/letter of summons. Preceding the hearing of cases, the summoned is asked to present the letter that was served. In the olden days, the 'short broom' was used to summon an accused to the traditional court.' Information gathered during interactions explained that olden practices considered did not have the use of a serving suit but symbolically used the 'short broom' to communicate summons. Parties that were invited understood and complied accordingly. Present forms of communicating summons and mediating conflicts in the traditional court have evolved to accommodate current trends and modernism.

Whereas sustainability issues may include environmental issues such as climate change, among other conditions of the environment (Kagan, 2015), ideas focusing on culture and cultural sustainability equally dwells on the preservation of practices and the transfer of oral arts. Kagan (2018) argues that various organisations approach meaning and making meaning with ideas of worldviews and values, coupled with 'histories and lives of cultural artefacts and intangibles.' Kagan (2018) exemplified these practices and intangibles as practices, traditions and non-written transmission. In African society, particularly Ghanaian culture,

such thoughts and ideologies fall within the category of oral tradition passed down by word of mouth (Finnegan, 1970).

Relating this to the traditional court, thus Nae We, Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III narrated how most of the practices preceding the inception of Nae We were embedded in the holy scripture. He mentioned:

only ake bianee wobaakee errm eko le, civilisation, modernisation and then eko le globalisation eha ni wonifeemo le efee tamɔ ebe ehee tso shi ke Ganyo ji bo ni kronji ji bo le, ole ake ene ji no ni woyoo. Agbene hu le wona ake je le mli eshe he ko ni mo fee mo. Ermm! alaka wo hu ye hei komai hewo eha ni wonifeemoi etsake hewo aside no le, err! Wonifeemo fee, obaanye ona ye Genesis.

From creation, it existed before I was born. Because of civilization and modernization, things have changed. The indigenes who are Ga are familiar with the practices at Nae we. Also, we acknowledge that the world has evolved. We have also been lied to in terms of modernity. Our practices are evident in the scriptures. Particularly in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Kings and Numbers (Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III)

Extract 21. (Ref. NSH 201)

He told the court's history and how the court's artefact symbolises the transfer of power from the Dutch to the Boi Tono We of Gbese, Jamestown. The sustainability of the discourse surrounding the historic transfer of power from the Dutch to the Indigenes is one significant narrative that the court uses to tell of its past. In their interaction during the research, the respondents appeared to pride in the history shared between the Dutch and the Boi Tono descent of Jamestown,

Accra. Drawing the connection that their forefathers had with the Dutch, they were quick to equally acknowledge the power that still hold till present day, which grants them the autonomy to rule within their jurisdiction and the continuity existing for them to practice their inheritance of tradition over the years.

Placing the historical narratives within this study, the model below looks at Culture *for* Sustainability. The model is further used to explain the idea of Culture *for* Sustainability. Here, this study derives meaning by considering the experiences of the audiences and the elders. The audiences include the complainant and the defendant and their experiences in the line of culture and its protocols. Over the years, the elders have always settled cases in the traditional courts. Considering their level of expertise and years of building experience, the ‘warlord’ mentioned in an interaction that they are all retirees and have been performing the role for years. This is to say that they have enough time to sit and deliberate on cases because they are no longer in active civil service. The idea of Culture *for* Sustainability relates to the cultural expressions, the culture of communication and cultural practices that are called to play during the mediation and resolution of conflicts.

Model of Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange

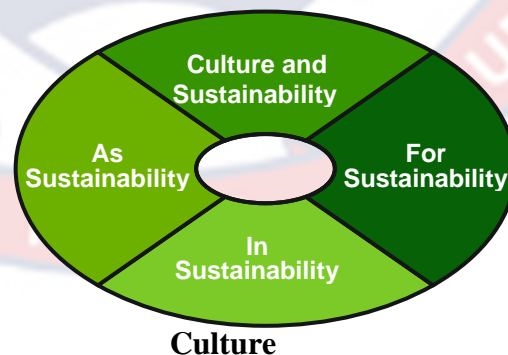


Figure 15: Model of Traditional Discourse and Communication Exchange
(Segment One)

Source: Author's Construct 2022

Situating the above model within the ideas and concept of sustainability, the study gathered that Culture as Sustainability might work as capital in terms of economic benefits for other fields of study. Still, for the study, it is a form of introducing and selling tradition and cultural practices for preservation and future generations unborn. It continues as Culture Sustainability, dealing with sustainability as a way of life.

Continuous experiences built out of these practices end up as a way of life for the people who own it and individuals who come into contact with it. In the daily lives of individuals, their communication and other ways in which they interact, they sustain their ways of life by learning and accommodating each other. Here, individuals are taught in their daily lives to learn how communicating in a familiar language facilitates peaceful existence within society.

Observation Case: Restriction to Freedom of Worship

The complainant, another chief, Asafoatse Tetteh Mpata I of Atukpai, a suburb of Accra, reported his nephew, who is a pastor. Having gone through the necessary steps to report his case, his nephew has refused to appear before the Council of Elders at the Nae We Traditional Court on several occasions. His case is that he doubles as their extended family's Chief and Family Head (Weku Nukpa). On several occasions, his nephew has always tried to demean his practices as a traditional leader. His nephew destroyed his properties, and he decided to report to the Traditional Court at Nae We. When he was asked why he did not settle at his court, he admitted that Nae We is the supreme of all the traditional courts. For this reason, he knows that his case will be settled. He also desires not to break family ties by suing his nephew, so he wants the case to be settled amicably.

Like Wallensteen (2002), who argues that resources that may lead to conflict may not only be in the form of economic value, the issue generating the misunderstanding between Asafoatse and his nephew, the pastor, is an example of conflict of no economic value. This is a subjective perception of an individual who identifies that his right to worship is restricted if not denied. Here, the term conflict broadens to encompass issues of other spheres of life. In line with SDG Goal 16, which focuses on promoting peaceful and strong institutions among communities, the court, in this instance, allows a complainant like Asafoatse Mpata I and his nephew equal opportunities to hear their side of the story and to live peaceably further thereafter.

As symbolic meaning and interpretation, Culture for Sustainability comes as a 'semiosis' representation of ideas. Through symbols in the form visual imagery and picturesque communication, culture is sustained and history is preserved ideally. When the traditional court recognizes herbs (Nyanyina) to the use of jewellery, it tells of the symbolism of how nature and the use of the produce from nature is necessary for the sustenance of cultural practices.

Rhetorical Practices and the Nae We Traditional Court as Intangible Cultural Heritage

These cultural practices, with language not being an exception, is an intangible heritage to the people at the Nae We Traditional Court, Gbese, Jamestown, Accra. It has further graduated from being recognised within the metropolis and beyond as one of the traditional courts that 'fast track' the mediation and resolution of cases through its use of indigenous rhetorical competence. The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage further captured language as one of the intangible cultural

heritage. In Article 2, Sub Section 2, the ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’ is identified to be seen in ‘oral traditions and expressions’ (for this study- rhetorical practices), with language and its use serving as the driver of the ‘intangible cultural heritage.’

By explanation, the ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage is described as:

‘...practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith that communities, groups and in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage.’

The study gathered that among other practices that the Nae We Traditional Court observes and adheres to, language appeared to be topmost. Though present, all forms of rhetorical practices had the use of language appearing as the most dominant. Symbolism is a form of non-verbal communication that eventually has its end product embedded in the use of language. From the beginning of court proceedings which require a *call* for audiences to be ready to participate fully in the procedures, to the end of proceedings, language is identified as the main driver used by both the council of elders and audiences (especially the Complainant and the Defendant). In considering the position of the old woman embedded in the folklore, the people continuously refer to the ‘wisdom of the old woman’ in their daily discourse regarding the resolution of conflict. Although the older woman may not be fully represented among the male counterparts in the traditional court, generations past have taught them to allude the practice of peace to the wisdom of the older woman. Many may not know the genesis of the expression. However, the current discourse surrounding conflict resolution equally uses the expression, although they can hardly tell how the expression came to be a part of the court's language.

The idea of Cultural Sustainability and the preservation of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the traditional court at Nae We can not be mentioned in isolation without referencing the rhetorical practices. In effect, the ideas of Cultural Sustainability and the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Nae We traditional court manifest on the wheels of the rhetorical practices at the Court. Individuals have, in diverse ways, made an effort to preserve the ethical protocols of the culture embedded in Nae We, especially the aspect of the rhetorical practices. The research gathered that a chief or an elder of an extended family may not settle or mediate disputes in his palace or home, where he is the defendant or complainant. The respondent could not find any explanation for that practice but only admitted that it has been the tradition practised- an argument in tune with the legacy of Aristotle's structure of an oral argument. Based on the explanations given, the research found out that the rhetorical appeals of Ethos and Pathos will not be dealt with accordingly because a speaker's credibility and the emotions of listeners may not be duly considered. In short, dealing with cases of that nature requires neutral grounds, and one of such is the Nae We Traditional Court.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the the roles of rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability in the conflict mediation process in traditional court. It further addressed how rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability are related to the conflict mediation process in the Nae We traditional court. It linked ideas and responses from fieldwork and data collected through observation, interviews and focus group discussions from the fieldwork. It further identifies the relevance and position of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Traditional Court in the light of the Rhetorical Practices and Cultural Sustainability as raised in the Research

Objectives and Research Questions, respectively. The data revealed that these rhetorical practices existent in language form part of the cultural practices of the traditional court. The chapter concluded that the sustainability of the rhetorical practices in the traditional court forms part of the cultural heritage of the custodians of the traditional court.



CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter starts with a summary of the study's key findings. It relates the summary to the information drawn from the study. The research makes conclusions based on the literature, theories and data collected. The chapter makes recommendations and suggests areas for further research in the areas of traditional court rhetorical practices, sustainability of these traditional institutions and their impact on generations in the light of current trends such as technology and modernisation.

Summary of Findings

This study has been an attempt to look at the rhetorical practices in the traditional court within the context of conflict mediation processes. It emphasized the use of language by drawing from various rhetorical forms of communication. Among them are the use of proverbs, metaphors, and hypophora, among other rhetorical language elements. In analysing these elements, the study also looked at how these forms of language appeal to the emotions, values and language use of both speaker and audience at the traditional regardless of their positions in the communication process. In the mediation process, as communication roles change, speakers at certain points become listeners. This role change assisted the study in measuring the use of language from both ends of the communication exchanges in the conflict mediation process. Whereas the study looked at the use of language, it also dwelt on the meaning derived from non-verbal forms of communication, such as the use of symbols. These forms of symbolism arose from clothing, gestures, body language, and observation of some visual rhetoric. In view of this, the

problem the researcher attempted to solve in this study was to find responses to the following questions:

1. How are the forms of rhetorical practices represented in the Nae We Traditional Court?
2. In what ways do rhetoric function in the mediation of conflicts in the Nae We Traditional Court?
3. How does gender influence the mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court?
4. How are rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability related in the conflict mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court?

Given the research questions, the research adopted a qualitative research approach with descriptive and narrative analysis of the field data gathered. The research used Aristotle's Rhetoric, the Symbolic Interactionism Theory and the Muted Group Theory as theoretical foundations to analyse the data gathered. With the theories in hand, the research further developed models which not aim to be models for the resolution of conflict in the traditional court. The models are also not a proposal for how to resolve conflict in the traditional but simply an attempt to explain and describe how the theories complement each other in the communication exchanges at the traditional court. Furthermore, the research gathered some empirical literature on rhetoric, conflict mediation and symbolic representation of conflict.

With data analysis, the following key findings are made regarding the four research questions beginning with the first research questions below.

RQ1. How are the forms of rhetorical practices represented in the Nae We Traditional Court?

The research found that a people's culture encapsulates their way of life. For example, one may not consider that walking bare footed should communicate a form of rhetorical practice within a traditional court. However, as a form of practice and observance of his sacred office, it is well known that the Spiritual Head walks barefooted to be in constant connection and communication with the Earth. By this form, actors and audiences at the traditional court are not allowed to wear certain footwear unless it covers the whole feet. Individuals are not allowed to wear beads on the right. This is because the spiritual head wears his beads on the right as a royal. The findings further revealed that covering of heads, abstaining from the court when in her monthly menstrual flow (thus the female), the use of umbrellas and the wearing of hats are all forms of rhetorical practices that communicate symbolic meaning at the traditional court.

RQ2. In what ways do rhetoric function in the mediation of conflicts in the Nae We Traditional Court?

With research question 2 above, the study further gathered that non-verbal gestures such as supporting the chin with one's arm, and crossing the legs or feet at the ankles are all sitting positions that do not communicate effective cooperation among parties during conflict mediation processes in the traditional court at Nae We, Gbese, Accra. The study explored and analysed these practices, which have been accepted as the traditional court way of life and normal practice. It captures, among other things, their worldview, attitudes, aspirations, and socially acceptable modes of conduct. The findings revealed that such forms of non-verbal forms of

communication and body postures are inappropriate during communication exchanges at the Nae We Traditional Court.

The study gathered the information below regarding the third research question:

RQ3. How does gender influence the mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court?

The issue of gender is considered in the traditional court at Nae We. It is a generational issue. Respondents stated that the position of the woman, captured as the muted in this study, is shadowed. The study, to add more to the mutable character, gathered that it has been a normal practice since the inception of the traditional court proceeding and other forms of rhetorical practice that the 'muted' being the female character, is revered and existent in discourse but is not seen. The study further gathered that the contributions of the muted are not ignored, but most decision-making situations within these traditional settings may not include the muted, although their opinions may be heard but not considered. Tradition has for a long time relegated the muted to the background but current trends of practices are set to give more visibility to the participation of the muted, as stated by some key informants of the study. The findings made it clear that like Spivak's *Can the Subaltern Speak?* the female in the traditional court may have opinions but she not heard.

For the fourth research question:

RQ4. How are rhetorical practices and cultural sustainability-related in the conflict mediation process in the Nae We Traditional Court?

The study gathered that rhetorical practices existed before colonialism among Africans and for the research among traditional communication. In the daily lives of individuals, in communication, be it verbal or non-verbal, in diverse ways,

rhetorical practices have been existent in communication exchanges. The arrangement of discourse to its delivery, how speeches are wrapped before they are delivered to the consideration given to the listener- the study agrees that mediating conflicts in the traditional court may not be Western culture, but it has characteristics that are not different to modern rhetoric. Consequently, people embrace the cultural customs and values that are best for them and those that meet their characteristics and demands.

The study gathered that attempts been made and facilitated to keep the practices for generations. For instance, the court has been made to be of similar standard to the civil court. For this reason, the court has the backing and endorsement of the civil court, in the sense that the civil court swears in the Chief Priest anytime there is a new installation of a new Chief Priest. The judgement of the traditional court is respected by the civil court, and for over 500 years and beyond, individuals have held the Nae We traditional court in high esteem. The court has youthful apprentices who are privy to the history of the traditional court. These apprentices, from the research results, have experiences and are still learning the practices at the traditional court. In an interaction, these apprentices have knowledge on these rhetorical practices which tend to flow naturally due to their experiences over a period of time at the traditional court. The findings revealed that not only are the rhetorical practices sustained but also, societies and relationships among individuals living in the community are equally sustained as these practices continue.

Conclusion

The study focused on identifying the use of rhetorical practices in the mediation of conflicts in Nae We Traditional Court at Gbese Jamestown, Accra. It further looked at the place of the female in the court during the mediation of conflict. Another important aspect that the research looked at was the sustainability of the traditional court in light of rhetorical practices. The expositions drawn for the research are expected to promote the traditional modes of communication practices in terms of language, symbolism, sustainable culture and its preservation despite the changing trends in modern practices. The research revealed the following:

The Position of Rhetorical Practices

In dealing with the rhetorical practices exhibited at the traditional court, the forms which capture the use of language, gestures among others, have equally dealt with the emotions of the individual, who is a central part of communication exchanges and the elders, who form another core of the rhetoric and his audiences (listeners the court). The study found that the art of speaking as a major part of the rhetorical practice is passed down from generation to generation. As a key informant mentioned, it exists in the Holy Scriptures from where the people of the Ga Traditional Area trace their descent.

It is not only a valuable skill to practice speaking specially, but it is also a subtle means of persuasion and an avenue to arrive at peaceful solutions during conflict mediation in the traditional court. The art, mastered in language use, flows naturally by built experience over the years, an observation made by the researcher. It is also worth noting that the use of rhetoric and its related practices as a form of communication in the traditional court at Nae We, at a point, served as a form of

comic relief which equally took audiences to a different level, making them forget for a while the tension that settling of conflicts creates at the court. The position rhetoric and its related practices occupy in traditional courtroom discourse within conflict mediation, and resolution is paramount to the effective and peaceful proceedings that every party (complainant and defendant) will not underestimate.

Symbolism

The study identified that the traditional court system and the court's language will always recognise the female but will be only represented in language and in mind, as found in the case of the 'wisdom of the old woman.' The court acknowledges and refers to the symbols of relationship, events and ideas as 'motherly' but fails to get the female physically represented in mediation processes and other communication exchanges. In some cases, the thoughts, ideas and suggestions of the female may be considered. As long as culture continues in diverse ways, the female exists; her presence is felt, but she is the muted left only to be recognised and revered in the use of language. Even during communication exchanges, most of the women appeared calm, although there were no restrictions on whether they should speak. Both women and men are given equal opportunities to speak. However, the woman's position in the traditional court is not accepted by the women themselves in that they do not push even when granted the opportunity. An instance is the case of the Quartey family. The eldest, being a woman, allowed the man to speak, although the elders beckoned her to talk about the case.

The study gathered that the symbols, when interpreted, provoke relevance and further initiate action. These actions may be reactive, as the study revealed. To these, the symbolic representations found in the traditional court concerning object and clothing are no exception. Symbols and symbolic representations of ideas and

concepts were seen as major means of communication even outside the premises of the traditional court. In fact, individuals who had little knowledge of the Nae We Traditional Court had an idea of what the court represents. Although some ideas were drawn out of speculations, the research served as a medium to clear all doubts and perceptions that were not positive of the traditional court at Nae We.

The Place of the Woman

The woman's position in community and nation-building is represented but not adequate. The study realised that the woman has accepted the position to be seen and not heard over the years, especially in the informal sector. The woman will delight in providing domestic support to communities to earn the 'motherly' title regardless. The study aligns with the thought of Adichie (2014) as she shared her experiences of womanhood. In her case, she was delighted to soar, but a fellow woman denied her in certain instances and at certain stages in her life. Over the years, the rhetorical practices and the strictest protocols concerning women at the Nae We traditional court have been accepted as normal. The study questioned the reasons for why most protocols evolved around the woman and focused on her as the target, but the response was that it has always been the practice. The level of sustained practice is desirable though questionable in light of modern trends and technology. In the words of Adichie (2014):

If we do something over and over again, it becomes normal. If we see the same thing over and over again, it becomes normal. If only boys are made class monitors, then at some point, we will think, even if unconsciously, the class monitor has to be a boy. If we keep seeing only men as heads of corporations, it starts to seem 'natural' that only men should be heads of corporations. (p. 8)

Relating the above to the study, I gathered that it had become a norm at the traditional court. The position of the elder, the Chief Priest, and Traditional Court Bailiff are all assigned to the men not because the women are not capable but because it has been the practice since its inception. Traditional greeting accords men respect before women, regardless of age or societal status. The arrangement and delivery of the greeting places the man before the woman, which are normal. The sitting positions of most women were found mostly behind the men unless they were the ones connected directly to the case. The place of the female may be considered among the primary roles played in the traditional court; however, it appears that most women have accepted to be in the background. Their position is to support the men to continue what tradition has always designed it to be.

Cultural Sustainability

The issues of sustainability threw light on both the past and present. The study revealed and emphasised that issues concerning sustainability may be improved only after the past and the present are properly taken care of- in this instance, new ideas, concepts and opinions may be well incorporated into the ideologies, practices and beliefs of a group of people. The study revealed that Africans has maintained some forms of communication channels over the years for the preservation of relationships and sustainable livelihood and development. Though it may not have been documented in the ancient past, the African holds the position of an elder within a community of high repute. Even when the position of the elder does not match the biological age, the position outweighs the age. This is existent and evident in the position and age of the Chief Priest in the traditional court.

Similarly, to the practice in civil court, a judge may be younger than the case he judges and provides a verdict. However, in the case of the traditional court, the values and honour attached to such traditional scenarios are worth noting. Listening and adhering to most of these traditional protocols have built communities and sustained their livelihood for peaceful coexistence. Over time, Individuals have embraced traditional practices of conflict mediation through dialogue and communication exchanges. With these sustainable rhetorical practices, individuals have been educated to be conversant with the ethics of their traditional forms of communication, manage the emotions of aggrieved persons and equally be mindful of their choice of words and use of language during conflict mediation processes. Furthermore, the study gathered through the responses of some key informants that certain practices are not abolished due to modernisation but rather made to suit current trends and modern practices. Notable among them is the use of letters which accompany the symbolic broom of authority used for summons at the traditional. All these measures have been put in place to sustain both the sacred nature of the traditional court and the official modern practice of court protocols.

Recommendation

This study first builds the connection between rhetorical practices, communication and culture. The study further makes some recommendations not only based on the findings. The recommendations are placed under sub-headings and addressed accordingly.

Bridging the Gap in Rhetorical Practices, Communication and Cultural Sustainability

The study bridged the three concepts of rhetorical practices, communication and culture by sustaining the practice within this community appears interdependent. They complement each other in terms of their use in the traditional court. Whereas communication allows individuals to pass information to one another, it cannot be done in isolation without considering what must be said, the logic behind what is said and going straight to the point in the submission of arguments (*logos*); speakers at each point in time in the delivery of their speeches approached listeners with a touch of emotions (*pathos*) covering their speeches. At a point during the research, speakers used a little humour in their speeches as a way to calm situations at the traditional court. Above all, the speakers' trust was paramount to the audiences to accept the *locus standi* of speakers in the conflict mediation process. To a large extent, the research gathered that there has been a link between rhetorical practices and communication since ancient times. The elders made it clear that these practices' continuity have been passed down from generation to generation. Their little concern, however, is the advent of modernisation which has infiltrated 'traditional' practices. To them, this infiltration adulterates what has been the norm in the past. Nevertheless, in the words of one the respondents, '*tradition must go on.*'

Contribution of the Study to scholarship

- Literature

The study forms part of the body of knowledge which deals with rhetoric and cultural sustainability. The idea that not only rhetorical practices at the traditional court are sustained but also individuals, relationships and societies are sustained

despite the conflict that arises among them. It is worth noting as earlier stated that conflict makes societies visible. In addition to this body of knowledge the study contributes to reveal that court protocols among other practices are expedient and preserved for future generations.

- Practice

The study contributes to empower activities and efforts of cultural communication and practices within the traditional courts. It contributes to create awareness and debunks misconception that these courts are fetish. In terms of rhetorical competence, the study contributes to unearth that rhetoric and its related studies existed in times past and it is still practiced in various fields such as the Nae We Traditional Court. The study revealed that Aristotelian proofs are relevant to traditional modes of communication, specifically the communication exchanges during conflict mediation and resolution at the Nae We Traditional Court in Gbese, Jamestown, Accra.

- Policy

The study contributes to the policy of Alternative Dispute Resolution and adds to promoting effective unbiased cultural communication policies to promote sustainable development. As the SDG 17 seeks to strengthening strong institutions, the Nae We Traditional Court revealed to have contributed to lessening the burden of the civil courts. Individuals believe in the proceedings and ruling of the traditional court system as long as the cases involved are not criminal in nature.

Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Research

In the light of the discussions raised, traditional court, through strategic mediation of conflicts, has found a way to resolve conflicts peacefully within communities. It is also evident that the traditional court has lessened the burden of

cases presented in the civil court. Although individuals who are unsatisfied seek redress in civil courts, the traditional court has served as an avenue to resolve non-criminal cases faster than the civil courts. The forms and strategies of conflict resolution have led to the positive sustainability of communities and the individuals living in them. It can be said that without the traditional court, the civil court may be overwhelmed with pending cases.

The study of rhetorical practices in the Nae We traditional court has confirmed the existence of varied rhetorical practices used in traditional courts during communication exchanges. Considering the symbolic representation embedded in communication exchanges through artefacts, it is evident that there has been continuity in the use of such forms of communication. Given this and other aforementioned findings, researchers in rhetoric and traditional communication should be encouraged to pay attention to the traditional modes of communication. Mainly, traditional communication, falls within the scope of the Ga people.

Furthermore, the study gathered that training courses are organised occasionally for the actors at the traditional courts. However, despite the In-Service Training organised for the elders at the traditional court, the study suggests that there should be periodic education on the activities of the traditional court to audiences to avert some misconceptions about the Nae We traditional court, especially for Nae We, which is situated in the metropolitan city of Accra.

The research lauded the practice of training the youth at the traditional court to take charge of the traditional court proceedings in the future. It is a form of sustaining the traditional institution for community members and others who trust

in the judgement of the Nae We Traditional Court. It recommends that not only men should be involved, but the women should also be enlightened on the practice.

Moreso, the sustainability of the traditional court is a continuity of rhetorical practices, including artistic use of language, and communication via artefacts and symbols. The use of language and rhetorical practices come alive within the context of resolving and mediating conflicts. In view of this, the medium through which the practices are realised should be preserved. In addition, scholars may explore other means to enhance the sustainability of the traditional rhetorical practices used in the traditional courts. With this, the traditional court institution will be strengthened and empowered. When this is achieved, Sustainable Development Goal 16, which looks to strengthen institutions, will be addressed.

Finally, subsequent studies may consider topics related to decolonising the woman's position within some of these strong traditional institutions where male domination is paramount. The study will not look at the attempt to withdraw complete power from a male-dominated jury within the traditional courts such as Nae We but to empower women to be actively involved.

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<https://doi.org/10.1080/03637759209376283>



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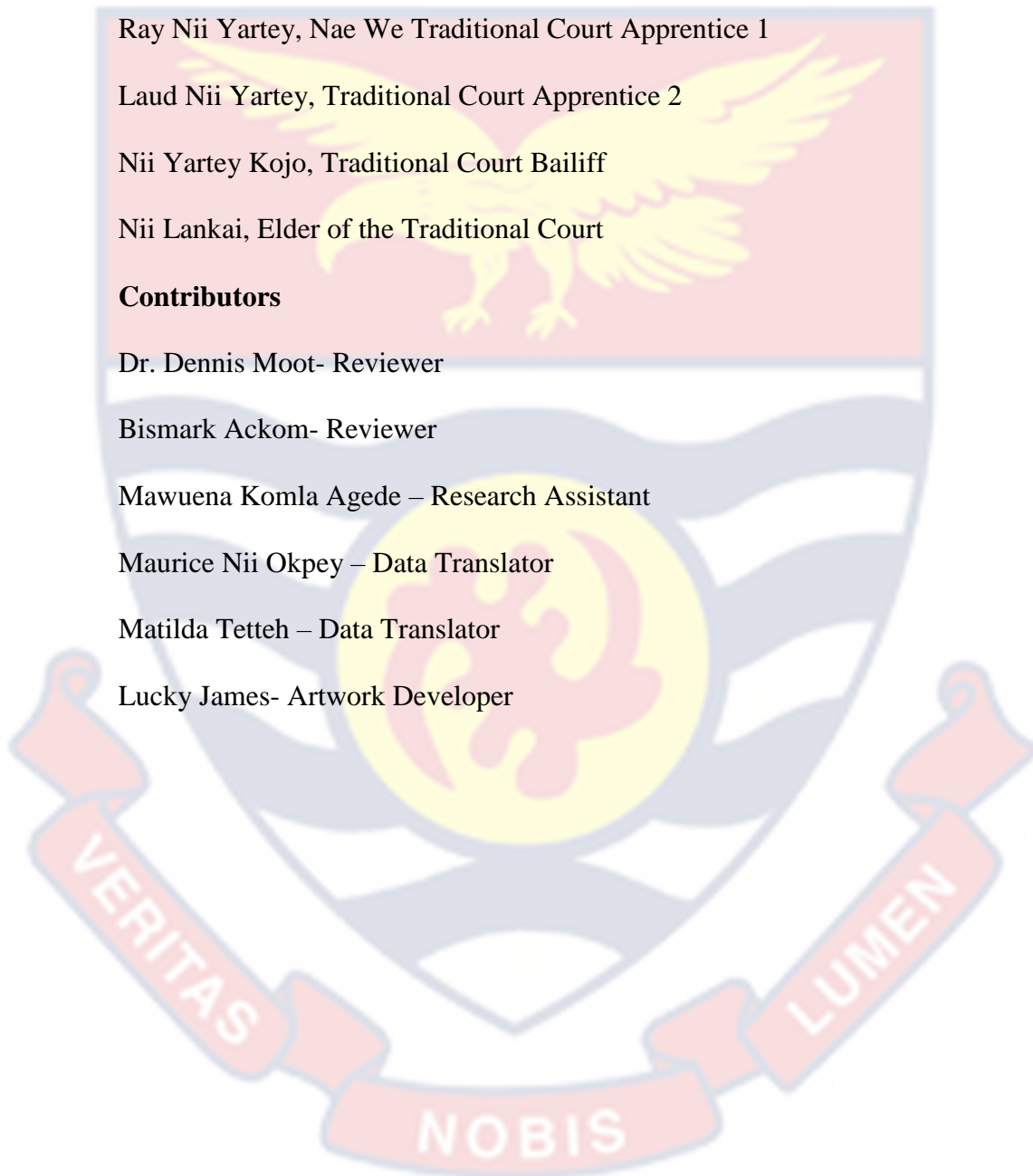
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Indepth Interview Guide for Key Informants

Interview Guide for Chief Priest/ Spiritual Head

Dear Sir

Thank you for accepting to be a part of this study which seeks to analyse the Rhetorical practices during the mediation of conflicts in the Nae We Traditional Court in Jamestown, Accra. I wish to assure you that the interviews are strictly for academic purposes only. As such, confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed. Your selection as a participant in this study was informed by your extensive experience and knowledge on the subject of interest here. I am therefore interested in learning from you; about your experiences and thoughts on this topic under study. I plead for your permission to record the session. Thank you once again for your time and participation

Section A: Socio-Demographic Background of Participants

1. Please tell me about yourself (your name, age, education, role played at the traditional court Etc)

Section B: Knowledge of The Nae We Traditional Court

2. How long has Nae We been a Traditional Court?
3. What are some of the protocols observed here during deliberations and court proceedings?

Section C: Knowledge of Rhetorical Practices and Protocols

4. What are some the practices undertaken here, with respect to:
 - a. Language
 - b. Body language and gestures

c. Symbolism

d. Clothing/ Appearance

5. How relevant are they to the court and its function as a Traditional Court?

6. Considering the number of other traditional courts within the Ga State, what makes Nae We Traditional Court a unique court?

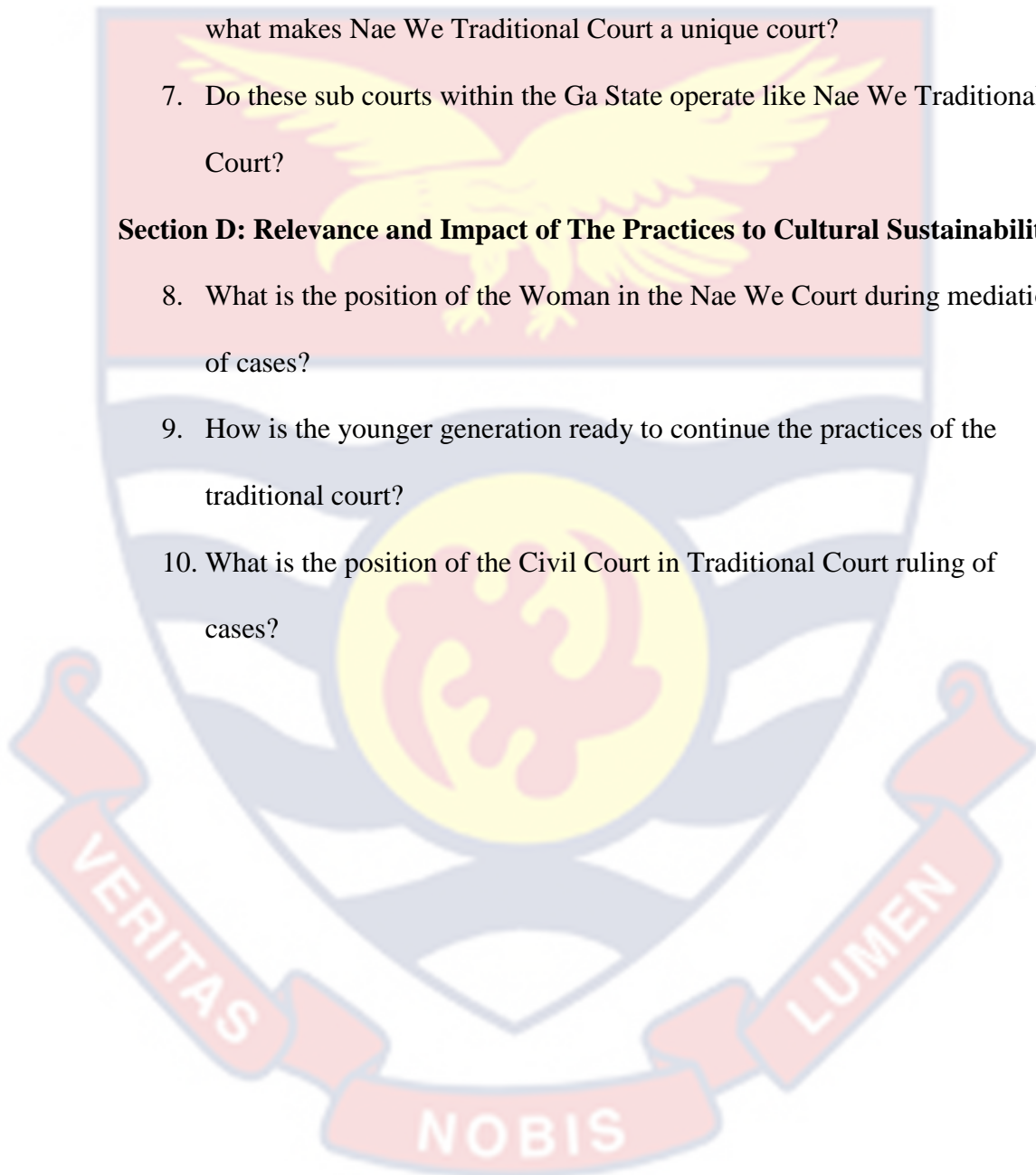
7. Do these sub courts within the Ga State operate like Nae We Traditional Court?

Section D: Relevance and Impact of The Practices to Cultural Sustainability

8. What is the position of the Woman in the Nae We Court during mediation of cases?

9. How is the younger generation ready to continue the practices of the traditional court?

10. What is the position of the Civil Court in Traditional Court ruling of cases?



APPENDIX B

Interview Guide for Court Secretary

Dear Sir

Thank you for accepting to be a part of this study which seeks to analyse the Rhetorical practices during the mediation of conflicts in the Nae We Traditional Court in Jamestown, Accra. I wish to assure you that the interviews are strictly for academic purposes only. As such, confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed. Your selection as a participant in this study was informed by your extensive experience and knowledge on the subject of interest here. I am therefore interested in learning from you; about your experiences and thoughts on this topic under study. I plead for your permission to record the session. Thank you once again for your time and participation

Section A: Socio-Demographic Background of Participants

1. Please tell me about yourself (your name, age, education, role played at the traditional court Etc)
2. Can you give a brief background of the Nae We Traditional Court?
3. What is your position and role in the traditional court? In these times where there are no wars, what role does your position play?

Section C: The Use of Language in The Nae We Traditional Court

4. How do you manage the use of language among audiences in the traditional court during court proceedings?
5. How do you manage figurative language such as proverbs, metaphors among others at the traditional court?
6. What happens when these forms of language are used inappropriately?

Section D: Knowledge of the Use of Rhetorical Appeals

7. Do individuals who visit the court receive coaching before proceedings begin?
8. How does the court handle the emotions of individuals who visit the court?

Section E: Relevance and Impact of the Practices to Cultural Sustainability

9. In what ways do you think these practices may be modernised?
10. How do you understand the 'Wisdom of the Old Woman' as an expression to conflict mediation and resolution?
11. Who qualifies as a mediator in the traditional court? Does he go through some training?
12. Who can bring a case to the traditional court to be settled?

Section F: Knowledge of Rhetorical Practices and Protocols

13. Are there special meanings to some of the objects around here?
 - a. The staff
 - b. The broom
 - c. The sacred leaves
 - d. The altars

APPENDIX C

Interview Guide for Family Head/ Sub- Chief of a Household

Dear Sir

Thank you for accepting to be a part of this study which seeks to analyse the Rhetorical practices during the mediation of conflicts in the Nae We Traditional Court in Jamestown, Accra. I wish to assure you that the interviews are strictly for academic purposes only. As such, confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed. Your selection as a participant in this study was informed by your extensive experience and knowledge on the subject of interest here. I am therefore interested in learning from you; about your experiences and thoughts on this topic under study. I plead for your permission to record the session. Thank you once again for your time and participation.

Section A: Socio-Demographic Background of Participants

1. Please tell me about yourself (your name, age, education, role played at the traditional court etc)
2. What are some of the roles assigned to the title you hold?

Section B: Knowledge of Traditional Ethical Protocols

3. As a complainant who is also a Chief, why did you not settle the case at your palace?
4. What are some of the results you expect after the end of proceedings?

Section C: The Use of Language in the Traditional Court

5. Why do you use a lot of proverbs and metaphors to communicate?
6. How do you rate the use of language by the youth of today?
7. Apart from the way you speak in proverbs etc., what other non-verbal forms of communication do you use in communicating?

Section D: Relevance and Impact of the Practices to Cultural Sustainability

8. Do you know of any prominent woman in Ga history?
9. How do you suggest that women would be involved fully in court proceedings in Nae We?

10. Do you have an idea on the perception of the public concerning Nae We?

11. What do you think can be done to avert that perception?



APPENDIX D

Focus Group Guide

Research Topic

Mediating Conflicts in Nae We Traditional Court: An Analysis of Rhetorical Practices.

Preamble

The interview guide is designed to gather information from the participants at the Nae We Traditional Court, Gbese, Jamestown, Accra, Ghana. The primary objective of this interview is to solicit information from the Spiritual Head of the Nae We Traditional Court on the Rhetorical Practices that are embedded in the Conflict Mediation process at the Traditional Court during court proceedings. The study participants included some Council of Elders, Traditional Court apprentices, and the Spiritual Head as the primary respondent.

Confidentiality

A considerable form of anonymity and confidentiality would be exercised in the study. Respondents acting as participants in this study would not be disclosed to third parties unless otherwise agreed. The contributions of key informants will be duly acknowledged because key informants had no reservations of their identity to be made known. All sensitive information shall be kept safe. In situations where deeper explanations may be required for particular contribution, the term 'respondent' or 'participant' would be given to their identity.

APPENDIX E**Interview 1****Asafoatse Abrantie, Warrior Chief****Nae We, Gbese Jamestown, Accra**

Interviewee: Many do not want the Ga people to engage themselves in chieftaincy issues. The chief used to be the ruler of the Ga people. It is an inheritance from Israel. We had only chief priests as leaders during our migration from Israel. The changes in our chieftaincy system is as a result of the arrival of the Europeans. Communication between the Europeans and the chief priests became very difficult. Hence, the Governor by then pleaded with the Ga people to help make communication between them and the Ga people easier and effective. We did not have a situation where the chief priest will respond to the request of the Europeans because the chief priest is always holy and often times indoors. His preoccupation is to intercede for the town.

Interviewer: Meaning he likes to continue his solemn...

Interviewee: Exactly, so the Europeans could not get close. The Ga people adopted the chieftaincy system due to these events to help them easily interact with the Europeans. Currently, the chief priests have assumed ceremonial roles. They are solely responsible for the performance of rites. The chief priest will perform the rite before the chief will deliver his speech. The same applies to the reception given to a visitor. The chief priest must first pour libation. He seeks blessings through the libation performance.

Interviewer: That is what we observed ...

Interviewee: Exactly. Traditionally, we pour libation as a form of prayer.

Interviewer: Why then do you do that and what else do you do?

Interviewee: At this arbitration court, he has the final say. He can stay in his room and they will not fear him. And when he is done, and he claps, he will be given a chair to sit on.

Interviewer: Okay, where is his chair?

Interviewee: He sits here. His chair is inside. He will join you, and take his seat and then rest his chin on his palm as he listens to us. He will then seek permission to talk.

Interviewer: Please position your hand well. Thank you. If I heard you very well, after he has performed the libation, what he says...

Interviewee: He has the final say. So when he speaks, the meeting is brought to an end. I want to find out, there's no female here during the arbitration. There are no females here for one reason

Interviewer: Wow, ok

Interviewee: For instance, a young lady menstruating. All those in this age bracket are not allowed except maybe you have stopped menstruating.

Interviewer: Does it mean any lady menstruating is not allowed here?

Interviewee: Not at all. If you come here, you would have to sit somewhere there. She will sit here, but what happens during the arbitration process? If the person is menstruating, she would sit there.

Interviewer: But there's no elderly woman among the elderly men during the arbitration

Interviewee: Not at all

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: The reason is that females do not start. We do not start with females because they guide during our sittings. It is voluntary and those of us sitting here are all retirees. It is not meant for people who would normally excuse themselves and go to work.

Interviewer: Therefore you cannot join the sittings if you are always busy

Interviewee: No

Interviewer: I ask this because while growing up, we heard statements like ‘the elders are going to consult the old woman’. I believe we had such a statement?

Interviewee: We still use that saying. ‘We are going to ask the old woman among other similar sayings’ we still use them.

Interviewer: Where is the old woman? Who is she?

Interviewee: I remember telling you at the beginning that our forefathers started by consulting oracles. But the current generation are learning from the past elders. But the fact is we do not know exactly what they did.

Interviewer: So you are following tradition.

Interviewee: Yes, tradition must go on, that is what we do. If we say, ‘we are going to consult the old woman’ it is just like we are going to share views. What’s your opinion on the issue? No old woman is consulted.

Interviewer: So what if you identify an old woman... (I have told her how much I will buy- Interjection) No problem. If you identify an old woman who has experience in such matters, would you permit her to join you or you will stick to the old tradition?

Interviewee: That’s true. Tradition goes on but some traditions can be altered, others cannot be changed. We can modify some, just like the one we are

discussing. Women say they can do what men do. Some men wear sexy pant and some women wear trousers.

Interviewer: Just like me.

Interviewee: One thing remains. Someone to confidently declare she can do what we do. Nobody will stop you. We undertake courses periodically.

Interviewer: Okay, like arbitration and others. You mentioned arbitration.

Interviewee: The ADR process at the chief's palace is assessed on a regular basis.

Interviewer: I have never heard that traditional court study courses.

Interviewee: We do.

Interviewer: I get it. Can you imagine? So there is mediation and there is arbitration. Which of them takes place here?

Interviewee: There are people who have delegated powers from the chief to settle cases but in our case, the Chief Justice nominates someone. When we have a new chief priest, he would have to swear the oath of secrecy and he will use his powers vested in him by the Judicial Service to arbitrate cases. That is how it is. Ours have been recognised by the Judicial Service.

Interviewer: During an arbitration in the Ashanti Region, the queenmother sits close to the chief and the linguist stands nearby holding his staff. One passes the information through the linguist. I hope you understand? So what channel do use to pass on information should I come here with my case?

Interviewee: Through the linguist.

Interviewer: Where does he sit?

Interviewee: So the linguist sits in front.

Interviewer: How does one become a linguist? Excuse my language but is it the case that the current linguist is the son of the then linguist who died or how is it done?

Interviewee: Okay, we nominate the linguist on the basis of houses.

Interviewer: How many houses?

Interviewee: We have particular houses. We have a linguist for the house and a different linguist for the entire township. There are preferences when choosing the linguist for the entire township.

Interviewer: Is the person from a specific house?

Interviewee: (Pointing at someone) He is the short one. His father was a linguist.

Interviewer: Which house? What is their name?

Interviewee: The name of the house is Boi Tono We, Boi Tono. Whatever it is, they should have a rep here. The linguist is chosen from only that family. The linguist must come from this house.

Interviewer: Then where does the second one come from?

Interviewee: The second one can be anyone who is ready to serve. We refer to that as 'maṅbiian'

Interviewer: Okay, so you are referring to all the houses. Anyone can be chosen. But with the other one, assuming this elder has travelled and can no longer perform his duties, you would have to search for another person from Boi Tonowe.

Interviewer: Exactly. What is the work of the linguist? Does he translate?

Interviewee: The chief priest does not come out from his room without any purpose. He stays in the room and he channels information through the

linguist to the people. In the past, the linguist mediated between the chief and the visitors.

Interviewer: So there's mediation too. Both happens here then.

Interviewee: People meet the linguist more often than they meet the chief priest.

He is popular than the chief priest.

Interviewer: Could you conclude so would talk about this? I suppose that will be interesting than all that you have told us.

Interviewee: people do not speak well these days. That is the reason why one must channel the information through the linguist. The linguist must then correct the inappropriate language.

Interviewer: How does he correct it?

Interviewee: Currently, the younger generation do not know how to talk appropriately. The linguist must be very fluent and must have in-depth knowledge of the language itself. The linguist must identify insult when someone speaks. The linguist must know how to communicate the information.

Interviewer: How will he polish it?

Interviewee: Even though the elders will also identify the foul language, they would want to know if the linguist is competent enough to correct the inappropriate language.

Interviewer: You don't have to say exactly what is said.

Interviewee: Thank you. For instance, if the person channels an insult through you to your mother, then you also go and say exactly what was said. I'm beginning to hear some insults. Thank you, so that is the role of the linguist. Assuming there's arbitration of an issue between two people, if one person

is given the opportunity to speak, the person may speak harshly. If the person is permitted to talk directly to the elders, he may insult throughout his speech. As a linguist, your role is to control such a person. Witnesses are allowed to sit close to the person so they could control the person. They are to calm you down when your temper rises.

Interviewer: Assuming someone makes an utterance and the linguist must polish it, what will he say and how will he say it?

Interviewee: The linguist will call the person to order. A proverb is usually used. You should be able to explain the proverb very well. If you know you cannot explain the proverb then you don't have to even use it. For instance, it's an insult for someone to say 'oh' to you during your conversation. Many have no idea about this. People think it should be added to the language but it is not correct. 'Oh' has different meanings. What do you imply, but if you say 'Ao', everyone will understand. You get the person's attention to give you further explanation but to say 'oh' means you are being rebellious.

Interviewer: That is why the elderly insult us at home. When you say 'oh', you mean something different. Before we go on to that, what types of cases are brought before you?

Interviewee: We do not deal with criminal cases. We do not deal with threatening cases. Threatening cases may be spiritual or physical, where people are likely to use knives. We assess the cases. We hand over cases such as pickpocketing to the police.

Interviewer: What kind of case are you about to settle today?

Interviewee: Defamation of character. The person is a pastor. Whether or not you attend his church, whether or not you like his church, his church members

are the only ones who know what he does in his church. You cannot just call him a swindler. He will request that you give evidence of your allegation.

Interviewer: Is this the pastor?

Interviewee: Yes, the pastor is the one coming.

Interviewer: Does a pastor visit Nae We? Do you know that...?

Interviewee: Excuse me, Nae We is not a fetish place.

Interviewer: Good, that was where I was going to.

Interviewee: Not at all. It is not.

Interviewer: When many hear Nae We, they perceive you are visiting a fetish. That is why I asked if the pastor also comes here because it was the least thing I expected.

Interviewee: The man sitting there, Elvis, is our secretary and he is a pastor.

Interviewer: So it is a misconception?

Interviewee: Exactly, Bishop Tackie Yarboi has chosen Labadi, his mother's lineage but he comes from Nae We. They are many. One has died recently.

Interviewer: These are some of the reasons why we must rise up as Ga people and be firm. Recently, it was published on the internet that during ηmaadumo 'the sowing of millet', there was an altercation so someone decided to sue. Everything including the procession of the priestesses have been recorded. Everyone thinks it is fetish.

Interviewee: The priestesses can be likened to rivers. All rivers have their estuary in the sea, irrespective of their source. The sea is their final destination. All priestesses, irrespective of where you serve, take orders from the Nae Chief Priest. If he rises to talk, he is the one.

Interviewer: So he sent them, right?

Interviewee: They have no power over the town like he does. He is the chief. We opted for that for smooth and easy running of the town. The chief priest used to be our ruler.

Interviewer: It is said that Rome was not built in a day. We could not have the chance to observe the occasion for today but definitely we will return, Let us conclude with this. I am very sure you woke early because of the issue.

Interviewee: (Pointing at the engraved on the wall) This was created by two brothers from this side but based it on some past happenings.

Interviewer: It's history then.

Interviewee: Yes, it is history and it was transformed into the coat of arm.

Interviewer: How did he mark the coat of arms?

Interviewee: When the Dutch finished, they handed over the stamps to the Nae Chief Priest but they did not give it to him personally. They gave it to the linguist, Boi Tono Tsuru.

Interviewer: We have seen European hand and African hand. So this is a village. This depicts their return.

Interviewee: Exactly

Interviewer: And that was 1734

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: What does it signify?

Interviewee: It is called 'foi'. If I am sent on an errand to you and I have this in my possession, you must give me that respect

Interviewer: I can see a stick and also a bowl. Is it food inside the bowl?

Interviewee: If Today happens to be Tuesday or Friday, you would have seen leaves in it too.

Interviewer: What do you do on Friday?

Interviewee: We fill the bowl with leaves.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: When you are about bathing.

Interviewer: And what is this? What is under the leaves, earthen bowl and pot? What is its purpose, for protection?

Interviewee: Oh no. its tradition just like others put on big necklace.

Interviewer: What is its name?

Interviewee: Kɔmi.

Interviewer: Is it only the Chief Priest who wears it?

Interviewee: Yes, only the chief priest. Not all priests, except those at higher levels; Kɔle, Sakumo.

Interviewer: So you have Kɔle chief priest and Sakumo chief priest?

Interviewee? Yes

Interviewer? What of Nae Chief Priest, 'mɔ ko sane', why that slogan?

Interviewee: Honestly speaking, I was young by then. We are continuing what I used to witness when I was young. The Ga people like to imitate. If we want to imitate someone...If something will succeed, it succeeds at a particular sector, and other sectors may not succeed. I hope you understand?

Interviewer: Yes

Interviewee: Let us now consider this scenario, some people know the benefit of this gift so it is not a bother to them at all but just a matter of discussing

another person's issue. If we claim it is not good and we desire change then there's a need for reasoning, Let us meet and discuss and conclude it but you wait for several years meanwhile you admit you are not well-to-do, yet you are always in the law court. You have the address people's grievances.

When he defames Kwame, he gets money and we must put a stop to that behaviour because it destroys us. Your loved one will travel abroad. He will succeed. Instead of introducing you, he will introduce you to another channel.

Interviewer: If you become successful than him, you will prosper and he does not want that to happen

Interviewee: We have not changed till today. In the past, at the mention of the law court, but it has become people's preoccupation. Some people go to the court without money and they start crying. They ponder about it and they don't suggest for the case to be withdrawn from the court. It will interest you to know that they will use a huge amount of money and friends will follow them as well. They then go home and cry. But when I analyse your side of the story, I can tell you are likely to lose the case so it is better to plead with the fellow. I will let you know. The lady who came to sit here...

Interviewer: I realised she didn't want to heed your advice.

Interviewee: This lady is a married woman. She has been engaged. She was not bought with akpeteshie. Her husband has a super market... He has built one for the mother and sisters and he has built one near that one for you. Her friends and siblings are advising her to collapse the business of her mother-in-law and sisters. They will become hindrances to your growth. So the man said he is able to detect the intention of the lady anytime she informs him

there's a shortage of goods in the store. He did that several times and decided to stop. 'I have to monitor her.' Give me up to this time. She was lured into getting a concubine. He was told the child ...Some other person will give me so if you decide not to give me, I will go to that person. He gave me two weeks. She had left the house when the man came back. She went to stay with another man at Atukupai. The door was not opened after several knocks on the door. A certain woman informed him she was there. The man was then encouraged to knock the more. The door was opened after several knocks. She came out with man. The man was asked why he came knocking at the door. I should ask you that question. The wife came to stand at the door while the questioning was ongoing. What are you doing in his room? When he asked that question, he was told not to step foot in the house again. Who is your wife? On his blind side, he was hit with a spatula. He was bleeding profusely. If you have been informed that your husband, he was my mate in school. He behave like a female. Should you insult the man based on that?

Interviewer: You have even married him

Interviewee: You have a child with him. Thank you. When the lady came here to sue, she thought we said she must revoke the curse because they have a child. No one knows the outcome of the curse. No one knows the first person it will affect.

Interviewer: So there was a curse?

Interviewee: Yes, it's a curse. The lady reported the man to WAJU. We assumed we don't have to settle the case since it has been reported at the law court.

Interviewer: Unless they are done.

Interviewee: We revoked only the curse. We didn't find the man guilty and we didn't find the woman innocent. We suggested he should not resort to curses. If they revoke the curse and the court settles the case and he is dissatisfied, then he can sue the man he found with the wedded wife. One day, we will invite you to witness the case. You would be amazed humans do this. Someone has a husband and you refer to him as a contractor but maybe he arranges blocks....he doesn't do anything but the money he spends when he comes to buy from your bar. Must you follow the person beyond Legon where he works? The lady came to sue first, and she did let us know she has been intimate with the man. So what do you expect me to do? She informed us because she knew the man had a wife and went ahead to act in such a manner.

Interviewer: It's adventure at times. I heard you mention office. Is the Nae Chief priest the only one who stays in the office?

Interviewee: He is in the room. He only comes out when there is a case to settle. We have administrative officers, a secretary and an overall boss.

Interviewer: What is his position then?

Interviewee: Family Head

Interviewer: Who is supreme?

Interviewee: We are all retirees. Anyway, one's role indicates how high he is. We will call on him when anything happens in this house. When the judicial service visits, the reconciliation is done between them and the secretary.

Interviewer: Are those who sit here council of elders?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Then there's another person, the messenger. Who reports the complaints made?

Interviewee: We have bailiff

Interviewer: Is he the one with the broom?

Interviewee: Yes, they are five.

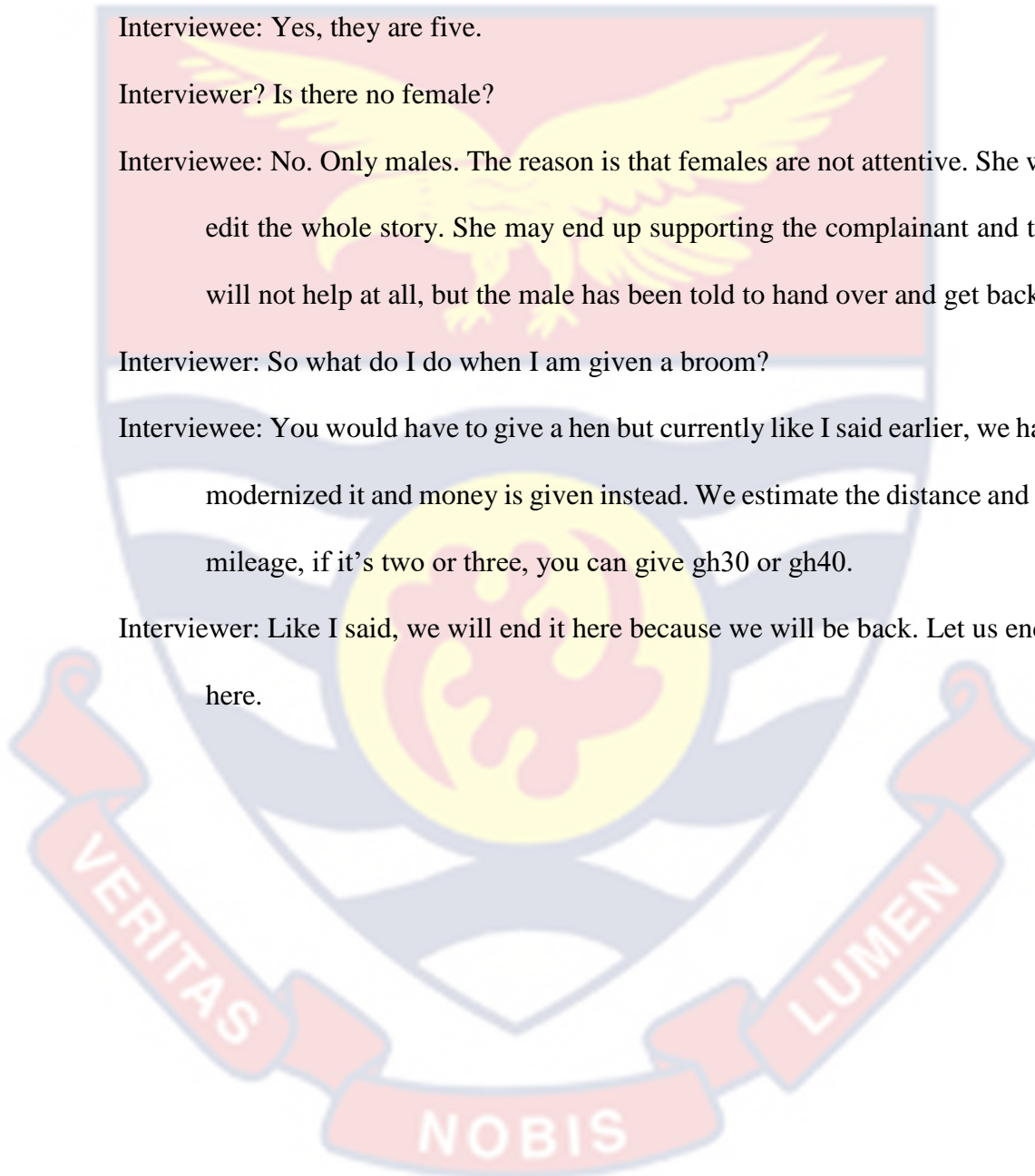
Interviewer? Is there no female?

Interviewee: No. Only males. The reason is that females are not attentive. She will edit the whole story. She may end up supporting the complainant and that will not help at all, but the male has been told to hand over and get back.

Interviewer: So what do I do when I am given a broom?

Interviewee: You would have to give a hen but currently like I said earlier, we have modernized it and money is given instead. We estimate the distance and the mileage, if it's two or three, you can give gh30 or gh40.

Interviewer: Like I said, we will end it here because we will be back. Let us end it here.



APPENDIX E (GA)

Interview 1

Asafoatse Abrantie, Warrior ChiefNae We, Jamestown, Accra

Interviewee: Mei pii sumɔɔ ni Gamei baana loo amegɛeti into chieftancy.

Wulomei ji mei ni mei ni no mli le ameyɛɔ Gamei anɔ. Wɔke nii nɛɛ je Israel. Bɔ ni womigrate keje Israel kebaa fɛɛ, leadership'ɛ, wulomɔi sɔŋŋ. Nɔ ni baaha ni changes aba into chieftancy ji be ni Dleshi ablotsiri bii'e ba mli eha. Agbene interactions between blɔfomei ke wulomei bafee more difficult. Hewɔ nii baba le ake Governor by then, akɛɛ ake eeto Gamei taflatsa ni amefee easier, easy amɛha blɔfomei ni amɛke wɔ ainteracti. Hewɔ like ke ate tsu'e mli inside ke nibii bɔ ni maŋtɛmei responduɔ to blɔfomei arequest ke nibii, wɔ bie nɛɛ ebe nakai ejaake wulomɔ'ɔ, daa nɛɛ eye kroŋŋ nii amlɔ. Almost everyday indoors. What he does is eesɔle eha maan.

Interviewer: "Ni tsɔɔ akɛ, he likes to continue his solemn..."

Interviewee: yes, yes. Hewɔ blɔfomei'e, amɛnyɛɛ amɛbenke. Ni ona akɛ no hewɔ'ɔ that was when ni Gamei ba inculcate nɛke chieftancy kɛwo wɔ wɔ nii nɛɛ mli shi tamɔ ebaba le akɛ agbeneGamei ana maŋtɛmei ni amɛ ke blɔfomei ashra. No hewɔ obaana akɛ Gamei ke ... blema ko'e jee maji atɛmei, jee maŋtɛmei hewɔ ona, wulomei ye jɛmɛ. Ga, Ga shi biantɔnɛ wulomei, aha amɛ that ceremonial erm erm position. Amɛ amefɛɔ kusumji fɛɛ kusum. Wulomɔ baafee kusumi'e dani maŋtɛ baaba le hu ebaabaha speech aloo whatever le hu le etaoɔ ni afeɔ ahaa le. Nakai noŋŋ ji eko'e mɔ

ko eje eba fresh. Ke abaa receive le ni etee maa mli'ε, wulomɔ yeo ηkpai first. Ekεbio jɔomɔ ke gbεgbelemɔ.

Interviewer: "No ji no ni no mli'ε, wɔnaa ye...."

Interviewee: yes, yes, yes.

Interviewer: "Traditionally'ε wɔsolomɔ ji abaaye ηkpai. Hewɔ meni hewɔ nyefeo nakai ni apart from that'ε, meni ekonη hu nyefeo?"

Interviewee: Agbene ye wɔ arbitration courtu'ε nεε, le ji the final erm, erm, erm sayer. Ke, ebaanye ni ehɔ etsu mli'ε ni ameshee le gbeyei...ηmene'ε ... oh dabi. Ni ke egbe naa ni ke be'ε she ni etswa edeη nɔηη, abaatsɔ esei ni ebaaba ta nɔ.

Interviewer: "Ok hewɔ η'gbε esei yɔ?"

Interviewee: Biε etaa. Esei ye inside. Hewɔ ke eba ebata shi'ε, he fεε he ni nyeshε'ε, obaana ni etsɔle enaa ni eebo wɔ toi. No hewɔ ke ekεε abo agoo aha le pε, be eeba ni ebabote mli.

Interviewer: "Ofaine ni ojaje onine fioo" Haa, thank you. "Ke η'nu ojogbaηη, ke eye ηkpai ni ji traditional prayers kεke agbene'ε sane ni ke ewie ..." Le ehaa final say.

Interviewee: "Ke ewie'ε kεke atswa shi.

Interviewer: Hewɔ'ɔ mabi ei. Taflatse, ke eba le saneyeli'ε, ... η'nako yoo ko kwraa ye biε."

Interviewee: Efee meni? Yoo. Ake shia nεε baa. Nakai shia niyenii'ε, yei, yei, wɔke yei ehiii bie nεε for one reason.

Interviewer: "Wow, ok."

Interviewee: Tamɔ yoo ni eye eyouthful nii nεε, ona, mɔ ni η'ya tsuiasεε ke nibii, dabi. Hewɔ wɔ wɔshia nεε wɔyei amlɔ ne to the next house. Hewɔ mei ni

e'attain nakai age'ε fεε ja mɔ ni efo erm erm erm ke ekpa eni nεε le'ε ebaanye ni erm eye hegbe...

Interviewer: "Hewɔ no tsɔɔ akε taflatse ke yoo ko ye eyei amli'ε, esaaa ni ebaa biε."

Interviewee: Dabi, dabi. Ke oba, ebaata biε. "Ebaaa biεgbe he ko. Shi tamo saneyeli'ε mli neke..." Ke mɔ'ɔ etee tsuiaseε, ebaata biε...

Interviewer: "Shi miitsɔɔ saneyeli'ε mli ei hiimeji nεε, yoo onukpa ko fitaaa he?"

Interviewee: Dabi, dabi.

Interviewer: "Maaba?"

Interviewee: Erm nɔ ni yɔɔ mli ji wɔke yei ejeee shishi. Nɔ ni hewɔ ni wɔke yei ejeee shishi'ε, erm wɔ wɔ wɔnaabuamɔ mli no mli'ε hiimeji onaa no mli yeimeɪ amehaaa guidance upon nii nεε akε I'm prepared to εheε. It is voluntary, ni mεi ni onaa ni wɔtara shi hu'ε, pensioneers sɔɔɔ. Ona, jeeε nɔ ko ni baaba ni be ni time'ε baashe, obaakeε miiya office aloo...

Interviewer: "No hewɔ ke obe deka'ε le onyεεε obata biε."

Interviewee: Dabi.

Interviewer: "Nɔ ni hewɔ ni η'biɔ ji, onaaa akε shi wɔdale mli awieɔ nɔ ko tamo ke sane ko ba neke ni aaye ne'ε, obaakeε yeimeji'ε etee tsu mli amεkeε ameyaana yoomo'ε. Ofaine be no mli'ε aye wiemo ko nakai?"

Interviewee: Oh! Wiemo eye ololoolo. Ayaabi yoomo'ε ke nibii'ε. Eye ololoolo.

Interviewer: "Hewɔ yoomo'ε negbe le yɔɔ? Yoomo'ε le ji namɔ?"

Interviewee: Ona akε shi no ha ni η'jeη shi η'keε bo akε wɔtsemεi amεjeη' shi bi consulting oracles.

Interviewer: "Ofaine yoo."

Interviewee: Shi onaa biantɔnɛɛ wɔfɛɔ nii ake wɔ meí ni wɔba mli'ɛ wɔnsumɔ like we are learning what they did the previous time. Shi in actual fact, nɔ ni pɔtɛɛ ni amɛfɛɔ wɔle, hewɔ wɔ hu wɔkɔ lɛ ake ...

Interviewer: “Hewɔ tradition like nyɛle hewɔ'ɔ nyɛtsa nɔ.”

Interviewee: Yeah tradition must go on. Ni nɔ ji nɔ ni wɔfɛɔ. Ni kɛ akɛɛ aaya ayabi yoomo'ɛ, is like you are going to share views

Interviewer: “OK, hewɔ” Sane'ɛ te onaa lɛ tɛɲɲ? Shi jee ni yoomo ko ta shi ni oyaabi. “Hewɔ'ɔ kɛ bianɛ nyɛkadi yoomo ko ye...” ((On phone with someone)Hɛɛ ɲ'tsɔɔ lɛ bɔ ni mahe kɛ nɔ fɛɛ nɔ agbɛnɛ'ɛ). “Ok, no problem. Nyɛkadi yoomo ko ye weku'ɛ mli ni ona ake shi ejwɛɲmɔ kɛ enilee yaa hie kɛ eba lɛ nakai nibii nɛɛ, abaanye ni aha lɛ gbɛ ni akɛɛ ake shi hɛɛ ekole ebata mli da koni ebaye nɛkɛ sane nɛɛ aloo be ni kusum fɛɛ tamɔ bɔ ni owie ake kusum gbɔɔ'ɛ nɔ hewɔ'ɔ ehi lɛ nakai nɔɲɲ.”

Interviewee: Hɛɛ well, ona ake kusum'ɛ kusum gbɔɔ shi ayɛ kusum komɛí ni atsakeɔ hie. Ayɛ ekomɛi hu ni nɔ'ɛ onyɛɛɛ ota he, ona. Tamɔ nɔ ni wɔwie nɛɛ, abaanye ni amodify lɛ ejaake he ni ashe, yei kɛɛ amɛ tamɔ hii hu tamɔ amɛ. Bianɛ hii ekomɛi wɔɔ sexy pant ni yei ekomɛi hu wɔɔ trousers. “... ”

Interviewer: Hahahaha! Tamɔ bɔ ni ɲ'keta shi nɛɛ.”

Interviewee: Hewɔ ona ake interweaving'ɛ eba jɛi omo, hewɔ what you will do is nɔ ni pɛ ni he hiaa bianɛ nɔɲɲ ji mo ko ni baanye ena that sort of confidence ni ekɛɛ ake nɔ ni afeɔ nɛɛ manyɛ mafɛɛ. Nobody will stop you. Nɔ ni pɛ ni he hiaa ji periodically'ɛ, wɔyaa for erm courses “Ok, tamɔ arbitration kɛ nii. ɔ'nu ni ootɛ arbitration.” Ona ake ADR ni be sheɔ ni amɛbaa mantɛɛ shiai koni amɛ assess wɔɔ nii nɛɛ...

Interviewer: “Nɔ ni owieɔ nɛɛ ɲ'nuko da ei ake traditional court nyeyaa courses.”

Interviewee: Oh yeah, woyaa

Interviewer: “Wow, I get it.” Voluntary “Can you imagine. Hewo aye mediation ni aye arbitration. Te no ni ji afeɔ ye bie nɛɛ?”

Interviewee: Hɛɛ ona akɛ one way or the other mɛi komɛi ye ni hu ye ni amɛ amɛno amɛ allocated powers amɛhaa amɛ fo maɲtse shia ni amɛyeɔ amɛ sane shi wo wono nɛɛ nekɛ’ɛ, ɛɛr Chief Justice baanɔmineeti mo ko ni kɛ ni tamɔ ona newly installed wulo mo, abaa swear le in ni abaa ɛɛrm swear with that oath of ɛɛrm ɛɛrm meni secrecy or whatever it is by nekɛ ɛɛrm ɛɛrm Judicial Service baaha le powersiɛ ni le ekɛ arbitrate on nekɛ...

Interviewer: “Wow, wow.” Hewo that is how it is.

Interviewee: Wo wono’o it has been recognised by Judicial Service.

Interviewer: “Yeah, hewo tamɔ bo ni η’wies arbitration afeɔ ye bie, jee” Dabi “Hewo tamɔ kɛ aaye sane ona akɛ shi kɛ otee Ashanti Region nɛɛ, kɛ aaye sane’ɛ he ni maɲtse taa ekole maɲnye ta ekoɲno ye he ko keke otsaame damɔ shi ni ehie etso. Hewo obaawie kebaatsɔ otsaame no, onu mi shishi. Hewo bie nɛɛ, kɛ η’kɛ sane eba ni miiwies sanɛ η’gbɛ η’kɛ baatsɔ?”

Interviewee: Okɛbaatsɔ otsaame no.

Interviewer: “Hewo otsaame η’gbɛ etaa?”

Interviewee: Amɛ amɛtaa hie.

Interviewer: “Hewo otsaame amɛ amɛtaa hie. Tee baa le tɛɲɲ ni mo ko yeo otsaame?” ɛɛr ekole interpretation. “Like kɛ ekole taflatse otsaame ni woyoo ye bie nɛɛ, taflatse epapa yeo otsaame ni ni ebɛ doɲɲ ni akɛha ebi le aloo meni baakanfo...” Haaa! Ok, Ok.

Interviewee: ɛɛr wɔwiriɔ by houses.

Interviewer: “Hewo shiai enyie?”

Interviewee: Aye particular houses. eer bie nee, wohie wohie shia otsaame dani wohie maŋ otsaame. Maŋ otsaame le wohaa special preferences.

Interviewer: “Aye shia potee ko...”

Interviewee: Potee ji eer shia, shia err otsaame. Le ji short one’ε(Pointing to one elder). Le epapa me ni ye.

Interviewer: “Mei shia? Te atsee ame tɛŋŋ?”

Interviewee: Ok, atsee ameshia Bɔi Tonowe, Bɔi Tono. Ona, hewo Little boy “Haaa! Hewo Nii Bɔi Tono We. Whatever it is ε, they should have a rep here. Whatever happens ε, they should have a rep here.

Interviewer: Ok.

Interviewee: Ni ame ameyeo otsaame.

Interviewer: Oh ok. So that is one. An otsaame must come from this house. Then the second one’ε η’gbe ebaaje eba?”

Interviewee: The second one’ε le eer mo fee mo be komɛi wɔkehaa ekoe mi ŋa bi ni efee ready ake eke ehe baasomo shia. Hewo’o no’ε wotsee le maŋbiiŋ.

Interviewer: “Ok. Hewo maŋbii ji eer shiashia shiai fee.”

Interviewee: Jeme le anyeo awoo mo fee mo.

Interviewer: “Shi the other one’ε le ke η’tse nee efa gbe ni enyeee etsu enii’ε doŋŋ, obaaya Bɔi Tonowe’ε koni oyatao mo kroko.”

Interviewee: Nakai.

Interviewer: “Ni otsaame meni ebaafee?”

Interviewee: eerm otsaame “etranslateo?” Le wiemo, onaaa ake shi eerm ni numo’ε ejee kpo keke. Eye tsu mli ni no fee no, eketsoo otsaame no ni otsaame yakeo maŋbii, ona. Nakai noŋŋ blema, le otsaame le ji mo ni mediateo between numo’ε ke eerm visitors ni miiba bie nee.

Interviewer: “Hmm! Hewɔ mediation ye mli eei!”

Interviewee: Pii kɛkɛ.

Interviewer: “Bɛ nyefɛɔ enyɔ’ɔ fɛɛ.”

Interviewee: Ona, nɔ kɛkɛ ni yɔɔ mli ji, lɛ ji mɔ ni anaa lɛ po fe nuumo’ɛ. Eye more popular than wulɔmɔ diɛntɛ, ona. Enɛ’ɛ errm be ni Dutchbii aboat ko ba...

Interviewer: “Miitao ni omu naa koni wɔwie enɛ he ejaake ena ake no baafɛe interesting fe nɔ ni okɛɛ wɔ saɲɲ lɛ.”

Interviewee: Ok, ok.

Interviewer: “Te ewiemɔ mli tɛɲɲ? Ona ake gbeetɛnɛɛ wɔwiemɔ ehiii kwraa.”

Interviewee: No ha hewɔ ni akɛɔ ake shi kɛ wiemɔ atsɔ otsaame nɔ. No hewɔ nɔ ni ehiii’ɛ, it is for otsaame ni ebaasaa he.

Interviewer: “Te ebaasaa he tɛɲɲ?”

Interviewee: Biantɔ nɛɛ, wɔGa gbekɛbii, oblayei, oblantai fɛɛ ni eba, wɔdaɲwiemɔi ehiii ona. Hewɔ otsaame, esa ake enaa atse ni enyie indepth knowledge about the language itself. Ona, no hewɔ kɛ mɔ ko wie nɔ ko ni jemɔ ye mli’ɛ, ole. Solo kɛ obaafɛe presentation’ɛ, solo bɔ ni bo hu obapolish lɛ oha.

Interviewer: “Te mafɛe tɛɲɲ mapolish lɛ?”

Interviewee: Even though onukpai ni tara shi’ɛ, eko’ɛ amenu ake jemɔ ni shi amɛ ɲ’mɛ bo otsaame, nɔ ni bo okɛbaaha amɛ, no ji nɔ ni amɛkɛbaana ake ani wɔye otsaamefonyo aloo wɔbɛ eko?

Interviewer: “Ejaake esaaa ni bɔ ni obiɔ wiemɔ lɛ, nakai nɔɲɲ okɛhaa amɛ.”

Interviewee: Thank you. Bɛ etamɔ ni mɔ’ɔ etsu bo ake yaa ni oyaje omami ni ni oba hu okɛɛ emami ekɛɛ ohie flɛflɛ.

Interviewer: “Bianɛ miinu jemɔ he bibii.”

Interviewee: Thank you. So that is the role of the otsaame. Ke agbene sane. Mei enyo ena sane, ni mo ni yoo floor ni le eewie. Eko'ε jee mo fee mo naa tsui. Eke tsui hahaha η'wie. No hewo ke oηme le gbe ni eke hiimeji'ε wie direct'ε, ewiemoi fee ni ebaafamo, eko'ε jemoi soηη. Hewo'ε bo otsaame baacall le ni agbene'ε ke aye sane'ε eta'a mei ni le sane'ε he eko kwraa, ame amebataa ameseegebe bo ni afee ni amenye amecontrol. Ke ooya ni eko'ε tempers η'rise'ε ni sa ni mo ko anye ni acooli bo down.

Interviewer: “Hewo tamō mo ko ewie nō ko ni sa ni otsaame'ε asaa he, meni ebaawie, te ebaawie tēηη? Mō ko ewie wiemo nēe shi ni ekwe mli aahu'ε, sani ewie. No hewo te ebaakee tēηη” Interviewee: Nō ni yoo mli ji, otsaame baacall le to order ake oh...

Interviewer: “Be pii le abuo abei.”

Interviewee: Shi abe ke obu'ε, sa ni onye otsōo shishi jogbaηη, ona. Ke ole ake onyeee otsōo shishi jogbaηη be no'ε kaabu. Taflatse tamō bo ni wōta bie nēe noηη ke owie nō ko aloo mo ko kebo wie ni mo'ε kee 'Oh', Oh'ε jemō ni

Interviewer: “Yeah”.

Interviewee: Shi mei pii le. Efeō ame ake literary nii nēe ko ni sa ni akēfita wiemo'ε he shi it's not correct. Shi enemēi nibii pii tsaā nō, nibii pii tsa sēε. Obaakee ake oh. Meni ootao ni okēε mi'ε shi ke okēε 'Ao', oclear amejwēηmō. Be agbene ootao mo attention ni egbala nibii amli etsōo bo jogbaηη, ona shi ke okēε 'Oh'ε' otse le atua.

Interviewer: “No hewo ni onukpai kejeō wō ye shia. Ke okēε Oh, be jee neke otaōo ni otsōo. Hewo ke weku ke sane ba bie, before we go on to that'ε, meni sane neke akēbaa bie?” erm wō wōbie nēε, wōyeee criminal cases ni erm ni threatening wōselectōo nō ni ejaake aye threatening ko ni ke mo'ε ha bo'ε ole

formant'ε. Whether kakla ekebaa jio, spiritually jio. Hewo wo woheo wo yeo ni wo weigho, ke wokwe wole ake finally ebaaba le ake tsofatsumo loo loomo baaba mli hewo woboteo mli shi tamō mō ko ke enine eyawo mō ko kotoku mli'ε, that is police case hewo wōke no haa police.

Interviewer: “Hewo tamō ηmene sane ni ooba obaye nee'ε, meni sane ni?”

Interviewee: εerm ene hu wo acceptio. Defamation of character. Mō'ō osofo ni ni whether oyaa esoomo jio, osumoo esoomo jio, osumooo esoomo jio ni le epreachio, no ni efeo ye jeme, esoomobii'ε ni naa. Hewo ke onu no ko from esoomonyo naabu'ε, onyeee ocome out ni just oje ojotswaloi, neke neke. Ebaakee otsoo le mō ni eyatswa le ojo ni bo ole.

Interviewer: “Hewo osofo'ε ni?”

Interviewee: Hεε osofo ni baa.

Interviewer: “Osofo baa Nae We?”

Interviewee: Te obaafee tεηη.

Interviewer: “Ole ake shi...”

Interviewee: Nae We, ofaine excuse me to say Nae We'ε jee wōηjamō he.

Interviewer: “Good. That was where I was going to.”

Interviewee: Dabi, dabi. Jee wōηjamō shia ni.

Interviewer: “Mei pii ke otse Nae We'ε, amejwεηmō ji ooya wōηtsemēi ashia. No ha ni η'bi ake osofo ba biε because it was the less thing I expect.”

Interviewee: Ona papa le'ε ni ta jeme'ε, Elvis wōsecretary'ε, osofo ni.

Interviewer: “Hewo it is a misconception.”

Interviewee: Nakai, nakai ni. Be ona Bishop, Bishop Tackie Yarboi, le echoose Labadi, emother side as jeme ji he ni eje shi le diεntse'ε Nae We nyo ni ona. Tackie Yarboi ona dani bishops pii. Nyeseε neε kwaraa eko po etsō esεε.

Interviewer: “Nɔ ni hewɔ ni taflatse esa ake wɔGamei wɔte shi ni wɔke wɔnane ama shi ekomei ne. Because nyeseɛ neɛ eye interneti nɔ ni manye magbele maha bo ni okwe. Akɛɛ be ni wiemoi ke saji komei ba ake shi ɛerm be ni saji wiemoi ko ba ake shi, efɛɔ mi ake be ni adu nmaa, nɔ ko tee nɔ hewɔ akɛɛ ayaasama. No pɛ amɛcapture, be ni wɔyei nyienyie. No pɛ amɛcapture. Mɔ fɛɛ mɔ jwɛnmɔ ji wɔɲ sane.”

Interviewee: Ona ake wɔyei amɛtsɔmɔ tamɔ faji, ona. Faji fɛɛ ni onaa, irrespective of he ni amɛje, amɛ fɛɛ amɛbagbeɔ naa ye nshɔna, ona. Amɛfinal destination ji nshɔ’ɔ naa. Wɔyei’e fɛɛ he ni eje loo okulonaa ni ayawo bo ye okulo naa ni otaa mei fɛɛ amɛtakeɔ orders aloo dos and don’ts from Nae Wulɔmɔ’ɔ nɔ. Ke le edamɔ shi ni ebaawie’e, that is him.

Interviewer: “Hewɔ le etsu amɛ.”

Interviewee: Amɛ amɛbe ma’a nɔ hewale tamɔ le. Le ji mantse, ona. Blɔfome’e for smooth and easy for running of ma’a hewɔ ni wɔopt no’e. Ku’e wulɔmɔ ni yeɔ wɔ nɔ.

Interviewer: “Akɛɛ Rome was not built in a day ni nmenɛ’e nɔ ni wɔbaakwe’e hu ebaaa nɔ no hewɔ definitely wɔbaaya wɔba shi wɔke ene agbe naa ni marelease. D’ye sure hu ake sane’e hu hewɔ bo hu ote shi mra waa.”

Interviewee: Enɛ’e it was created by two brtohers from this side shi amɛbase amɛcreation on happenings komei ni ba.

Interviewer: “Hewɔ’ɔ be’e history.”

Interviewee: Yes, is a history, ona transformed into wɔcoat of arms.

Interviewer: “Hewɔ’ɔ te emarki coat of arms tɛɲɲ?”

Interviewee: Ona ake ni Dutchbii'ε gbe naa, amehand over stamps eha Nae Wulomō shi amekewooo edeη personal. Amekewo otsaame ni ji Bōi Tono etsuru.

Interviewer: “Wōna blōfonyo nine ni wōna mōdiη nine. Hewō aklowa nε. Ene tsoō ake be ni amεje ni amεba. Kwemō! ACCRA.” Nakai ji nii. “And that was 1734.”

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewee: “No hewō meni edamō shi ehaa?”

Interviewee: Hewō eblō.

Interviewer: “Meni efeō?”

Interviewee: No ji nō ni ekaa tsuō koη nō. Atseō le ‘fōi.’ Hewō ke atsu mi oηōō ke nakai nii esa ni oke that respect aha.

Interviewer: “Miina tso, miina bowl. Bowl'ε niyenii yōō mli?”

Interviewee: εerm eji ηmene Tuesday loo Friday ku'ε obaana ake awo baa ye biε.

Interviewer: “Friday'ε meni afeō?”

Interviewee: Oh, wōwōō baa.

Interviewer: “Kεha meni?”

Interviewee: Kε oba'a obaabaju.

Interviewer: “Ni meni ka shishi'ε? Meni ka baa shishi'ε, kai ke kukwei? No neke meni efeō, for protection aloo meni?”

Interviewee: Oh dabi. εerm kusumnaa tamō bō ni mei komēi wōō chains agboagboi'ε.

Interviewer: “Te atseō ame tεηη?”

Interviewee: εerm 'kōmi'.

Interviewer: “No hewō wulomō pe baawo?”

Interviewee: Hɛɛ wulɔmɔ pɛ. No po diɛntɛ those at higher level; Kɔɔle, Sakumo.

Interviewer: “Hewɔ ayɛ Kɔɔle Wulɔmɔ ni ayɛ Sakumo Wulɔmɔ?”

Interviewee: Hɛɛ

Interviewer: “Shi Nae Wulɔmɔ...Hewɔ mɔ ko sane’ɛ, why that slogan?”

Interviewee: Honestly speaking, no mli η’ dako tsɔ shi be ni η’ hie baafa, nɔ ni mi hu η’ bana ji nɔ ni wɔkɛtsuɔ nii. Gamei wɔkɛ wɔsubaη ko. Wɔle mɔkasemɔ. Kɛ wɔbaakase mɔ ko’ɛ... wɔnyɔnyɛɛ wɔjie kpo loo kɛ akɛɛ aaya aba... Hewɔ ona akɛ kɛ nɔ ko baahi ni oyɛ mɛi atɛη’ɛ, ehio yɛ sector ko ni efiteɔ yɛ he ko waa agbo. Ona bɔ ni η’ tsɔɔ?

Interviewer: “Hɛɛ.”

Interviewee: Now maha bo final say. Kwemɔ case nɛɛ.... shi enɛ wɔηfo shi wɔη wie. Ayɛ mɛi ni amɛle nɔ ni amɛnaa yɛ nɛkɛ gift nɛɛ. Hewɔ’ɔ daa nɛ’ɛ jɛɛ amɛhe sane shi mɔ ko he sane ni aawie kɛkɛ. Kɛ wɔkɛɛ ehiii ehiii ni wɔη tao akɛ wɔtsake’ɛ, no hewɔ blɔfo efɛɛ reasoning. Let’s sit down ... and then wɔgbe naa shi wɔη mɛ years ni nyɛkɛɛ nyɛbɛ shika eko ni nyɛkɛ shika nyie court. No hewɔ kɛ mɔ ko kɛ sane eba, esa ni nyɛkwɛ ni nyɛsaa. Kɛ etɛɛ bie ni eyafite Kwame nɔηη kɛ aja lɛ shika ni nakai subaη ni wɔkase’ɛ, no fiteɔ wɔ’ɔ. Onyɛmi baaya ablotsi. Ena nɔ ni lɛ etaoɔ ni kɛ oba, instead of ni ebaaintroduce bo ..., ebaa introduce bo kɛwo channel ni lɛ etsɔ kɛshe he ni eshe’ɛ.

Interviewer: “Kɛ otee ni oyitso yahi fɛ enɔ’ɔ, obaaya hie oshi lɛ hewɔ esumɔɔ lɛ nakai.”

Interviewee: Nakai nɔηη wɔyɔɔ kebashi biane. Tsutsu ko’ɛ kɛ otsi court sane’ɛ ... shi biane’ɛ etsɔ tso yɛ daaη ni aata leebi, shwane, gbɛkɛ. Mɛ komɛi yaa ni enyieɛ shika bɛ eefo, eeshwie eyiη ni ekɛɛ hu akɛ afo ecase’ɛ nɔ shi

ebaafee bo naakpɛɛ ake naanyomei ni baanyie esɛɛ keba ke shika ni ole ake ke oje jemɛ otee shia'a, ooya oyafo. shi ke η'bo your side of the story'ε toi ni η'analyse'ε, makɛɛ bo ake ona sama nɛɛ ke osama obaagbee shi. Hewɔ okɛ le baawie koni eyakpa mɔ'ɔ fai. Makɛɛ bo. Ona awula ko ni ebata shi'ε.

Interviewer: "D'na ake oowie fɛɛ shi ebooo toi."

Interviewee: This lady'ε here ni ta biɛ nɛɛ, is a married woman. Afee le ahifro. Jee ni ake akpeteshi ni yahe. Ni ehusband'ε, egbele ɛɛrm super market ni tso tsu kiosk. Efee eko eha emami ke esisters ni ni bo hu oba, efee eko epete he eha bo'ε but this girl, oona ake naanyomei ke nyemimei aawo le ηaa ake jiemɔ oshaayomei ke nibii ye business nɛɛ mli. Amɛbaawo onaji atɛη. Hewɔ papa le kɛɛ ake anytime ni yoo'ε baakeɛ nibii eta ye store mli pɛ, ele nɔ ni etaɔɔ ke wiemɔ. Hewɔ efee ene aahu ni η'kɛɛ ake dabi. Mɛnɛ'ε, ha ni magbe η'hiηmeiian mawo le ekole obla nteη. Ha mi nɛke nɛke be. Asomoan nuuseɛ boη mei komei elaka le enyie nyaanyomei sɛɛ aafeɛ jɔle sɔηη.

Interviewer: "Oh!"

Interviewee: D'bakɛɛ le ake bi le ni akpɛ'ε.... Eha mi two weeks.... D'kɛɛ le ake mɔ ko kɛɛ ebaaha mi no hewɔ ke ehaaa mi'ε miiya ni mɔ'ɔ aha mi. Ni η'kɛɛ eha mi two weeks. Be ni nuu'ε baa ofa ye shia'a oyahi nuu ko ηɔɔ ye Atukpai. Ni oba, ootswa shinaa, agbeleee, ootswa shinaa, agbeleee bo ni woman ko ye ame hejuuhe'ε mli ekɛɛ

Interviewer: "Ha be mami le ni yɔɔ tsuɔ mli'ε eye jemɛ."

Interviewee: No hewɔ nuu'ε hu ena hewale ko. Etswa shinaa aahu ni ni agbele shinaa'a, naa bo oje kpo keje tsu'ε mli. Ni man'ε je kpo'ε ebi nuu ake meni etaɔɔ ye biɛ? Oh shi mi moη esa ake mabi bo nɔ otaɔɔ ye biɛ. Reason why

hewo ni ebio le nakai sane'e ji be ni bo oje kpo ni obio sane'e nono hu ena'a hu damo see ye gate'e naa. Ah! Papa bo mami, meni bo ofeo ye le etsu mli? Ni ebi ena'a nakai nono, kekani "n'kee bo ake Kaaba shia nee dono. Namo ji ona ye bie nee?" Asomoan padi'e hie gigitso ni eketswa nuu'e ni ehie gba ni la n'ho. Keji mo ko ekee bo owu le'e ni oke le eyahi shi'e mi'e n'ke le tee school. Woyouthful nii nee fee n'ke le shi owu le n'le le ei. Owu le efao kojo besia.

Interviewer: "Oh!"

Interviewee: Esa ni okeje nuu'e ye ena hie?

Interviewer: "Ni ke nakai hu'e be oke le ehi shi ni..."

Interviewee: Nyefo bi. Thank you. Hewo ni yoo'e ba bie'e ni ebasama, le ejwenmo fee ji ake ni wokee nuu ayadai ejaake bi ye ameten. Woni ni oyatse, ale bo ni ebaaba le. Ale mo ni first ni ekebaakpe hewo kwemo neke nii nee.

Interviewer: "Hewo eyagbe naa ye loomo mli."

Interviewee: Hee, loomo ni. Ona ni case'e hu'e le oblayoo'e ke nuu'e tee WAJU. Hewo wo assume ake ni case'e ye court'e esaaa ni ayeo ye bie.

Interviewer: "Beja agbe naa."

Interviewee: Hewo no ni pe ni waje ye mli ji loomo. Ni loomo hu wobuko nuu fo ni wobuko yoo'e hu bem shi wokee ejie loomo ye mli. Ke amedai ni agbene'e atee court ni enyeee, ke eesumo ni ebasama nuu'e ni eyana le ye mo ko tsu mli'e because wedded wife ni miikae bo ake shia nee, well ekole one day ni wobaaha ni nyebata eko mli ejaake obaabi ohe ake gbemei adesai ni fee ene? Mo ko ke ewu kwraa ye ni ootse mo'o contractor shi eko'e le hu blocks'e too hewo'o ejoo, efeee no ko no ko shi eko'e ke eba ebaahe nii ye obar mli'e bo ni espendi'e hewo ... esani ofollow mo'o aahu keya Legon

sɛɛ ni eetsu nii yɛ jɛmɛ. Enɛ lɛ yoo'ɛ baabasama first ni ni esama nɔŋŋ ni econfined wɔfɛɛ ake anɔkwale nuu'ɛ eta ehe da. No hewɔ'ɛ menɪ otaoɔ ni mafɛɛ? econfined in wɔ ejaake ele hu ake mɔ'ɔ hu yɛ ŋa ni eke lɛ yafɛɛ nɔ ni efɛɛ'ɛ.

Interviewer: “Be komɛi hu adventure ni. Last week'ɛ miinu ni nyɛŋ'kɛɛ office, office. Hewɔ mɛi ni damɔɔ mli kwraa yɛ office'ɛ ji Nae Wulɔmɔ?”

Interviewee: Eye etsuɔ mli.

Interviewer: “Bɛja aaye sane pɛ dani anaa lɛ.”

Interviewee: Office'ɛ, aye administrative officers ni wɔyɛ secretary ni wɔyɛ overall boss. No'ɛ once a while.

Interviewer: “No'ɛ menɪ ji eposition'ɛ?”

Interviewee: ɛɛrm Weku onukpa. ‘Family Head’.

Interviewer: “Between lɛ kɛ secretary namɔ yɔɔ hiɛ?”

Interviewee: Ona ake wɔfɛɛ wɔyafɛɛ pensioners. Anyway, mɔ'ɔ role tsɔɔ how high he is. Lɛ because kɛ nɔ ko eba yɛ shia nɛɛ mli'ɛ, lɛ abaatɛ tamɔ bɔ ni miiholdi fault ni ɛɛrm judicial service kɛ amɛba, secretary ji mɔ ni kɛfɛɔ amɛkɛ lɛ fɛɔ reconciliations kɛ agbɛnɛ ...

Interviewer: “No hewɔ mɛi ni taraa biɛ nɛɛ council of elders?”

Interviewee: Hɛɛ.

Interviewer: “Kɛkɛ aye mɔ krokro, ekolɛ messenger. Kɛ asama, namɔ kɛ samamɔ'ɔ yaa?”

Interviewee: Wɔyɛ ‘bealifs’.

Interviewer: “Lɛ eke blɔ yaa?”

Interviewee: Hɛɛ, amɛyi five.

Interviewer: “Yoo bɛ mli?”

Interviewee: Dabi.

Interviewer: “Hii sɔŋŋ.”

Interviewee: Nɔ ni hewɔ ni yei bɛ mli ji yei feɔ ashuto.

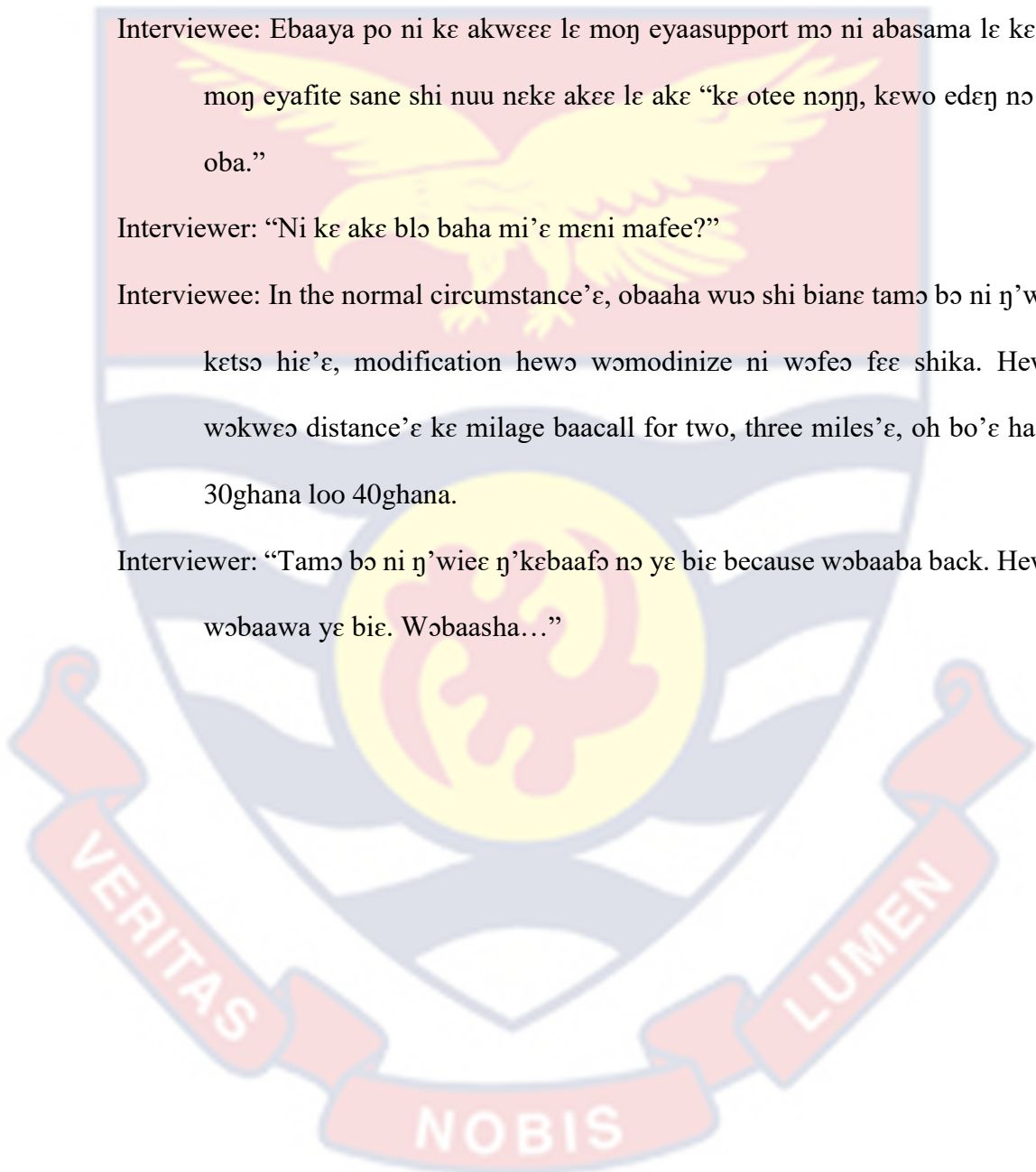
Interviewer: “Be ni obaana eke eko ŋ’fita he eejie eko ye mli.”

Interviewee: Ebaaya po ni ke akwee le moŋ eyaasupport mɔ ni abasama le ke le moŋ eyafite sane shi nuu neke akɛ le akɛ “ke otee nɔŋŋ, kewo edɛŋ nɔ ni oba.”

Interviewer: “Ni ke akɛ blɔ baha mi’ɛ meni mafɛ?”

Interviewee: In the normal circumstance’ɛ, obaaha wuɔ shi bianɛ tamɔ bɔ ni ŋ’wie ketsɔ hie’ɛ, modification hewɔ wɔmodinize ni wɔfeɔ feɛ shika. Hewɔ wɔkwɛɔ distance’ɛ ke milage baacall for two, three miles’ɛ, oh bo’ɛ ha le 30ghana loo 40ghana.

Interviewer: “Tamɔ bɔ ni ŋ’wie ŋ’kebaafɔ nɔ ye bie because wɔbaaba back. Hewɔ wɔbaawa ye bie. Wɔbaasha...”



APPENDIX F

Interview 3

Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III, Nae WulomoNae We, Gbese Jamestown, Accra

Interviewee: My name is Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III Nae Wulomo

Interviewer: Why the name Nuumo?

Interviewee: The fact is that Ga has two parts, chiefs and spiritual heads. And since they are royals and priests and prophets, they precede the chiefs in terms of customary practice. So the spiritual heads (Wulomei) are the fathers, so they are called "old men" (Nuumo). Everyone who super sees an Alter is Nuumo."Gbatsu is Alter.

Interviewer: I thought Alters are meant for churches or so.

Interviewee: Our practice is also a church

Interviewer: What is the history behind it, that makes it a church?

Interviewee: There is no church in particular. It is like a fellowship. The practice of the spiritual head is an avenue to recognize and see the Supreme Being. Thus are practices, beliefs, customs since creation. In time of traditional prayers, Wulomei are called priests

Interviewer: How old is Nae we?

Interviewee: I can hardly tell but Nae we is over 500 years

Interviewer: How was it defined to be from the beginning?

Interviewee: From creation, it existed before I was born. Because of civilization and modernization, things have changed. The indigenes who are Ga are familiar with the practices at Nae we. Also, we acknowledge that the world has evolved.

We have also been lied to in terms of modernity. Our practices are evident in the scriptures. Particularly in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Kings and Numbers

Interviewer: Wow

Interviewee: The reasons we have Alters. How these Alters came into being. How they are used. Our festivals (Akpiti gbi)

Interviewer: What is Akpiti

Interviewee: Known popularly as Homowo

Interviewer: Ok ,Ok

Interviewee: Also, how children are named can also be seen in the scriptures, customs, practices, even has to go about all these practices. How the Alters in Nae we look like are represented in the scriptures.

Interviewer: Wow. Ok. This is interesting. So, may I know some taboos or protocols I need to observe when I visit this traditional court? For instance I am wearing locks. I was nearly restricted from coming here (laughs)

Interviewee: They are not many. We do not accept salt here.

Interviewer: Salt? Why?

Interviewee: I will explain them. When a woman visits the backyard she does not have to be here (menstruation)

Interviewer: Ok

Interviewee: A breastfeeding mother (three months old baby) is not allowed here. A widow is also not allowed here. Unless she raises her black clothes and performs the rites to remove the widowhood cloth. Also, no one is expected to wear dark clothes here. No one is expected to wear jewelry here. It is not accepted here (Gold). Also, when someone visits the barber and cuts the hair, he must wait for the hair to grow a little before coming here (sakora)

Interviewer: Eii wow

Interviewee: Also, we have some fishes in the sea, three different types. *Alangbai* (a type of crab). *Booboi* is not allowed. *Gbosange* is not also allowed. We do not beat or abuse anyone here. When you beat another and spills human blood, that person will buy a goat to pacify the premises. No whistling here. No brooms are allowed here. We do not even use it to sweep here. Also one cannot visit the premises when he or she returns from a funeral.

Interviewer: I cannot dash in from a funeral.

Interviewee: No. you will have to clean yourself. You will use "matsu" from the palm tree

Interviewer: Used to flavor water in a vase?

Interviewee: No, not that one. It looks like fingers hanging on a palm tree.

Interviewer: Oh yes yes. It looks like the Rasta hairdo

Interviewee: Exactly, it will be burnt and used for cleaning before you enter the premises. Also food prepared from funeral is not allowed here.

Interviewer: So food packs from funeral cannot be brought here?

Interviewee: (He nodded in disagreement) one cannot fetch fire from outside and bring it here.

Interviewer: These are common practices in our various homes.

Interviewee: Even in your homes, it should not be done.

Interviewer: Alright.

Interviewee: Also, no flip flops are allowed. No dreadlocks are allowed. No one turns their backs here.

Interviewer: So like how I am seated, I should not turn my back?

Interviewee: No one dies here

Interviewer: Ok Ok Ok. I understand the language. We called this Euphemism.

Interviewee: Yes Euphemism

Interviewer: But anything can happen. What if it happens?

Interviewee: It won't happen here.

Interviewer: Wow

Interviewee: Unless the person is carried outside the premises. No firing of guns. I think these are major ones but as a Wulomo, I have some protocols that must be observed. Those are not for the public.

Interviewer: So salt, I can't cook with salt here?

Interviewee: No, we cook with salt water.

Interviewer: Sea water? How? But there is sand in the sea...

Interviewee: No, there is no sand in the sea. It is at the shore (laughs)

Interviewer: I once bathed in the sea, I came out with sand on me.

Interviewee: You bathed in sand not the sea (he laughed)

Interviewer: Why would a lady in her time of the month be restricted?

Interviewee: It is unclean. Same as a fresh breastfeeding mother. That is innocent blood. The Wulomo must no see a baby

Interviewer: Ah

Interviewee: You know what, when I sit a few people with "eye" may see that I am not seated alone. And this may cause the child to convulse.

Interviewer: Hmm?

Interviewee: Also, most of the time, people feel it is a devilish practice. It is the impact. It is also believed that children can see beyond the natural. The child may convulse because the child may not have a strong spirit to withstand and control what is around me. The spirits are many

Interviewer: What if the fishes you mentioned are the ones available

Interviewee: Those who sell at the seashore know it is not allowed in this premises. So if you are from here, the remove it even when it is given to you.

Interviewer: And the jewelry?

Interviewee: Here, our jewelry is “Nyanyina”

Interviewer: Ahaa

Interviewee: Also, our only colour is white. Whether funerals, everything

Interviewer: Why is it so?

Interviewee: Oh yes, this is the house of prophets

Interviewer: So it is always white. But please, are you aware that some places consider black for goodwill....

Interviewee: Eh yes, especially the Jews. People have brown, red as their sacred colours.

Interviewer: How about the all bald heads? What if the fellow has a natural bald head? So how about if I wear a cap

Interviewee: No caps allowed at all. Add it. As caps they are out. Even chiefs leave their caps and head covers. No umbrellas are allowed here

Interviewer: How about the use of language if I need my case to be settled here? How do I get about it?

Interviewee: You will have to lodge a complaint (summons). And here we have two types of arbitration. Traditional arbitration and customary arbitration

Interviewer: Can you explain please?

Interviewee: Traditional arbitration is normal traditional cases and the judgment could be amended by the law court if the complainant is not convinced. With the

customary arbitration, it goes all the way to the Supreme Court. They enforce the judgment

Interviewer: I witnessed a case where a lady was asked to pay the "opening fee", she could not afford so the case was adjourned. But the way she sat with her hands on her cheeks, she was warned. Then she crossed her legs, she was again warned. She speaks twi and does not understand the language; Ga (Accra) is cosmopolitan. Different people live here, when I summon someone here, and the fellow is not familiar with the practices here

Interviewee: Most of the time, when they come here to settle cases, we educate them alongside. We do not want to give them rules for them to feel intimidated.

Interviewer: Ok, are there other apart from the sitting positions earlier mentioned?

Interviewee: Also if you are a chief or royal from somewhere, you may not wear the beads on the right hand. Only the Wulomo wears the beads on the right hand.

Interviewer: Right for royalty. Left hand for fashion. I love beads a lot. Please let's talk about the nyanyina, sese

Interviewee: Nyanyina is our Jewelry as Ga. It is the king of herbs. It has a lot of spiritual advantages. There is the male and female. The male has wider leaves and the female has smaller leaves

Interviewer: So those of you who use it can tell the difference. How about Komi?

Interviewee: It is a regalia that identifies the Nae Wulomo

Interviewer: Can I take a picture of it after the interview?

Interviewee: Oh yes, permission granted.

Interviewer: And the sese?(sacred bowl)

Interviewee: That is used for customary rites and practices. Filled with herbs. Please come with me. (He shows me the bowl) so this is the staff. Anyone holding this knows that the Nae Wulomo has sent him or her

Interviewer: (standing beside the engraved on the wall)

Interviewee: The bond between the Nae Wulomo and the Dutch. The broom is known as ɔmleti. They are two and used to be at one side of the engraved. It was evenly placed when the agreement was met. It symbolizes equality and friendship.

Interviewer: Hmm ok (he continues to explain the engraved on the wall). My almost last question. Why are the taboos mostly women centered?

Interviewee: Oh women have a whole lot going on around them.

Interviewer: Like what please?

Interviewee: Women have a lot going on around them. There are some things concerning women that are not found in men. Also women do not live within the perimeters of the traditional court. She may visit only. If you look carefully at the doors, there are outdoors. Women may use those doors to enter the building within the traditional court. She may not cross. She may not also stand on the streets.

Interviewer: How about the corn hubs?

Interviewee: They are the corn meant or the yearly festivals

Interviewer: Oh I didn't think about it

Interviewee: When it is time to plant the yearly corn, it is removed and planted then it is replaced

Interviewer: So why don't you sit during resolution of cases?

Interviewee :(he points to where he sits) I sit here, other sub spiritual heads sits here. The chief of fisherman sits here (he points and shows the position of where everyone sits)

Interviewer: What does your Okyeame do?

Interviewee: He is the spokesperson. The linguist when I am seated.

Interviewer: So you don't speak?

Interviewee: Oh I speak. I speak through him

Interviewer: Like how it is done in the palace

Interviewee: It is like the judge in the court. Like how legal practitioners do. Listening, questioning and other stuff, defending and listening on both sides and making some comparisons where customs and traditions are important, we add them. We also look at the civil aspect of the case, however, we do not look at case with criminal content. Those are enshrined in the constitution. So domestic issues, marital issues, chieftaincy issues, traditional issues

Interviewer: Last one then I let you go. What makes Nae the supreme? Why do they swear allegiance to Nae?

Interviewee: Nae is the principal of all the priests.

Interviewer: How many sub priests?

Interviewee: Major priests. Sakumon, Korle, Dantu, Osu Klottey, La Kpaa, Leshie, Le Gble, Gbobu Wulomo (Teshie). Of all these priest, Gbogbu and Nae are the topmost, the highest priest and Nae is principal of all.

Interviewer: Why

Interviewee: Gbogbu has his jurisdiction around Nungua and Teshie. But Nae is the lords of all parts where the sea cuts across within the Ga state, so they owe allegiance to Nae. Nae is like a mother.

Interviewer: so you make mention of the motherly role. You said mother not father.

Interviewee: That is why women have a whole lot around them.

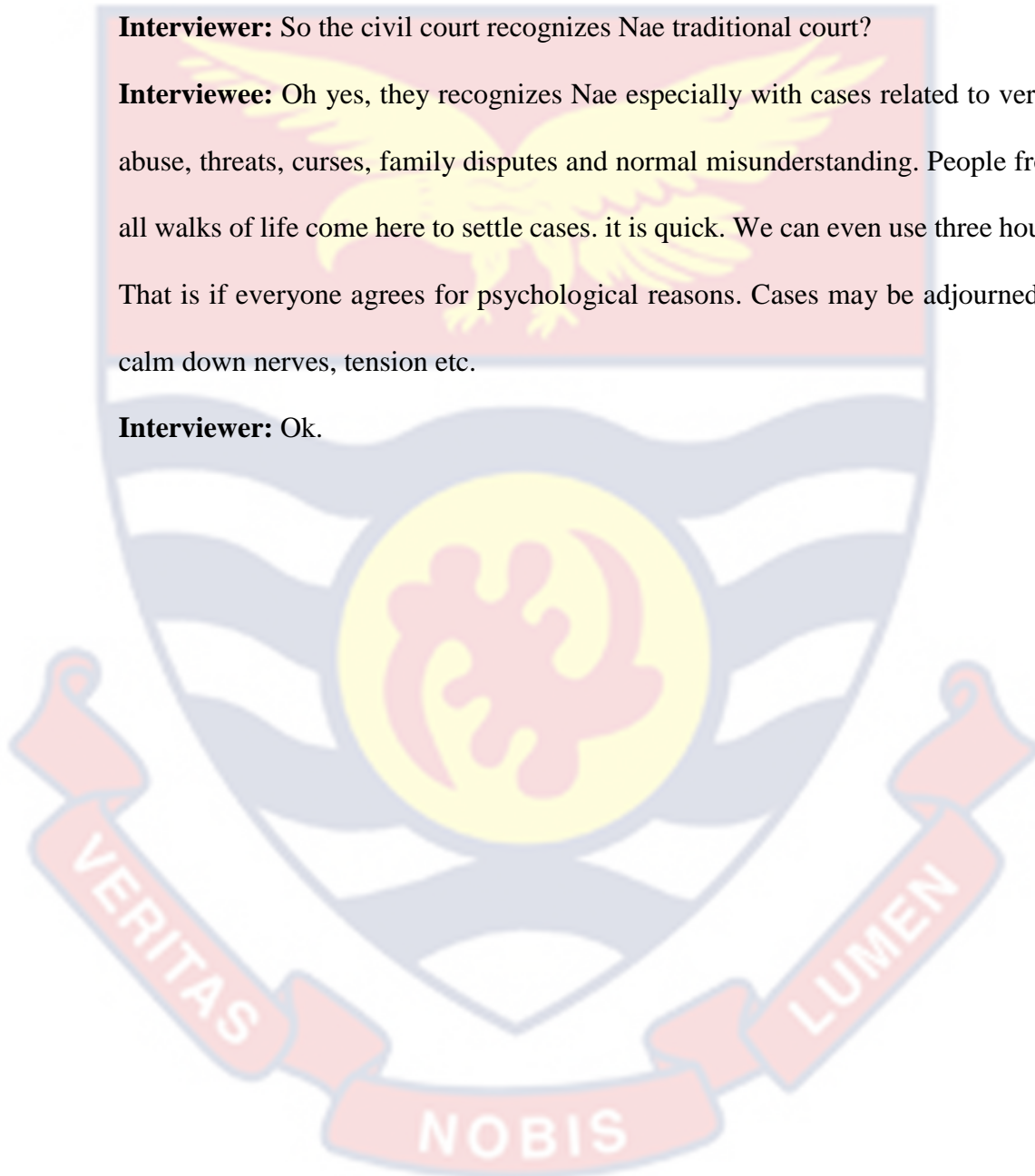
Interviewer: So if I send cases to Gbobu, Teshie and I am not pleased, I can bring it to Nae?

Interviewee: If you come here and you are still not pleased, we will take it to court

Interviewer: So the civil court recognizes Nae traditional court?

Interviewee: Oh yes, they recognizes Nae especially with cases related to verbal abuse, threats, curses, family disputes and normal misunderstanding. People from all walks of life come here to settle cases. it is quick. We can even use three hours. That is if everyone agrees for psychological reasons. Cases may be adjourned to calm down nerves, tension etc.

Interviewer: Ok.



APPENDIX F (GA)

Interview 2

Nuumo Akwaa Mensah, Nae WulomoNae We, Jamestown, Accra

- Interviewee : Atseɔ mi Nuumo Akwaa Mensah III
- Interviewer : Nuumo
- Interviewee 2 : Akwaa Mensah III
- Interviewee 2 : Nai wulomo
- Interviewer : Mensah the III.
- Interviewee : Yeah
- Interviewer : ok. Ofaine, meni hewɔ gbei le, nuumo, why the name Nuumo?
- Interviewee : Ona ake No ni yɔɔ mli ji, Ga, wohie gbenai enyɔ ni ji : Majiatsemei ke wulomei
- interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : Sakeni amefee lumai ke osɔfoi ke gbaloi le, ame amebaa dani majiatsemei baa ye kusum naa no hewɔ le, ame ji tsemei keha majiatsemei le
- Interviewee 2 : hewɔ nuumo
- Interviewee : hewɔ le gbei ni ka no ji Nuumo ejaake mo ni mo fee mo ni ta gbatsu naa le, nuumo ni.
- Interviewer : Okay. Meni ji gbatsu?
- Interviewee : Gbatsu. Ke Blofo baakee le,eko le mo ko baakee Altar
- Interviewer : Altar
- Interviewee : Yes

- Interviewer : Ni altar le, mile ake eka shi keha eko le abaakεε ake
solemo aloo no ko
- Interviewee : Heε! Wo hu wono le, solemo ni
- Interviewer : Okay. Te te Meni ji errmm! history ni haa ni wobaanye
wokεε ake shi nye hu nyeno le solemo ni?
- Interviewee : Ejaake, heε! no ni yoo mli ji abe solemo, abe solemo, shi
kpee ayoo
- Interviewer : huhmm! Okay
- Interviewee : Ona. Shi kusum fee kusum le, eji no ko kredεε ni afeo
- Interviewer : Okay
- Interviewee : ni ... akenaa bo ni wo hu wonaa Nyooηmo wohaa. Wo hu
wogbejianotoo ni ka shi keha wonifeemoi,
wohemokeyeli ke wo ... wotse le ake wohemokeyeli ke
wonifeemoi ye okple jey mli le no ji no hu no ni wo hu
wofeo hewo wokεε solemo. No hewo le ke obaakwe le
ke wonyemimei Twime, amewoji le ba le, ni ametseo ni
ametseo Wulomei Osofoi
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : ametseo ame osofoi
- Interviewer : Hmmm! Okay. Alright. Ni ke oke ohie fo mli aloo erm
erm! nibii ni wobana le, ke okwe, Nai we eye How
many years?
- Interviewee : Nae we, minyey matsoo shi ye bie neε Mai we eye over
500 years

Interviewer : Okay Wow! Be ni aje shishi le, no mli le te asusu le le
ake ebaafee tɛɛɛ?

Interviewee : Oh! Ona ake eji Oboade nibii, Oboade gbejianotoo

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : hewo shishijee le ato naa momo

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ni wobanina

Interviewer : hmmm! Okay.

Interviewee : only ake bianee wobaakee erm eko le, civilisation,
modernisation and then eko le globalisation eha ni
wonifeemo le efee tamɔ ebe ehee tso shi ke Ganyo ji bo
ni kroɛɛ ji bo le, ole ake ene ji no ni woyoo. Agbene hu
le wona ake je le mli eshe he ko ni mo fee mo. Ermm!
alaka wo hu ye hei komɛi hewo eha ni wonifeemoi
etsake hewo aside no le, err! Wonifeemo fee, obaanye
ona ye Genesis.

Interviewer : wow!

Interviewee : obaana nibii le ekomei ye Genesis, Exodus, obaana eko
le Leviticus, Kings and Numbers

Interviewer : Wow!

Interviewee : obaana nibii. No ni ha ni eko le woyoo Gbatsu. Bo ni
gbatsu le gbejianotoo yoo.

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : Agbene wokpiti gbijuro. Obaana.

Interviewer : Meni ji akpiti juro?

Interviewee : ni atseɔ le Hɔmɔwɔ,

Interviewer : Okay

Interviewee : kɔgbamɔ obaana ye mli

Interviewee 2 : Hɔmɔwɔ ji akpiti jurɔ le

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : obaana ye mli agbene hu bɔ ni wɔwɔɔ bi gbei hu

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : eye jeme, woye nifeemɔi even gbatsu le mli po
emlidamɔ

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : ke okwe le aha hegbe ni atsɔɔ bɔ ni afee le

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : ke bɔ ni abaato le aha. Fee le ke oba Nai we, bɔ ni Nai
we gbatsu le mli yɔɔ le

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : eye ηmale le mli nakai nɔηη

Interviewer : wow! Okay. This is interesting. Okay, Hewɔ le ke eje
no nɔ, male ma male, mana male nɔ ni ji nɔ komei ni ke
aleenɔ ke miiba bie le esaaa ni mafee? Awie nɔ kome.

The laa... first time ni miba bie le milɔki miyitsɔi

Interviewee : hmm hm

Interviewer : shwe fioo kule, awo minaneshishi ha mi.

(Interviewer laughs)

Interviewer : hewɔ le, aha ni mifi, mifi nɔ

- Interviewee 2 : eje shi ojogbanḡ. Wobaatsɔɔ le nii dientse koni
ekɛfee proud ake shi eekase nii
- Interviewer : ehḡḡ! Hewɔ meni ji taboos le ekomei ni yɔɔ bie neɛ
- Interviewee : wonihii nii le efaaa tsɔ
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : fioo pe shi ehe nibii ye
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : bie le ake ḡoo baaa bie
- Interviewer : ḡoo?
- Interviewee : ḡoo
- Interviewer : meni hewɔ?
- Interviewee : magbla mli matsɔɔ bo
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : ke yoo tee tsuiasɛɛ, ebaaa bie
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : ke yoofɔyoo ni nako nyɔji etɛ le, ebaaa bie
- Interviewer : three months
- Interviewee : yeah
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : agbene okulafo hu le hu ebaa bie beja ejie nidiḡ
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : aloo eje okula mli
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : dani ebaanye ebaaba bie

Interviewer : agbene hu le ake nii din le hu baaa bie. Jeme nonn ake
jwine baaa bie ni ji gold, baaa bie

Interviewee : ene le jee gold

Interviewer 2 : raw gold

Interviewer : Akεbaaa bie

Interviewer : woow!

Interviewee : agbene le hu. Errh! Ke mo ko, mo ko eku eyitsoi

Interviewee 2 : ni eshe eyiten ni sa three days dani ebaaba bie

Interviewee : wobaakee ake sakora, ekebaaa

Interviewer : Ei!

Interviewee : Agbene hu le, woye loo ko ye nsho le mli srtoi etc.

Woye loo ni atseo le alaηmai

Interviewer : Alaηmai

Interviewee : ebaaa bie

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : woye loo ko, atseo le booboi

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : no hu baaa bie, woye loo ko, atseo le gbosaje

Interviewer : mina, ejieo sa waa dientse

Interviewee : sea turtle

Interviewer : etamo hala

Interviewee : soro hala ni esoro gbosaje,

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : no hu baaa bie

Interviewer : wow!

- Interviewee : Agbene hu le, bie le, ayiii mo ye bie
- Interviewer : hm hmmm!
- Interviewee : ke oyi mo ko ni la shwie shi le obaafu too. Obaafe too
ni akabaaloo. Akpaaa bele ye bie, ake blo, tenblo, ole
tenblo?
- Interviewer : hee! Fresh one ni atse...
- Interviewee : tenblo, blo ni akabao
- Interviewer : akabao shikpo
- Interviewee : tenblo
- Interviewer : hee!
- Interviewee : akabeee bie
- Interviewer : oh! okay
- Interviewee : Agbene hu ke oje yara no, onyeee oba bie direct
- Interviewer : okay. Eko le mitee yara keke mikae miisha shi maba bie
no
- Interviewee : dabi dabi. obaatsulo ohe dan
- Interviewer : ni tsoo ake mayaju mihe dani
- Interviewee : ke oju obaatsuko ohe eake no le Atsuko ohe. Obaana na
ake ashaa no ko ni eje nme
- Interviewer : no ni no mli ni wakewoo, errh! Aketsukoo nu mli le
- Interviewee : no, jee nme, jee nme asaasra
- Interviewer : jee nme asaasra
- Interviewee 3 : etamo braid, braids
- Interviewee : hee, no efee tamo fingers

Interviewer : hmmm! Mina mina mina mina mina. Kakadaŋji neke
ebaafee tamɔ rastaa

Interviewer2 : efeɔ tamɔ incense

Interviewee : ni ebaa le in bulk

Interviewer : ahaa!

Interviewee : ni atseɔ. Hɛɛ no. abaasha ni ak ebaatsuko ohe daŋ

Interviewee 2 : ejieɔ ŋma tamɔ nii nɛɛ perfume

Interviewer : ŋma, ŋmatsu

Interviewee 2 : hmmm!

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : ŋmatsu, akebaatsuko ohe daŋ. Agbene ake niyenii ni
ahoo keje yara no. Akebaaa bie

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : tamɔ bo ni ke wotee, wotee yara no ni aha woniyenii ni
ke ooo miyeee shi mikaabaaya shia daŋ

Interviewee 2 : dabi dabi dabi. Akebaŋ bie

Interviewee : kaaje la ye outside ni okɛba bie

(Interviewer laughs)

Interviewer : enemei fee nibii komei ni wofeo ye woshia ni wonaaa
ake ...

Interviewee : ye oshia po ehiii

Interviewer : oh! Okay okay.

(An interruption)

Interviewer : alright

Interviewee : Agbene hu ake tokota baaa bie,

- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : Ake rasta baaa bie
- Interviewer : oshwieee le
- Interviewee : oh! ene po le, bie obe problem
- Interviewee 3 : bie le manye ni mikeba bie
- Interviewee : Ake rasta baaa bie
- Interviewer : rasta tamɔ bɔ ni egbɔ le aloo bɔ ni mitsɔɔ le first lSe
- Interviewee : no, locks
- Interviewer : locks le, okay
- Interviewee : Agbene, bie hu le atsɔɔ see ye bie
- Interviewer : tamɔ bɔ ni wɔta shi nee esaaa ni mitsɔɔ misee
- Interviewee : mɔ ko gbooo ye bie
- Interviewer : aah okay okay okay
- Interviewee : no ji atsɔɔ see
- Interviewer : I like it, I like it, I like it. Atsɔɔ see
- Interviewee : ye bie
- Interviewer : okay. ona ake in language le, mitsɔɔ le shi miye sure ake
ehie ekpa nɔ. So this is called euphemism.
- Interviewee : yeah, euphemism
- Interviewer : hee, I like it. Atsɔɔ see. I like that. I like it. Okay. Okay.
Hewɔ le, anything can happen, what if it happens?
- Interviewee : ebaaa po
- Interviewer : wow!
- Interviewee : beja ake bo eje kpo
- Interviewer : hmmm! okay

Interviewee : Atswaaa tu hu ye bie

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee 2 : (laughs) crucial time

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : Agbene hu le, efeo ake enemai ji the major

Interviewer : the major ones

Interviewee 2 : major major ones

Interviewee : ni it is a general no ko ni afe shi mi, wulomo personally
mi hu miye mino shi nomei le ejee kpo

Interviewer : I like that ejee kpo. I like that. Okay, no hewo le noo.
Doo ni niyenii aml, no problem

Interviewee : akabaaa bie

Interviewer : ke miye shia nee mli ni mahoo nii mike noo wooo mli

Interviewee : oke noo wooo mli. Ak e nsho hoo nii

Interviewer : Dsho

Interviewee : hmmm

Interviewer : how?

Interviewee : obaahoo le to taste. Abaanye ake nsho awo mli fiofio

Interviewer : but shia ye nsho mli ei!

Interviewee : ebe nsho mli. Shia eye nsho naa, (laughs). Shia ye nsho
naa. Dsho mli le, shia be mli.

(laughing)

Interviewer : miiwie nakai because those times mikai ake miwu nsho
once, nu le mli mitee shi mije kpo ke shia.

Interviewee : hee oyaaa oyawu shia

All laughing

Interviewee : oyawuuu nu

Interviewee : ke oyawu nu le, be ni obaaje kpo aahu le obaaba shia
mli

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : hewo definitely eko baasa ohe

Interviewer : eko baasa mihe

Interviewee : shi ke oya nu le,

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ke oba le, obaana ake shia one neke po be ohe

Interviewer : hmmm ni yoo ni etee tsu see le hu

Interviewee : tsu see hu baaa bie

Interviewer : meni hewo?

Interviewee : hee ona ake muji ni

Interviewer : oo, okay

Interviewee : hee be hetsemo mli

Interviewer : hmmm, ni yoo ni efo ehee

Interviewee : nakai noŋŋ, la ŋmoŋ

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : wulomo, enaaa gbeke ni afo le ehee

Interviewer : Aah! Okay

Interviewee : ejaake, ona ake no ni yoo mli ji ke wulomo ta shi, tamo
bo ni mita bie

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : mei ni yoo hi ŋmei pe baana mei ni ta mihe

- Interviewer : hmmm
- Interviewee : ni ke efee nakai le, ebaaha ni gbeke le ado
- Interviewer : hmmm! So it is a sacred office
- Interviewee : yes
- Interviewer : hmmm
- Interviewee : ni agbene hu le, bei pii le, mei komei feel ake it's erm if
I say it's a devilish something but that is not the thing.
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : it is the weight, the impact ni baa, ni ebaa have on the
gbeke
- Interviewer : hmmm, gbekebii hu ake ameye hijmei
- Interviewee : gbekebii le amena nii
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : hewo le, keji eyafee too much pe keke le, ebaana
convulsion
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : jee ni convulsion le is deliberate shi gbeke le, ebe that
kind of
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : susuma ni mli wa
- Interviewer : hmmm! hmm
- Interviewee : ni ebaanye econrol nakai nii l e
- Interviewer : hmmm
- Interviewee : hewo le, if it is too much for gbeke le
- Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : keke ebaana convulsion keke le ake ηwei efee le. Jee
ηwei

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : it is too much. Mumoi fa

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : hee! Hewo le

Interviewer : hmmm! Ni loo le ni otse le

Interviewee : booboi

Interviewer : hee! Ke eko le mitee ηsho naa ni nakai loo miyana

Interviewee : mei ni yoo ηsho naa le ake akebaaa bie

Interviewer : akebaaa bie. Oho!

Interviewee : hewo ke oje Nai We, ke eye keha bo po l ε, ebaagoi

Interviewer : hmmm! Okay ni jewellery hu?

Interviewee : jewellery, wobie wo jewel ji nyanyara

Interviewer : ah aah!

Interviewee : agbene hu le wo main colour ni wouseo ji white

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : whether yara ni jio...

Interviewer : meni hewo?

Interviewee : whether everything hee! Ona, bie gbaloi ashia ne ni bie
agbooo ye bie

Interviewer : Gbaloi ashia ji prophet

Interviewee : hee!

Interviewer : Prophet ji gbalo. Okay

Interviewee : agbooo, atsoco see ye bie

- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : hewo le woke yara b e sane
- Interviewer : Okay. Hewo daa nee eyeᅇ. Shi aleeno be ole ake erm
hei komei ye ni eyeᅇ le edamooo shi kehaaa goodwill?
- Interviewee : be oh mile
- Interviewer : shi black ni
- Interviewee : mei komei ano ji black
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : especially Jewsbii
- Interviewer : hee
- Interviewee : ameye black ake it's one of their boasts
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : hewo be pure
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : or be clean colour keha amebu le black, mei komei hu
ye eko brown, mei komei ye eko, it is tony red
- Interviewer : hmmm
- Interviewee : Enemei fee
- Interviewer : ni ᅇmatsu, erm sakora, ni okee akabaaa bie le, eko le mo
ko ye eyitso, eye hela ko hewo ni eyitsoi fee...
- Interviewee : hee ke eku le,
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : ke ome three days po ni eboi baa le, obaanye oba
- Interviewer : keke ...
- Interviewee : shi ke oku ᅇmene noᅇᅇ onyeᅇ oba

- Interviewer : shi minyeee mabu fai keba bie?
- Interviewee : fai baaa bie kwraa, nmaa ofata he, fai po le out. Fai baaa bie kwraa
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : Mantsemiei fee, ke eba ni ebu po ebaajie ye agbo le naa dani ebaaba...
- Interviewer : hmm! okay
- Interviewee 2 : including the president himself
- Interviewer : Te, te obaana le tenn ke aleeno ni mo ko le ni eke fai ba ni mo ko mo ko enaaa le?
- Interviewee : abaakεε bo
- Interviewee 2 : At the entrance, erm abaakεε bo ake ake fai baaa bie
- Interviewee 3 : be sign le hu ye jeme
- Interviewee 2 : obaajie fai le ni obaajie otokota
- Interviewee 3 : umbrella hu baaa bie, umbrella hu baa bie
- Interviewee 2 : ake umbrella hu baaa bie. Aketsooo shinaa naa po keho
- Interviewer : ke nugbo miiyi bo le, ebaayi bo
- Interviewee : Hee
- Interviewer : hewo le, wiemoi komei ni awieo ye bie le, tamε ke eba le ake mina sane ye bie ni miba mawie le, te esa ni ni miwiemo le aya le aha tenn?
- Interviewee : Oh! Ake kpaako obaa?
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : Obaaba obasama

- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : Obaaba obafee complain
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : ni obaasama. Ni wobie le woye two types of arbitration
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : wo traditional arbitration
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : Ni woye customary arbitration
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewer : hewo te no ni ji traditional le?
- Interviewee : traditional le ji eko le, mo le, mo le eba ni ebasama, tse
le ake aba ni abaaye tamoo normal traditional set up
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : sane ni woyeo le
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : ni no hu ke wona judgment le, the judgment could be
amended by the law court
- Interviewer : wow!
- Interviewee : If the discretion of the judge at the moment feel ake oh
- Interviewer : Ayeee le jogbanj
- Interviewee : ebaanye eammendi aloo
- Interviewer : be ni tsoo ake ayeee le jogbanj, mo ni keba le etsui
enyoo emli
- Interviewee : eh hae etsui enyoo emli le abaaanye aammend
- Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : No hewo le agbene with the customary arbitration le, ke
owo judgment le bie le, it goes all the way to the
Supreme court

Interviewer : Ame accept le

Interviewee : Abaa accept, abaa... They rather er, erm, enforce the
judgement

Interviewer : hmmm! Ke okwee ni ahi po ake eko efata he eha bo

Interviewee : hee, ke okwe le ake eko efata he.

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : hewo le these are the two types of arbitration

Interviewer : hewo le tamo mishitam ni mita nee. Mikai ake nyese
le, awula ko no ni miba

Interviewee : bo toi le

Interviewer : miba makwe le, efeo ake le eba shi

Interviewee : other party le baaa

Interviewer : ame fee ameba shi akee ame ake ameke

Interviewee : Opening fee right

Interviewer : eh hee. enaaa hewo le atsi sane le ato

Interviewee : ato

Interviewer : ato, eh hee. Shi mikai ake be ni eta shi le, no mli le,
efee neke

Interviewee : ni akee afee nakai

Interviewer : etsole enaa ni ake afee nakai. Eta shi fioo be ni miyana

Interviewee : ecross enane

Interviewer : ecross. No hu akɛɛ afeɛɛ nakai. Awula lɛ, jeeɛ Ganyo ni, ewieɔ Twi. Hewo no lɛ ke awie akɛ shi ei! Awula, afeɛɛ nakai ye bie po eleeɛ. Lɛ hu still eta shi. Ni Ga eyafeɛ cosmopolitan city ni eko lɛ mi Ganyo, mile Nai we ni miyasama mo ko ni jeeɛ Ganyo keba bie nɛɛ

Interviewee : hmmm!

Interviewer : te wobaa handle neke case nɛɛ tɛŋŋ ye bei amlɛ ni mo lɛ leeɛ neke meɛ aje nibii nɛɛ

Interviewee : hɛɛ. Bei pii ke amɛba lɛ, alongside ni w ommiye sane lɛ noŋŋ lɛ, wotryo akɛ wobaa educate amɛ

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : as to no ni abaanyɛ afeɛ

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ke no ni esaaa ni afeɛ

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : hewo it goes along with wosaneyeli

Interviewer : shi ahaaa bo rules akɛ afeɛ enɛ, efeɛ enɛ

Interviewee : hmmm

Interviewer : ebaafeɛ akɛ mo lɛ baa

Interviewee : nakai ni. Mo lɛ baafeɛ so, ebaafeɛ akɛ eko lɛ aasupressi lɛ

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : no no fioo. Woshia gbejianotoo

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : shi ke eba ni efee ni wokwe ni eefee no ni afee l e, be
wopromti le

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : wobaafee correction

Interviewer : okay. Apart from no ni aatsole naa ni aacross naji nee,
meni ekon?

Interviewee : oh! No kon. So far

Interviewer : hmmm

Interviewee : agbene hu le, kejee gbe mantse aloo lumo ji aloo ato bo
gbenaa ko le, onyeee owo ahinao ye oright keba bie

Interviewer : hmmm! Hewo le right le for the royals ni obaanye owo

Interviewee : Left le for fashion

Interviewer : left le fashion. Okay. Misumo ashiano waa hmene ni
miwo watch nee. Ofaine ha wowie about nyanyara ke
eyen ke erm sese le. Ame ame meanings, symbolically

Interviewee : okay. Ona ake ye nyanyara le ye woGamei asaten le,
nyanyara is wjewellery, wjewellery ni wouseo ji
nyanyara ni at the same time nyanyara is the King of
herbs

Interviewer : Okay

Interviewee : Eye spiritual erm advantages komei

Interviewer : hmm!

Interviewee : ene woye mli two types. Aye male and female

Interviewer : te te mafee tenj mana ake ene le yoo ne ni ene hu le nuu
ni? Nyemei ni nyeuseo nye nyele mli

- Interviewee : nuu le obaana ake edara, leaves le dara shi yoo le
obaana ake leaves ye bibii
- Interviewer : okay, okay. Keke le agbene komi le?
- Interviewee : komi le it's a regalia, ehaa ni onaa ake Nai wulomo ne
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : Komi le ke nyanyara le ke agbene no ni ka minineshi le,
obaanye ona ake Nai wulomo ne
- Interviewer : Hewo le ke migbe naa ni mikere masha le, obaaha kpele?
- Interviewee : obe problem
- Interviewer : Okay. Keke agbene le hu sese le?
- Interviewee : Sese le no woketsuo kusum. Baa ni awo ye mli ke otee
shia mli bian, ofaine baakwe
- Interviewer : yoo
- Interviewee 2 : eko ye bie nee baakwe
- Interviewee : ofaine miiba ei!
- Interviewer : yoo
- Interviewee : blofo... the agreement has already been made
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : hewo ke mo le ke tso nee she jeme nonn ale ake Nai
wulomo
- Interviewer : Okay
- Interviewee : tsu le
- Interviewer : hewo eyafee tamo symbol of authority
- Interviewee : authority, yes
- Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : it's a symbol of authority at the same time le it is the
bond between Nai wulomɔ kɛ (19:12) same time

Interviewer hmmm!

Interviewee : hewɔ le obaana ake, kule ene ye bie

Interviewer : Okay. Blɔi enyɔ

Interviewee : eh hɛɛ ηmleti, wɔtsɛɔ le ηmleti. Kule eye bie

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : shi ni ene bafata he le no hewɔ ni afee ...

Interviewer : aseparate le, nɔ ko tamɔ equality

Interviewee : equality and then frienship

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : hewɔ ona ηmene wulomɔ nine ne?

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : blɔfonyo nine ne

Interviewer : yeah

Interviewee : hewɔ le eewelcome bo

Interviewer : hmmm! Ni Bɔitono kɛ Bɔi maŋ le

Interviewee : Bɔitono kɛ Bɔi maŋ le

Interviewer : hm hhm!

Interviewee : eh hɛɛ

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : and then the name of the Dutch

Interviewee : hmmm!

Interviewer : Okay. Oyiwaladonni Hmmm! Agbene milast one ni mabi
bo will be about, no ni hewo ni, miina ake shi taboos ni
okeha mi le yei le ano fa waa meeba?

Interviewee : hee yei le ame nibii fa

(laughter)

Interviewer : tamo meni neke

Interviewee : Ao! Ona yei le amegbejianotoo fa because...

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ona hii neke there are so many things ni yoo yoo he ni
ebe nuu he

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ni bie hu le yoo ehiii bie ake wulomo ko feo ake awula
ni ebaanye eba bie day

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : a day or two, nonni etee. Ke ehiii feemo ebaashi bie

Interviewer : Hmmm!

Interviewee : ni ebaaya he kroko hewo ke obaakwe tsu le ni ama

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : there are, with all these doors they have another door
outside

Interviewer : okay. Hewo ke yoo baaba bie le, beja etso agbo l e naa

Interviewee : hee ke yoo etee tsui ase ni ebaaba bie le, ebaaba pe
elast place ji he ni

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ota le

- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : enyee ecross keba bie
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : shi eko le ni mo ko ni eko le mo ko ye bie ni mo le

miikwe le

- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : aloo eetao onukpa ko ni ekewie
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : enyey ni edamo stiiti gbɛ le no
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : hewo le afee nakai all that rooms le koni ke gbo ko ye
bie ni etee tsui ase ebaanye eba bie ni efeel free eke bo
awie no ni eke bo baa wie
- Interviewer : ehost le ye jeme. Okay okay. Alright. Keke agbene
eshwe
- Interviewee : abele le
- Interviewer : abele le
- Interviewee : ene ji nmaa ni aduo le
- Interviewer : ah ahh! Okay. I don't think about it
- Interviewee : hewo le ke abaadu nmaa le abaajie fee he
- Interviewer : aah!
- Interviewee : ni abaayakpala ni abaagbele
- Interviewer : hewo every year atsakeo
- Interviewee : every year abaajie, abaadu ke eba be ajie eko be akewo
jeme

Interviewer : akewo jeme, okay, okay, ni meni hewo ke aaye sane le
otaaa bie le?

Interviewee : mitaa bie?

Interviewer : nakai? Mibako ni mina ni ota bie da

Interviewee : hee mitaa bie ke aaye sane shi

Interviewer : negbe fa gbe?

Interviewee : mitaa bie

Interviewer : bie nee non. Oh! Okay. Meni hewo ni obe nkese bie
gbe le?

Interviewee : hee, bie gbe ona ake mihewon (21:47....) etaa bie

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : hmmm bie hu le, ke wulomoi ba bie le

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : Erm, Koolo wulomoi, jafrobi wulomoi

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ke dantu wulomoi.

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : Ame ni ametaa bie

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ni Nai wulomoi taa bie

Interviewer : Okay

Interviewee : ni woliatse taa bie

Interviewer : okay

Interviewee : keke le other

Interviewer : hmmm

- Interviewee : mo ni taa bie ji Nai wulomɔ otsaame
- Interviewer : Okay.
- Interviewee : woye wulomɔ ko hu, atseɔ le ashiakre wulomɔ
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : le hu bie ji eposition
- Interviewer : hmmm okay
- Interviewee : ni mitaa bie
- Interviewer : so, bo otsaame meni efeɔ
- Interviewee : le ji the linguist, spokesperson keji ata shi le
- Interviewer : hewɔ bo le owiee babao
- Interviewee : oh! Miwieɔ, miwieɔ miwieɔ moŋ shi mike wiemo le tsoo
eno
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : ni ekehaa mo le
- Interviewer : Okay. Tamɔ bo ni eko le maŋtsemei feɔ ye palace le
- Interviewee : the same thing. The same thing
- Interviewer : nakai pepepe. Okay. Hewɔ te meni ji oauthority waa
keji eba le ake aaye sane?
- Interviewee : ke mi authority just that it's like the judge in the court
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : and other erm other legal practitioners ni they also try
practice like they do what we call the cross examination
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : other listening, and then contributions, questioning and
that stuff

- Interviewer : ofaine yoo
- Interviewee : shi ke agbe naa le, final judgement will come from me
- Interviewer : good
- Interviewee : depending on listening to both sides
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : making some comparisons
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : where our customs and tradition is important, wokefata
he
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : and then we look at the civil aspect of the case le hu
wokweo
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : but bie le wokweee cases with criminal content because
nomei le, it is more constitutional
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : hewo wotaaa no he tso but domestic issues, social and
civil cases
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : marriages, family issues and then traditional issues and
then chieftaincy issues
- Interviewer : okay. Okay. Alright. Last one and then I will let you go.
Erm ke eko le eba le ake shi erm Gamei, Ga, tamɔ bɔ ni
mile le, aye Teshi, aye Nuɲua, meni hewo ni Nai ji the

supreme? Ebaaba le ake shi mo fee mo swear allegiance
to Nai wulomo

Interviewee : yes

Interviewer : meni? Meni hewo ni

Interviewee : Nai is the principal of all the priests

Interviewer : hewo obaanye okane how many

Interviewee : oh! Woye major priest ye Ga, that is Sakumo,

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : Koolo

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : Dantu

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : Osu Klote

Interviewer : Okay

Interviewee : Lakpaa

Interviewer : Okay

Interviewee : Teshi Nigble

Interviewer : Teshi meni

Interviewee : Ameye Nigble

Interviewer : Nigble, Okay

Interviewee : hmmm! Teshi dani ameye ni ke otee Nuqua be Gbubu
wulomo

Interviewer : Okay. Mina da

Interviewee : in fact, among all the wulomei le, Gbɔbu wulomɔ ke Nai
wulomei are the top most, the highest two priests that
we have

Interviewer : hmmm! Okay

Interviewee : shi Nai ye ŋwei fioo fe Gbɔbu

Interviewer : hmmm! Meni hewɔ?

Interviewee : Because, Gbɔbu is the overlord of the 99 Gods of
Nuɔua

Interviewer : Hmmm!

Interviewee : and also, Nuɔua ke Ga le, Nuɔua is also another ... half
of Ga

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : And Ga Mashie is another half of Ga

Interviewer : hmmm! Okay

Interviewee : hewɔ Nuɔua le, Gbɔbu le, l e ehi e nakai j ei f e e

Interviewer : Hmmm!

Interviewee : Ni oba Nai, because is Nai is the Lord of the sea le,
everywhere the sea cuts across, ye the Ga state le

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : hewɔ Nai wulomɔ feɔ tse

Interviewer : Okay

Interviewee : ni nu fee nu yaa mli

Interviewer : oooh!

Interviewee : hewɔ they all owe allegiance to Nai

Interviewer : Okay. Okay

- Interviewee : yes. Hewɔ is the ...
- Interviewer : eyafee tamɔ mami
- Interviewee : mami yes
- Interviewer : ona akɛ, ona akɛ, yoo ni
- Interviewee : no ha ni nyehe nibii lɛ fa
- Interviewer : wɔkɛɛ akɛ papa wɔkɛɛ mami
- Interviewee : no ha ni nibii lɛ fa lɛ
- Interviewer : okay
- Interviewee : yes
- Interviewer : okay, okay, hewɔ kɛ mikɛ sane tee Teshi, mikɛtee
Gbobu ni enɔɔ minaa lɛ, keji mikɛba biɛ lɛ, esa ni aye
lɛ pɛpɛpɛ
- Interviewee : kɛ okɛba biɛ hu ni you not satisfied lɛ, wɔbaaha wolo ni
akeya court ni oyatsa nɔ
- Interviewer : aah! Okay. Hewɔ te onaa lɛ tɛŋŋ? Youth lɛ ni eba lɛ,
amɛrecognizeɔ court nɛɛ?
- Interviewee : yeah Oh! Amɛrecognizeɔ biɛ
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : especially with cases involving verbal threats
- Interviewer : hm hmmm!
- Interviewee : treasons, and then erm curses,
- Interviewer : hmmm!
- Interviewee : family disputes
- Interviewer : hmmm
- Interviewee : in terms of property,

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : administration and other stuffs

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ke eko le normal normal nibii komei ni abaafee onaa



ake

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : akebaaba ni mo ko ke mo ko miibe

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : Mo ko elomo bo. Oh, mafee neke. Eko le mo ko ke ebi sane, mantsemei asane

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : hewo, it's all, more or less le, people from all walks of life

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : do bring their cases here

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : ona ake bie no le ye quick fioo

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : because we can even use two to three hours ni wobaanye wogbe sane naa

Interviewer : akeye sane

Interviewee : keji mei fee nu amehewo shi ni efee peperepe

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : shi ke wonaaa wonu shishi le, psychologically le, wosumoo ni wotsi woto

Interviewer : hmmm!

Interviewee : to condense

Interviewer : to calm

Interviewee : tesion and then agbene le ke woba wotee hie

Interviewer : okay



APPENDICES G

(PICTURES FROM FIELDWORK)



Image A: A picture of the engraved image on the wall at the Nae We Traditional Court



Image B: Presentation of Drink and an undisclosed amount of money for 'Knocking' and Community Entry



Image C: Presentation of Drink and an undisclosed amount of money to the Chief Priest. (Symbolic Knocking)

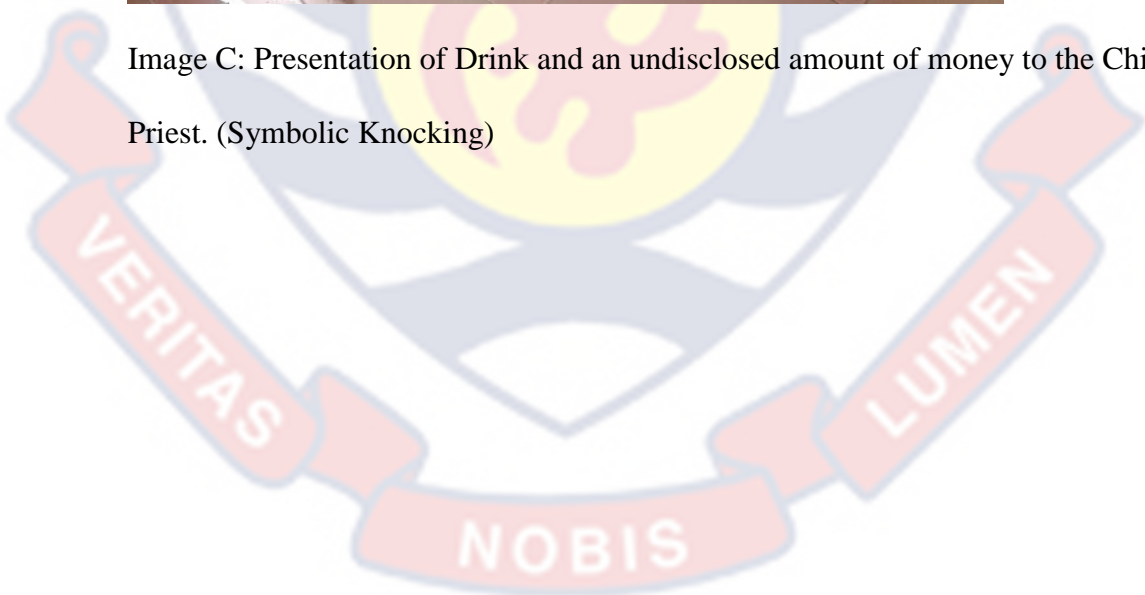




Image D: An interaction with the Chief Priest at the Nae We Traditional Court



Image E: A panoramic view the Nae We Traditional Court- Court proceedings in Session



Image F: A panoramic view of the Nae We Traditional Court- Court proceedings in Session



Image G: A picture of the Chief Priest (dressed in white) and a section of the Council of Elders during proceedings



Image H: A section of the audiences during hearing and court proceedings



Image I: A section of Sub-Priest, Bailiffs and Apprentices (on the right) and Messenger (standing)



Image J: A picture of the sacred bowl of herbs for cleansing and purification at the Nae We Traditional Court



Image K: An interaction with a Complainant after hearing at the Traditional Court